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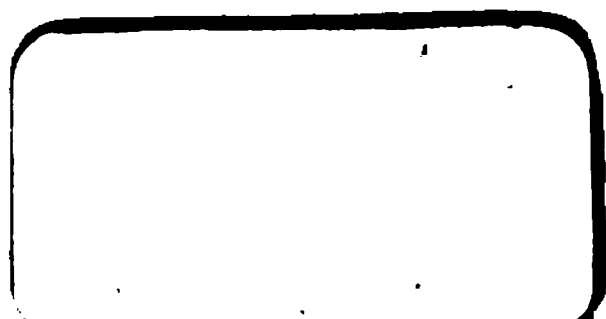
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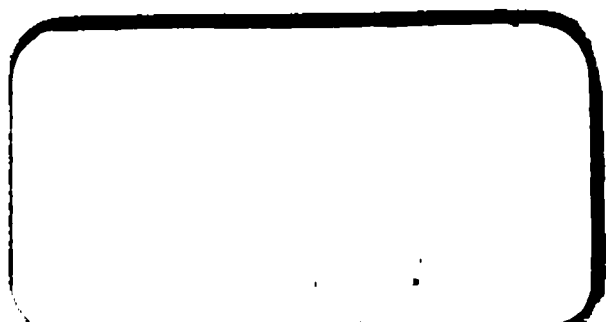
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JOURNAL
OF THE
Architectural, Archaeological,
AND
Historic Society,
FOR THE
COUNTY, CITY, AND NEIGHBOURHOOD
OF
Chester.

VOL II.

FROM DECEMBER, 1855, TO DECEMBER, 1862.

CHESTER:
PRINTED AT THE COURANT OFFICE,
FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY.

MDCCCLXIV.

Architectural, Archaeological, and Historic Society,

FOR

The County, City, and Neighbourhood of Chester.

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LORD-LIEUTENANT OF THE COUNTY.

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Ladies or Gentlemen desiring to become Members, are invited to send in their names to any of the Secretaries, under the above addresses, or through any Subscriber.

Subscriptions are due from January 1st, and should be paid by March 25th in each year, to Mr. THOMAS HUGHES (Messrs. Minshull & Hughes), Eastgate Row.

N O T I C E .

The Council wish it to be clearly understood that the Authors of the several Papers printed in this *Journal* are alone responsible for the statements contained therein.

R U L E S .

Objects.—The leading Objects of the Society shall be—

- 1.—The improvement of Architectural Taste, Science, and Construction :
- 2.—The illustration and preservation of the remains of antiquity and other objects of interest, in the city, neighbourhood, and county :
- 3.—The recommending of plans for the restoration, construction, and improvement of buildings and other works :
- 4.—The collecting of Historic, Archæological, and Architectural information, documents, relics, books, &c.
- 5.—The mutual suggestion and interchange of knowledge on these subjects.

Constitution.—The Society shall consist of Quarterly Members, Associates, Full Members, Life, and Honorary Members.

The QUARTERLY MEMBERS shall consist of all Subscribers of One Shilling per Quarter, and shall have free admission to all Lectures, Exhibitions, and Ordinary Meetings *only*.

The ASSOCIATE MEMBERS shall consist of all Subscribers of *Ten Shillings* per annum, and shall have, as above, the right of attendance at all Lectures, Exhibitions, and Ordinary Meetings, and shall also have *the benefit of the Library*, a copy of the Society's Illustrated *Journal*, as published, and be invited to join the occasional Excursions.

The FULL MEMBERS shall consist of all Subscribers of *One Pound* per annum. These shall enjoy *every right* and advantage of the Institution, be eligible into the Council, and have the privilege of introducing Visitors, under restrictions hereafter named.

LIFE MEMBERS.—Donors of Ten Pounds or more shall be Full Members for life.

LADIES may also be Members of this Society on subscribing Five Shillings per annum, and shall have a right to attend all Lectures, to purchase the *Journal* at a moderate price, and to present communications through the Secretaries.

The Visitors to be admitted by any Full Member shall be either the ladies of his family, children between 10 and 15 years of age, or strangers from such a distance as the Council shall specify.

Honorary Members shall be chosen by the Council.

Management.—The affairs of the Society shall be conducted by a Council, to consist of the following persons, being Subscribers of One Pound per annum :—The Presidents and Officers of the Society ; the Archdeacon of Chester ; the Chairman of the Improvement Committee of the Chester Town Council ; the Canon in Residence ; the Principal of the Training College ; the Secretary or Treasurer of the Diocesan Church Building Society ; the Secretary or Treasurer of the Rural Chapel Society ; and four Architects or Builders. To these shall be added other Laity and Clergy in equal numbers, not exceeding six of each, to be elected by the Full and Associate Members from among the Subscribers of One Pound per annum.

Two of these elected classes, viz Laity and Clergy, and two of the Architects or Builders, shall retire from the Council yearly, in rotation, but shall be immediately re-eligible. Five Members of the Council shall constitute a quorum. The Council shall re-appoint the Secretaries annually, or choose others in their room.

The Council may appoint Sub-committees for special purposes, or make Bye-laws, yet so as not to violate any of the fundamental principles of the Society, in which no alteration shall be made without the further concurrence of a General Meeting, and sanction of Patrons and Presidents; and if any Full or Associate Member shall be desirous of altering any Rule, he shall propose such alteration to one of the Secretaries, who shall submit it to the discretion of the Council; and before any Bye-law shall be passed by the Council, notice thereof shall have been given at a previous meeting, or specifically in writing to each Member of the Council.

There shall be an Annual General Meeting, Quarterly Meetings, and also Monthly Meetings, if the Council see fit, for the specific objects of the Society. There shall also be as many Extraordinary Meetings as the Council may appoint, at which Lectures may be given on any literary or scientific subject, with the sanction of the the Council.

Property.—When the Council shall consider any Paper read at a Meeting of the Society worthy of being printed in the *Journal*, they shall request the Author to furnish the manuscript for that purpose.

FULL MEMBERS will receive a copy of the *Journal* gratis, and the remaining copies shall be sold at a sum to be fixed on by the Council for the benefit of the Society.

The Author of any Paper printed in the *Journal* may receive 25 copies of his own paper gratis.

All Books, Prints, Relics, &c. which may be purchased by or presented to the Society, shall be preserved for the use of the Members in such place and custody as shall be appointed by the Council; and all orders for payment, &c. shall be signed by the Chairman, and counter-signed by the Secretary; and accounts audited in Council by persons appointed for the purpose, preparatory to confirmation at the Annual Meeting.

The Library and Museum of the Society are at present deposited in the large room of the late City Library, in St. Peter's Church-yard.

Admission of Members.—All Subscriptions shall be counted due on the First day of January, and shall be paid within three months of the date of admission; and, in all future years, between the 1st day of January and 25th day of March. The Council shall also, if they find it desirable, appoint a certain amount of Entrance Money, to be paid on admission.

The Society may be connected with other Literary or Scientific Associations, on such terms as to the Council may seem fit; provided always, that the foregoing fundamental Rules of this Society shall be consented to as essential to the union; and that every new Member shall acknowledge the same as the conditions of admission.

Ladies and Gentlemen wishing to become Members, are requested to communicate with either of the Secretaries, or with any Member of the Council.

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- 1857 *Brassey Thomas, Great George-street, Westminster*
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- 1850 Brown Charles, Flookersbrook
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- 1858 Brown Miss Nessie, Richmond Bank
- 1855 Brushfield Thomas N., M.D., Cheshire Lunatic Asylum
- 1865 Bullin Frederick, White Friars
- 1859 Burne Joseph, Royal Insurance Office, Liverpool
- 1853 Burton Mrs. Lingen, Abbey House, Shrewsbury
- 1865 Butt Francis, Sheriff of Chester, Exton Villa

- 1849 Catherall Thomas, Eastgate Row
 1849 Chester, The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of
 1863 Churton Miss, The Groves
 1858 Claye Thomas, Stockport
 1858 Clayton David Shaw, Norbury, Stockport
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 Whitchurch
 1858 Cox Rev. Thomas, Threapwood, Wrexham
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 1850 Darcey Rev. J., Marton, Congleton
 1855 Davidson Ellis A., Wilton Villas, Eaton Road
 1850 Davies Dr., White Friars
 1858 Deakin Henry, St. Martin's Ash
 1860 Deane Mrs., Knutsford
 1862 Dixon William J., St. John street
 1851 Dixon James, Stanley Place
 1864 Dobie William M., M.D., King's Buildings
 1861 Douglas John, Architect, Abbey Square
 1850 Dutton Charles, Nicholas-street

 1849 Eaton Rev. Canon, West Kirby, and Abbey Square
 1858 Edgworth Thomas, Wrexham
 1857 Edwards John, Blue Coat School
 1850 Egerton Sir Philip de Malpas, Bart., M.P., Oulton Park,
 Tarporley
 1853 Egerton Hon. Wilbraham, M.P., Rostherne Hall, Knuts-
 ford
 1862 Ennion Thomas, Newmarket, Suffolk

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 1852 *Falconer Thomas, Usk, Newport, Monmouthshire*
 1850 Feilden Miss, Stanley Place, Chester
 1849 Ffoulkes Venerable Archdeacon, Llandycil
 1855 Ffoulkes W. Wynne, Stanley Place, *Hon. Secretary*
 1852 Finchett-Maddock Thomas, Abbey Square
 1858 Finney Benjamin, Royal Insurance Company, Liverpool
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 1850 Fluitt Mrs., Dee Hills, Boughton
 1861 Ford Rev. Frederick, Hough Green
 1851 Ford Miss, Stockton Heath, Warrington

- 1852 Ford Henry, Abbot's Cottage
 1852 Foulkes William, Birkdale, Southport
 1853 France Rev. T., Davenham, Northwich
 1858 Frith Joseph, Lunatic Asylum, Cambridge
 1857 Frost Meadows, St. John's House
 1864 Frost Robert, Mayor of Chester, Queen's Park

 1850 Gardner Alfred, Mold
 1851 Garston Edgar, The Mount, Aigburth, Liverpool
 1849 Gleadowe Rev. R. W., Vicarage, Neston
 1849 Glynne Sir Stephen R., Bart., Hawarden Castle
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 1858 Green Rev. Henry, Heathfield, Knutsford
 1851 Gresley Mrs. C., The Close, Lichfield
 1852 Grosvenor, Right Hon. Earl, M.P., Calveley Hall
 1851 Grosvenor Rev. F., Dee Banks House, Boughton

 1862 Hamilton Lieut.-Col., Nant-y-Gaer, Gresford
 1857 Harris Rev. James, Crook-street
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 1849 Harrison James, St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, *Hon. Secretary*
 1864 Harrison Mrs. John, 16, Nicholas-street
 1850 Harrison Miss, White Friars
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 1856 Hartwright John Henry, Birkenhead
 1849 Hassall Henry, Bridge-street
Hon. Hawkins Edward, F.S.A., Lower Berkeley-street, London
 1849 Hayes Mrs., Stockton Heath, Warrington
 1849 Helps Thomas, White Friars House
 1864 Heppel William G., Probate Court, White Friars
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 1850 Hillyard Rev. Canon, Southam, Warwickshire, and Abbey
 Square
 1857 Hitchen John, Wilton Villas, Eaton Road
 1849 Hodgkinson Edward, Grey Friars
 1853 Howard Mrs. Robert, Broughton Hall, Flintshire
 1862 Huggins Samuel, The Groves
 1849 Hughes Thomas, Grove Terrace, *Hon. Secretary*
 1858 Hughes Edward, at George Gilbert Scott, Esq., London
 1857 Humberston Miss, Newton Hall
 1849 Humberston Philip Stapleton, M.P., Mollington Banastre

1857 Hutchinson Rev. Thomas Neville, Birmingham
 1861 Hughes John, Old Bank

Hon. Jackson Miss, White Friars

1862 Johnson Rev. Edward, King-street
 1857 Jones Henry Watson, Old Bank
 1856 Jones Thomas W., Nantwich
 1862 Jewitt Llewellyn, F.S.A., Derby

1857 Kelly Thomas T., Rhyd-Galed, Mold
 1862 King Lieut.-Col. V.A., Oxton, Birkenhead
 1853 Langton William, Litchford Hall, Blackley, nr. Manchester
 1852 Legh George Cornwall, M.P., High Legh
 1851 Legh Miss, High Legh
 1864 Leet Charles, Hough Green
 1853 *Leigh Major Egerton, West Hall, High Leigh*
 1857 Lloyd Horatio, 1, King's Bench Walk, London
 1856 Lowe George Bennett, Hough Green
 1850 Lowe John, Bridge-street Row

1858 Markland Jas. Heywood, D.C.L., F.R.S., and F.S.A., Bath
 1849 Marsden Rev. W. B., St. John's Rectory
 1856 Marsh John B., *Examiner and Times* Office, Manchester
 1857 Martin George Hughes, St. Peter's Church yard
 1857 Mayer Joseph, F.S.A., F.R.S.A., Liverpool
 1850 McEwen William, M.D., Nicholas-street
 1862 McNeile Rev. Canon, D.D., Liverpool and Abbey Square
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 1864 Moffat Thomas, M.D., Hawarden
 1858 Morgan John, Paternoster Row, London
 1849 Morris John, Richmond Place
 1862 Morris Robert, Surveyor, Richmond House

1857 Nicholson James, F.S.A., Thelwall Hall, Warrington
 1860 Nixon James, Bangor, Carnarvonshire
 1861 Nicholson Robert, Bank House, St. Werburgh-street

Hon. Ormerod George, D.C.L., Sedbury Park, Chepstow
 1851 Owen John, Pepper-street
 1856 Owen Richard, Postmaster, Queen-street
 1861 Owens Benjamin, Architect, Shipgate-street

- 1858 Painter Thomas, Wrexham
 1851 Parker Henry, Hough Green
 1857 Parkinson George, Northgate-street
 1850 Parry Charles T. W., Nicholas-street
 1860 Payne Major, Abbey Court
 1856 Peacock John, Hough Green
Hon. Planchè J. R., F.S.A., Herald's College, London
 1864 *Potts Arthur, Hoole Hall*
 1849 Potts Charles, Northgate-street
 1852 Potts Charles William, Heron Bridge
 1850 Potts Frederick, Watergate-street
 1850 Potts Miss, Watergate-street
 1849 Prichard George. Queen's Park
 1851 Pullan Mrs., St. Martin's-in-the-Fields

 1851 Raikes Henry, Llwynegryn, Mold (dead)
 1861 Ralph John, Abbey Square
 1862 Rigby Thomas, Town Fields, Over
 1862 Roberts Thomas, Upper Northgate-street
 1856 Roberts Thomas Quellyn, Watergate-street
 1864 Roberts Robert, The Firs, Newton
 1853 Robertson H., M.P., Shrewsbury
 1861 Rogers James, White Friars
 1849 Royle Thomas R. P., Hough Green House

 1856 Salisbury E. G. Glan Aber, Saltney
 1856 Salt Rev. George, St. Bridget's Rectory
 1860 Sampson Miss, Sandowne Terrace
 1861 Shrubsole George, Northgate-street
 1861 Smart Frederick Arthur, Royal Insurance Co., Liverpool
 1861 Smith John Simms, Esq., B.A., Royal Insurance Co.,
 Liverpool
Hon. Smith Charles Roach, F.S.A., Temple Place, Stroud, Kent
 1858 Strongitharm George, Fair View, Holt Hill, Tranmere
 1857 Sumner Henry, Royal Institution, Liverpool

 1865 Taylor James Burnside, Curzon Park
 1857 Thompson John, Bridge-street Row
 1849 Thurlow Rev. Chancellor, Higher Rectory, Malpas
 1861 Tibbits George, St. John-street
 1850 Titherington William, Dee Hills, Boughton
 1851 Townshend Lee Porcher, Wincham Hall, Knutsford

- 1858 Venables Rev. Henry, Abbey Court
- 1859 Warburton R. E. E. Arley Hall, Northwich
- 1857 Ward George Frederick, Allington Terrace
- 1858 Waters Edward, M.D., Nicholas-street
- Hon.* Way Albert, F.S.A., Wonham Manor, Reigate
- 1850 Weaver Wilfred, Westminster Buildings
- 1859 Warrington William, Congleton
- 1864 Watson Mrs., Queen's Park
- 1860 Wellbeloved Charles, Queen's Park
- 1857 Welsby Wm. N. (Recorder of Chester) London (dead)
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- 1861 Whiteway Philip, jun., Runcorn
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- 1856 Wilcock Thomas, jun., Eastgate Row
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- 1860 Williams Rev. Philip, Rewe, Exeter
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- 1862 Williams Miss, 112, Northgate-street
- 1858 Williams William Maysmor, Curzon Park
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- 1850 Wood Isaac Moreton, Newton, Middlewich
- 1851 Worthington Miss, Nicholas-street

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- Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire
- Liverpool Philosophical Society
- Somersetshire Archæological Society
- Kilkenny Archæological Society
- Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society
- Leeds Philosophical Society
- Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society
- Sussex Archæological Society
- Leicester Literary and Philosophical Society

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The Plates to be re-arranged, where necessary, in accordance with the above List of ILLUSTRATIONS.

P R E F A C E .

THE completion of this Second Volume of the *Journal* affords an opportunity for some few words of comment on the present position of the Society, and on the state of archæological feeling within the scope of its influence and labours.

When, just fifteen years ago, the Society was first projected by a few earnest men, several of whom have since passed away to their rest, it was felt that a need urgently existed for some definite organization, whereby all who loved the beautiful in architecture, the venerable in archæology, and the truth unadorned in history, might meet and confer together on common ground. To such want this Society has now for almost a generation honestly responded ; and it is gratifying to find so many of those subscribers who joined its infant ranks in 1849 still earnestly and faithfully adhering to its fortunes in 1864. It is support like this alone that, in the face of numerous difficulties besetting their path from time to time, has enabled the Council and Officers to hold their own, and to maintain the Society in unimpaired usefulness and prosperity.

Gradually but surely there has been growing up in the County and its Borders a sound and discriminating antiquarian feeling, exhibiting itself, too, in a variety of ways. For example, we see evinced, both by the humbler workmen and the wealthy proprietors around us, a more tender care for the landmarks of the past, whether regarded as the primitive treasures of the Briton and Saxon, or the more elegant remains of the once mighty Rome. It will be readily conceded, too, that the architecture of Cheshire for a good hundred years prior to the foundation of this Society, was (if we except the works of one great genius only—Thomas Harrison—), a sorry blank, and indeed something worse ; for buildings, historical in their character and beautiful to look upon, were heartlessly pulled down, and replaced by others from which the eye of taste shrinks with unalloyed disgust. The erections generally in Cheshire during the last 15 or 20 years, on the other hand, give us the very converse of this ; for whether we look at the magnificent churches and other public buildings, or the elegant dwellings and commercial structures that now adorn our streets and highways, we see a growing appreciation of those very principles which it was the leading object of this Society, as far as possible, to create and encourage.

With these pleasing proofs of its usefulness and popularity, it will be the aim of the Council to persevere in their efforts on behalf of the Society, both by keeping up the sessional meetings and lectures,—the enlargement, as occasion may serve, of its Library and Museum,—and the perpetuation of its local investigations and Papers by means of its published *Journal*.

The Papers for the most part composing the present Volume are essentially of a *local* character,—local, that is to say, to Cheshire itself, or to the Counties immediately adjacent. This course it is intended uniformly to pursue; for while Lectures and Papers on Miscellaneous Subjects within the Rules are not only admitted, but also cordially welcomed and indeed solicited, it is not to be forgotten that this is a Local Society, and that its main and primary duty is to set forth the ancient glories, to resolve the historic doubts, and to cultivate within this County Palatine and its bordering Shires, the soundest possible architectural and antiquarian tastes.

With this view it is proposed in the next Volume to publish as complete a List as may be attainable of all topographical, historic, biographical, religious and other works in any way connected with the County of Chester, so that Members of the Society and others may know the materials that exist for the illustration of any particular branch of local history, literature or science. This can only be completely done, by every Member who is in possession of rare or special works of local interest communicating particulars to the Editors, through the Secretaries: it is earnestly requested, therefore, that all will cordially aid, and without delay, in making this “*BIBLIOTHECA CESTRIENSIS*” what it will modestly aim to be, a full and correct Catalogue of all known Cheshire Books and Pamphlets.

One other subject may fairly, and without impropriety, be introduced in this Preface to our new Volume. It is, the growing want, felt and expressed by all who take any interest in its well-being, of an independent home for this Society, in some appropriate locality in the centre of the ancient city; and it is one of the sanguine hopes of the Council that ultimately some such building may be secured,—one that, in short, shall combine the advantage of a *FREE PUBLIC MUSEUM*, with a commodious Lecture Room and Offices for the use, and under the management, of the *CHESTER ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY*.

With these reflections and aspirations, the EDITORS present their brother Members with the *SECOND* completed *VOLUME* of the *SOCIETY'S TRANSACTIONS*. They do so, moreover, in the full confidence that every succeeding issue will at least equal its predecessors in local interest and illustrations, as well as in sound and reliable antiquarian research.



T. BAILEY JR.

HALTON CASTLE, CHESHIRE.

CIRCA 1800

FROM AN ORIGINAL DRAWING BY T. M. CLARKE ESQ. F.R.S.

Halton Castle, Cheshire.

BY MR. WILLIAM BEAMONT.

WHETHER has sailed upon the Rhine, where it flows between its bordering mountains, will have seen on either hand

High from their fields of air look down
The eyries of a vanished race;
Homes of the mighty, whose renown
Hath passed and left no trace.

And the scene will hardly fail to transport him to other ages, when those crumbling towers, which crest every height that commands an advantageous reach of the river were the abode of ancient knights and barons, who sallied thence to make inroads on their neighbours, or to levy black mail on those who navigated the river, and returned to immure their prisoners in these strongholds, where daylight was but gloom to their eyes, and music only heaviness to their ears. These were times and men, whom perhaps it is pleasanter, as certainly it is safer, to contemplate at a distance than near at hand.

How is it, however, that, while the foreign scene naturally calls up such associations, we look with comparative calmness upon scenes equally as suggestive at home? Is it that, in travelling, we carry with us a magic glass, which gives the eye power to look with unusual interest upon objects that are new? There must surely be some cause for the difference; otherwise the Castle at Halton, which looks boldly forth upon a river of wider renown than the Rhine, would challenge equal attention with Rolandseck or Drachenfels, with Stolzenfels or the Mausthurm, and would fill the mind with pictures equally vivid, and with still greater power to interest us, because they are local, and belong to our own history.

In this comparatively flat country, the bold rock on which Halton

Castle stands was too conspicuous to be overlooked, even in early times. Among our Saxon ancestors, it seems to have become a kind of centre to the surrounding district; and while they called it Halton, or the height, they named the townships which lay grouped around its base, Norton, Aston, Weston, and Sutton, from the relative positions they occupied in respect to it.

Before the time of the Norman Conquest, however, we hear nothing of the existence of any fortress at Halton. Until then, Elfreda's stronghold on the Castle rock at Runcorn, close to the margin of the river, probably sufficed to check the Danes and other marauders in their piratical inroads up the Mersey. It was the custom of these plunderers* to sail up the river to some convenient place, and there, drawing up their boats on the banks, to raise a temporary entrenchment,—whence they could sally out to plunder the country,—to which they would retire with their booty,—and from which they could set out in safety on their home return. Several earthworks, which tradition says have had this origin, still remain on the banks of the Mersey. One of these, well known to the sportsman in pursuit of wild fowl, is on Cuerdley Marsh, and may be seen from Halton Castle; and another of them is at Mickley Hills,—a picturesque part of the Mersey, on the Cheshire shore, a few miles above Warrington.

But no sooner was the work of conquest achieved, than the Conqueror, in the year 1070, conferred the whole of this fair county upon Hugh Lupus, one of his Norman earls, “to hold of him as freely by the sword, as he himself held the realm of England by the crown.” Well understanding the terms of his tenure, and in order the better to secure it, Hugh Lupus immediately divided his palatinate into eight or more baronies, which he distributed to his warlike followers, upon the like condition of supporting *him* with the sword, as *he* was to support the king.

One of these, Nigel, a brother Norman, who is thought to have borne the name of Robert, became the first baron of Halton. If it be true that he was the son of that Ivo de Constance, who encountered the English whom king Ethelred sent to France, and slew them as they left their ships, he did not bring with him a name which was likely to endear him to his new dependents. Nigel was not slow to select Halton for the head of his barony, and to place on its highest part the stronghold by which he was to keep his new acquisitions.

The sylvan scene which then extended from this hill to the banks of the Mersey, the beauty of its glades, and the verdure of its velvet turf spread their charms in vain before eyes which taste had not yet

* Foreign Quarterly Review, No. XII. p. 290.

Ancient Corbel,
FROM THE RUINS OF HALTON CASTLE, CHESHIRE.

opened. But the round topped woods of Norton, of which such noble representatives survive to our own times, arrested Nigel's regard, for they sheltered the wild animals whom it was his pleasure to pursue in the chase, and fed and fattened those herds of deer or swine which helped to supply the rude but bountiful hospitality of his table.

Nigel probably drew out the ground-plan of his castle, built and fortified its gateway and the walls of its outer ballium, and raised the donjon tower at the north-west corner, where the face of the rock is steepest. The views of the Castle taken before it was dismantled, give us an idea of its general plan, but there is probably no part of the present remains which can confidently be said to belong to the original structure of the founder, unless it be the early corbel head, of which an engraving forms one of the illustrations of this Paper.

Though an earlier foundation than Beeston, Halton resembles that fortress in its general plan, but it wants the grandeur which Beeston derives from its deep moat, a feature which seems to have been always wanting at Halton.

As the captain and lieutenant of Hugh Lupus, Nigel won for him the castle of Rhuddlan, in 1098; but the memory of his other victories, if he achieved any, has perished, wanting a bard or a chronicler to record them.

From Nigel, the barony of Halton descended successively to his son William Fitz Nigel, and his grandson William Fitz William; and of these two warriors we read in one of their Latin charters the following story:—It begins by calling every Frenchman and Englishman, and all Christians to give attention to it; and then tells us in simple but circumstantial terms how having set out, probably from Halton, they met on a certain day in the neighbouring hamlet of Kekewick, at the house of Hugh Fitz Odard, the castle seneschal, whose illness most likely had led to their visit. Upon his entreaty, and in compassion for the sick man's condition, probably as they stood by his bed-side, they granted to his son Hugh all the father's lands; in return for which, their sick servant, feeling he had no longer need of them, surrendered to William Fitz Nigel his war horse and coat of mail; while, in return, Hugh Fitz Hugh, the son of the seneschal, gave to William's son his palfrey and a noble soar hawk. That the object of this visit was what we have supposed, appears likely from the character of the persons who were witnesses to the gift, and who were William, Fitz Nigel's chaplain; William, his sewer; Randle, his huntsman; and Richard de More. Odard's historic sword, now in the possession of the Kilmoreys, is not mentioned in the instrument. Probably the dying seneschal could not bring his mind to surrender that, and so it was reserved.

Kekewick, where this scene occurred, enjoys a name which is unique

in the *villare* of England ; a circumstance which once enabled an old inhabitant of this neighbourhood to put a boaster to silence with it. It happened that the latter was once vaunting in public his almost universal knowledge of places and their names, when his aged hearer slyly asked him to tell him where Kekewick was ; and the boaster was forced to confess that he had never heard of the place.

William Fitz Nigel was made constable and marshal of the earl's host, an office as dangerous as it was honourable ; for it involved no less than the leading of the van when the army advanced, and the command of the rear when it retreated.

His wife was a sister of Walter, and a daughter of Gilbert de Gant, one of those Flanders men who are thought to have served William in the conquest of England as volunteers, and only for personal rewards.*.

In the year 1133 he founded a house of canons regular at Runcorn, and three years afterwards he died.

In the year 1140, and almost before the canons had had time to settle in their first seat, William Fitz William, the son and successor of the founder, removed them from Runcorn to Norton, where, in a new home built in a pastoral valley, they flourished in great splendour until the bursting of the storm cloud which swept away the religious houses under Henry VIII. The charter for their removal was witnessed by the same William the chaplain, who witnessed the grant at Kekewick, and is remarkable for conferring on the convent, among other possessions, one-half of the fishery and *fisherman* of Thelwall ! It is to be hoped that the fisherman was not divided like the fishery.

Although the payment of tithes and the division of England into parishes had been established long before this time, yet what are called arbitrary consecrations of tithes were not then wholly out of use ; and every man, though bound to pay tithes somewhere, might in certain cases pay them where and to what church he would. Accordingly, it seemed good to William Fitz William to ordain that his tithes of Thelwall, like the rest of his fee, should be paid to his house at Norton, where he would have as an equivalent the prayers of the house offered up for himself and his family ; and this explains why Thelwall, though cut off and separated by two intervening parishes, still remains part of the original parish of Runcorn.†

William Fitz William died childless, in Normandy, in the reign of Stephen ; and in him ended the male line of Nigel, the first baron of Halton, for Robert Fitz Nigel, fourth Abbot of Chester, in 1157, if he was William's brother, became civilly dead when he received the tonsure.

* Wace's "Chronicle of the Norman Conquest," by Taylor, p. 133, *in notis*.

† Blackstone's "Commentaries," Vol. I. pp. 111, 112, 113 ; Vol. II. p. 27.

Eustace Fitz Roger, who succeeded as fourth baron of Halton, had married for his second wife Agnes, the last baron's sister. To him earl Randle Gernons restored the barony of Halton, and the hereditary constableness of Cheshire. This baron, who inherited the castle of Knaresborough from his uncle, Serlo de Burgh, seems to have aggrandized himself by both his marriages. By his first wife, Beatrix, the daughter and heir of Ivo de Vescy, he acquired the baronies of Malton and Alnwick, while, as we have seen, he acquired Halton by his second wife. For defending his castle of Malton against king Stephen, in 1137, he is stigmatized by Hoveden as a traitor; but for this, and all his other faults, he endeavoured to atone, after the fashion of that age, by founding, with the consent of his first wife, the abbey of Malton and Alnwick, and the house of Watton with the like consent of his second. He found the danger of his high office as constable, and he fell as he was discharging it in the command of the earl's army, in the Welsh campaign of 1157. In recording his death, the chronicler says, "he was great, aged, and wise, and was renowned among the princes of the land for his riches and wisdom."

His son and successor, Richard, the fifth baron of Halton, married Albreda, daughter of Robert de Lizours, and half-sister of Robert de Lacy, baron of Pomfret, whose heir she ultimately became. Richard died about the year 1178.

His son and successor, John, the sixth baron of Halton, in consequence of his mother's succession to the vast inheritance of her half-brother, assumed a name which afterwards became famous in our annals,—the great name of Lacy.

This baron, possibly in the castle of Halton, maintained in his service an astrologer, who wrote an able work on the planetary conjunctions of the year 1186.

John Lacy married Alice, the sister of William Mandevyle, and founded the abbey of Stanlaw, which from that time became the great burial place of his family, and which, very appropriately, might be seen from the walls of Halton. In 1181, he went with Richard Peche, Bishop of Coventry, as governor of Ireland; afterwards, too, he went with half Europe on the Crusade, and, while engaged in it, died before Tyre, in the year 1190.

His son Roger, who succeeded him as seventh baron of Halton, was a stern warrior, which, in an age that loved *sobriquets*, obtained him the name of "Hell." He it was who, being at Chester when the news arrived that his master, earl Randle Blundeville, was shut up in Rhuddlan castle and hard pressed by the Welsh, hastily mustered all the beggars, minstrels, and other strollers then assembled at Chester fair, and marched with them to the earl's rescue. The Welsh,

perceiving the approach of such a multitude, and amazed, as once the French at the sight of Talbot, exclaimed—

“ ‘The devil was in arms,’

All the whole army stood agazed on him,”*

and at once abandoned the siege and fled. For this service the earl conferred on him, and he transferred to his seneschal, a descendant of that sick officer to whom we have so recently referred, the government and licensing of all beggars, vagrants, strollers, and minstrels, within the limits of the earldom,—a privilege which the Duttons, his successors, continued to exercise without interruption until the passing of the last Vagrant Act, only a few years ago.

But Roger, though stern and severe, was not wholly wanting in compassion for the unfortunate. He had inherited from his ancestors, its founders, the noble castle of Clitheroe; and at Edisforth, about a mile from it, in a romantic spot on the Yorkshire bank of the Ribble, there had been founded a hospital for the lepers of Clitheroe, or (as it was sometimes called, from the spotted appearance of its inmates,) a messle-house. Roger's brother, Richard de Cestria, was one of this unfortunate class; and, touched with compassion for his condition, he gave him the township of Moor, and to the leper-house of Clitheroe he gave four acres of land at Baldwin-hill. Diseases, like empire, have hitherto rolled westward; and the east, which was the cradle of our race, and the birth-place of our noblest liberty, seems also to be the cradle of our maladies. In that region leprosy has always prevailed; and an ancient scandal, refuted by Josephus, affirms that the Jews were driven out of Egypt because they were lepers. The Egyptians, says a lively writer, were singular in their choice of a king. They did not require him to be virtuous, but they would not tolerate a candidate with red hair, because there was some connection in their minds between men of that complexion and the leprosy! It is not unlikely that in some of the many invasions of disease from the east, the leprosy made a swoop upon Europe. The form in which it made its first appearance was probably the black leprosy,—the *elephas elephantiasis*, or leprosy of the Arabians,—so named from its rendering the skin like that of the elephant, scabrous, dark coloured, and furrowed over with tubercles. It was not, I think, the leprosy of Scripture, which was perhaps the white leprosy of the Greeks, still to be met with in the east, and which, when it attacks a dark skin, looks like whitewash upon a discoloured wall. In the time of Roger “Hell,” leprosy was rampant, not only in England, but over the whole of Europe. It must have been very common when an entire hospital was required for the lepers of

* Shakspeare, *Henry VI.*

the small borough of Clitheroe ! Like the Jews of old, our ancestors required the houses for lepers to be outside their towns, and generally at a little distance from them. This was the case with the hospital of St. Nicholas at Edisforth, with the Chester hospital of St. Giles at Boughton, and with the hospital of St. James in London ; which latter, from being a house for lepers, has risen to be the palace of our English royal family. It was required, also, of all lepers that they should dwell apart, and persons transgressing this rule might be removed by a writ framed especially for that purpose. When he begged, the leper sounded a rattle to warn all persons of his presence, and he held out a clap dish to receive the alms offered him, just as it was said of Tristrem in the thirteenth century :—

“ Cap and clapper he bare,
As he a messle ware.”

When crowds violate her rules, Nature avenges herself by the generation of contagious diseases, just as hereditary disorders are the result of a systematic disregard of her rules by successive individuals of the same family.

When the leprosy first appeared in this country, it was fostered by the dress, habits, and mode of living of our ancestors. Woollen, not cleansed or washed sufficiently often, was worn next to the skin, and a diet of fish and salted provisions was too exclusively used by the people. After a time, however, endemic influences modified the disease, and it gradually disappeared with the introduction of a greater use of linen, and the use of fruit, vegetables, and good bread, with improved habits of cleanliness. Before the 10th Edward II. the house at Edisforth had ceased to be any longer of use for its original purpose ; but the Lacy fret, and the rampant lion on its front, still remain to attest Roger Lacy's bounty to its ancient inmates. So shines a good deed in a naughty world !

Let us now resume the history of the House of Halton. Roger Lacy took the Cross, and, in 1191, he was present with Cœur de Lion at the storming of Acre.

After the king's death, in 1199, he was one of those whom John most feared, and whose fidelity he was most anxious to secure. He required him to swear fealty, and afterwards restored to him his castle of Pomfret, but detained his son as a hostage.

In the following year he conducted the Scottish monarch to Lincoln to do homage to the king after his coronation ; and, in 1201, to repress the king's enemies, he passed over into Normandy, “ *cum centum militibus soldariis*, ”—(with a hundred knights who fought for pay,)—which shows plainly the origin of our English word “ soldiers.”

In 1204, he gallantly defended the castle de Rupe Andeliacâ, (that

is, Chateau Gaillard, or "Saucy Castle," opposite les Andelys on the Seine); and when, after being pressed to the last extremity by famine, he made a sortie, and was taken prisoner in attempting to cut his way through the besiegers, the king of France, in admiration of his heroic and chivalrous valour, refused to detain him in confinement.

Roger married Maud de Clare, and dying on October 1, 1211, was buried at Stanlaw. His brother Richard, the leper, found a last resting-place at Halton.

Roger's son, John, who succeeded him as the eighth baron of Halton, took part in the proceedings at Runnymede, which reflect so much honour on all who were concerned in them; and he was one of the barons chosen to see that the king faithfully observed the conditions of the great Charter. It was probably on this account that an attempt was made to deprive him of his Lancashire forests; and it was certainly for no better reason that, in 1216, he was excommunicated by the Pope. History now awards him a different meed for his services in the cause of freedom.

In 1218, he was at the siege of Damietta, and afterwards he obtained from Henry III. a grant of the earldom of Lincoln. By this grant, and a subsidy of 1,000 marks, he and his master, the earl of Chester, were won over from the party of Richard, the earl marshal, to espouse the cause of the king.

John granted to Philip de Orreby and his heirs the right to have a boat in the water of the Mersey, and to fish with one net throughout the limits of Halton (spelt Hathelton), rendering for the same sixpence, or a pair of spurs yearly.*

The rise of the Lacies was the decline of Halton. After their acquisition of the earldom of Lincoln, "the greater glory dimmed the less," and they no longer made Halton anything but an occasional residence.

John Lacy was twice married: 1st, to Alice, the daughter of William de Aquila, who was buried at Norton; and, 2nd, to Margaret, the daughter and co-heir of Robert de Quency. He died on the 22nd July, 1240, and was buried at Stanlaw.

Edmund, his son and successor, died before his mother, and so never became earl of Lincoln, but was only baron of Halton, of which he was ninth in the series.

In 1247, he was married, says the chronicler, to Alice, daughter of the Marquis of Saluces. Peter of Savoy, who contrived the marriage, brought the king over to his plans; and Edmund, to the discontent of the nobles and against his own consent, was married at Woodstock, the king being present to witness the ceremony.

* Ormerod's Cheshire, Vol. I. p. 573.

In 1254, he went with a great number of nobles to Bordeaux ; and on the 5th of June, 1258, he died, and was buried at Stanlaw.

His son, Henry de Lacy, the tenth baron of Halton, who soars above all his predecessors in fame, has interwoven his name with our national annals. Having received knighthood from the hand of king Henry, at Westminster, in the 57th year of his reign, he afterwards entered into the service of king Edward I. whom in bravery, decision, and energy of character, he very much resembled. He soon rose to be the king's chief counsellor and friend. In 1272, he assisted earl Edmund, the king's brother, to besiege and take Chartley castle, which had been forcibly seized and kept by the rebellious Robert de Ferrars. By a deed, dated at Halton on the 30th of September, 1285, he confirmed to the prior and canons of Burscough, the lands which Henry Torbock and Ellen his wife had granted them, upon condition that one leper from Widnes, if such were to be found, were always received and reasonably maintained in their house ; and that the earl and his countess should be entered in the martyrology of Burscough, and have their names written down in the canon. Vicarious services were highly esteemed, in that age, by others besides those who

“Dying, put on the weeds of Dominic,
Or in Franciscan thought to pass disguised.”

In 1290, the king appointed him his chief commissioner to reform abuses in the courts of law, and especially in the Court of Common Pleas ; and some of the credit which the king acquired in this matter, as our English Justinian, may be justly ascribed to the baron of Halton. In the same year, Sir Nicholas Leycester, an ancestor of our great Cheshire antiquary, was Henry de Lacy's seneschal at Halton. Three years later he went on an embassy to France, to demand satisfaction for the plunder committed by the French upon our merchants ; and on the death of earl Edmund, the king's brother, in 1296, he was made commander in chief of the army in Gascony and viceroy of Aquitain.

On the morrow of St. Barnabas, in the same year, he laid the foundation-stone of the great abbey of Whalley, an imposing ceremony, which rang the death knell of the mother-house of Stanlaw.

Two years afterwards, he raised the siege of St. Catherine's, near Toulouse, and expelled the French from those parts. In 1299, he led the van in the celebrated battle of Falkirk, in which 40,000 Scots are said to have been left dead upon the field.

In the Parliament holden at Carlisle, in 1307, he was placed above all the peers except the king's son ; and afterwards, when Edward II. advanced into Scotland, he left Henry de Lacy protector of the realm of England during his absence.

Henry de Lacy was twice married,—first, in 1256, when he was

only six years of age, to Margaret, daughter of William Longespee, (by whom he had issue, Alice, an only child, who survived him); and, secondly, to Joan, daughter of William Martin, Lord Keimis, by whom he had no issue.

This earl lived much in London; and he died there at his great house of Lincoln's Inn, on the 5th of February, 1310, when his remains were consigned to a vault in St. Paul's, which cathedral he had enlarged, and a cross-legged effigy was placed over them.

Of all the barons of Halton, Henry de Lacy was the most illustrious, but as he left no son, the glory of his house expired with him. Alice, his daughter and sole heir, at the age of nine years, and without her own consent, was married to Thomas, earl of Lancaster, and the proud name of Lacy was merged in the still prouder name of Plantagenet.*

During the feeble rule of earl Thomas at Halton, one William de Huxley, being indicted at Chester, in the 13th Edward II. for breaking into and robbing the castle of Halton, pleaded that he was a clerk, and ought not to answer in a temporal court. Upon this, proclamation was made to ascertain whether or not he was claimed by the bishop; and the prisoner not being claimed, the jury found that he, with other robbers and felons, had broken into the said castle, and carried away divers goods, of which the said William had for his share one basnet, of the value of sixpence, and that he was one of a gang of common robbers.†

One hears, occasionally, of prisoners breaking out of castles still, but it is seldom that we hear of persons breaking into them now a days! There must have been some laxity of rule, in the kingdom as well as in the castle, when William de Huxley and his companions ventured upon their attempt; which is not stranger than that he should have afterwards tried to escape its consequences by pleading that he was a clergyman, the very circumstance that, of all others, should have taught him better. The basnet, which was William's share of the plunder, was a piece of armour for the head in the form of a basin, and from which that word is derived.‡

* The Manor of Congleton, which had long previously been appendant to Halton, passed by this marriage to the Plantagenets, and became attached to the Duchy of Lancaster.—Lysons' *Cheshire*, p. 490.

† Ormerod's *Cheshire*, Vol. II. p. 436, and Harl. MSS. 2079.

‡ The *salade*, the *basinet*, and the *helm*—all head-pieces for defence, seem each to have been destined to descend from higher objects to culinary uses in the end. The *basin* is derived from the *basinet*; the *salade* gives its name to the well-known preparation of half-cooked vegetables; and *Othello*, when he exclaimed—

“Let huswives make a skillet of my helm,”

had evidently the apprehension that a similar fate might await his head-gear.

But William de Huxley's trial is not our only evidence of the disorder of the times, for we learn from Dr. Ormerod that about this period the neighbourhood was infested with robbers, which probably gave rise to the sarcastic notice of Piers Plowman, that—

“Thoro' the pass of Haulton
Poverté may pass without fear of robbynge.”

In February or March, 1321, Thomas of Lancaster, having risen in arms against his sovereign, was on the banks of the Trent, at Burton, in Staffordshire, at the head of a large force, prepared to dispute the king's passage of the bridge. But the king, having got part of his forces over the river at a ford, about five miles above Burton, came with them upon the earl's rear, while the rest were still watching his forces at the bridge. Thus compelled to a hasty retreat, the earl betook himself to his castle at Tutbury, but the royal forces were immediately at his gates. To come out on the Staffordshire side was impossible; to take the other, and cross the Dove, where there was neither a bridge nor a ford, was difficult and dangerous. But the earl determined to attempt it; and having committed the baggage, with the military chest, to Leycester, his treasurer, with injunctions to bring them to him at Pomfret as soon as possible, he set out with his followers, and, notwithstanding a high flood, succeeded in crossing the river in safety. Leycester, however, was less fortunate; for attempting the river in the dark, his guards became seized with a panic, and the chest with its contents sank in the Dove. There, embedded where it sank, the treasure remained until June, 1831, for more than 500 years, when it was accidentally discovered, and more than 100,000 silver coins, the former property of the baron of Halton, were recovered!*

Not many weeks after the loss of his money chest, Thomas of Lancaster was encountered and taken prisoner by the king, at the battle of Borough Bridge, and on the 22nd of March he was beheaded at Pontefract. An historian tells us that he was a weak man and a bad subject,—bustling without vigour, and intriguing without abilities, but that he was idolized by the monks. It was probably for this reason that, though his death had been ignominious, the people built a chapel over the place where his blood was shed, had a liturgy composed in his honour, and in some sort canonized him after the popular fashion. Halton had thus the honour of adding a saint to the calendar, until the king displaced him from his niche, and insisted that no honour should be shewn to the memory of his rebellious subject.

By the death of earl Thomas, Halton, with his other possessions, became forfeited to the crown; and very shortly afterwards the king

* Penny Magazine, November, 1834, p. 430.

arrived in Lancashire, to root out the last remains of his adherents. On the 23rd of October, 1323, he was at Liverpool, and wrote a letter from that place commanding his commissioners to put down certain pretended miracles said to be wrought at the tomb of two of the earl's followers.* From Liverpool the king took ship and sailed up the Mersey to Ince; from whence he came on to Halton Castle, where he remained for several days, and then went forward to Vale Royal, at which place we find him on the 3rd of November.

While he remained at Halton, the king no doubt visited and made an offering at the shrine of St. Mary of Norton. But, unhappily, Norton had either no chronicler to record the visit, or his account has perished; otherwise we might have had as graphic and lively a record of the incident as Joscelin de Brakelond has left of king John's visit to St. Edmund's shrine at Bury.

But the pursuit of the dead earl's adherents did not wholly engross the king's mind; for we find him in the course of it indulging his favourite tastes of music and minstrelsy. Who sang for him at Halton we are not told; but at Wherlton, three shillings were paid to Alianor le Rede and Alice de Wherlton, for singing before the king the song of *Sir Simon de Montfort*, and other songs.

But in following the king's progress in pursuit of the adherents of a pseudo-saint, an antiquary (Mr. Hunter) has discovered another personage of much more renown,—with whose name we have all been familiar from boyhood, but who, from the obscurity of his history, has sometimes been thought to be a mere impersonation of the qualities of a popular mediæval hero, and not a real man of flesh and blood,—the ballad hero, Robin Hood. It is proved, I think, that “the comely king” of the ballad was no other than Edward II.; and it is certain, that in this royal progress a person of the name of Robin Hood, an outlaw (probably for adhering to Thomas of Lancaster) was received into the king's service as valet, at the wages of threepence a day,—that he remained in such service until the 22nd November in the following year,—and then sought and obtained his discharge, precisely as the outlaw himself is described to have done, in the following extract from the ballad:—

“ ‘Alas!’ then said good Robin Hood,
 ‘Alas! and well away!
 If I dwell longer with the king,
 Sorrow will me slay.’
 So forth then went Robin Hood
 Tyll he came to our kynge,
 ‘My lord the kynge of Engelande
 Graunt to me myne askynge.

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, Vol. II. pp. 536-7.

I made a chapel in Bernysdale
 That semely is to se ;
 It is of Mary Magdalene ;
 And thereto wolde I be.

I might never in this seven night
 Ne tyme to slepe ne wynke,
 Nother all these seven days
 Nether ete ne drynke.

Me longeth sore to Bernysdale,
 I may not be therefro ;
 Barefote and wolwarde I have hyght
 Thyder for to go.' "

On the 24th December, 20th Edward II. Sir Hugh Dutton was made Steward of Halton.*

Very early in the next reign, on the reversal of the irregular attainder against Thomas earl of Lancaster, Halton was restored to his brother Henry, lord of Monmouth, surnamed Grismond, who thus became the twelfth baron of Halton. He married Maud de Chaworth, and dying on the 22nd of September, 19th Edward III., 1345, was succeeded as thirteenth baron of Halton by his son Henry of Lancaster, who was first earl and afterwards duke of Lancaster. In his time he claimed, as baron of Halton, to have the water of the Mersey, from Freshpool (the expanse of the river above Runcorn) kept open and uninterrupted for a barge of eight oars to Thelwall, and to remove all obstructions to such passage,† which claim explains the suit and service said to be owing to Halton for the centre of Warrington bridge. He claimed also to have his castle of Halton crenellated and embattled, and to have castle ward and a prison there.

Duke Henry married Isabel, the daughter of Henry lord Beaumont, and dying on the 24th of March, 35th Edward III. 1360, Halton descended to John of Gaunt, the husband of his daughter Blanche, as fourteenth baron of Halton.

When his predecessor Henry first succeeded to his inheritance, he bore the not very flattering appellation of "Wryneck." Before his death, however, he was called "the good duke Henry,"—a title more honourable than Thomas of Lancaster's saintship, because more justly deserved. The name of Gaunt, which his successor bore, although not common, was not now associated for the first time with Halton ; but none of his predecessors could compare in greatness with him who now called that name and the Castle of Halton his own. John of Gaunt seems to have succeeded to the castle, which is our subject, just at the time that a strong ruler was needed ; for there appeared on the 10th April,

* Ormerod's *Cheshire*, Vol. I. p. 477.

† Baines' *Liverpool*, p. 57 ; Ormerod's *Cheshire*, Vol. I. p. 519.

35th Edward III. a proclamation of the earl of Chester, which commanded the arrest of all the men who rode about the country with bows, arrows, and arms, and to conduct them to Chester Castle.*

Of all the barons of Halton, John of Gaunt is the only one whose name still lingers in the neighbourhood. He was notoriously a great builder, and some of the large windows, the arrow slits in the form of a cross, and other remarkable parts of the castle are perhaps his work; but he has the credit of being the architect of every other part which has no other owner. They say, too, that he gave name to the neighbouring passage over the river at Cuerdley.

It was hardly true, in John of Gaunt's days, that a man might do what he would with his own; for in 35th and 36th Edward III. William de Hallum was obliged to seek the earl of Chester's pardon, for receiving a grant of ten marks a year payable from Halton, without the earl's consent.†

On the 10th of July, 46th Edward III. Mawkyn de Rixton, the duke's steward at Halton (who is elsewhere called Matthew de Rixton, and commissioned as a sort of admiral to muster ships at Liverpool,)‡ had a warrant to deliver to the prior and convent of Norton the tithes of the herbage and underwood of their parishes in the lordship of Halton, in the manner that their predecessors had held them; and on the 14th July, in the same year, they had a warrant to receive from the parker, according to custom, two bucks for the abbey table.§

On the 18th of July, in the same year, the duke, intending to cross the seas with the king, wrote to Robert de Pilkington to bring him ten archers; and at the same time commanded his receiver of Halton to pay them each a month's wages in advance, at the rate of threepence a day; and on the 9th January, 48th Edward III., he appointed the same Robert de Pilkington to be steward of Halton during pleasure.||

On the 27th of February, 6th Richard II., William Appulton was appointed bailiff or serjeant of Halton, at a salary of forty shillings a year; and shortly afterwards William Appleton, friar, was retained as the duke's physician.** If the bailiff, the friar, and the physician, were the same person who thus took charge of the duke in mind, body, and estate, he was served at a cheap rate, though the wisdom of such an arrangement may be questionable.

The king, for some reason which does not appear, on the 8th of August, in the 22nd year of his reign, only a year before his deposition, granted to his very dear uncle, John duke of Lancaster, the office of constable of the whole principality of Chester, to hold to him and the

* Cheshire Recognizance Rolls.

† Duchy Records, and Cheshire Recognizance Rolls.

‡ Rymer's *Fœdera*, Vol. III. p. 891.

§ Duchy Records.

|| Duchy Records.

** Cheshire Recognizance Rolls.

heirs male of his body.* Perhaps John of Gaunt had sought this confirmation of the ancient office attached to the barony of Halton, and desired to have it limited in tail male.

John of Gaunt died on the 3rd of February, 1398, and Halton descended to his son Henry Bolingbroke, the fifteenth and last baron of Halton. On John of Gaunt's death it was found, by inquisition, that he held Halton of the prince of Wales,—a title by which the king was called in Cheshire, in pursuance of an ordinance to that effect, issued in the previous year by the parliament holden at Shrewsbury.

John of Gaunt, "time-honoured Lancaster," and Henry Hereford or Bolingbroke, "his bold son," are two of the few characters connected with this neighbourhood whom Shakspeare has made immortal.

When Henry Bolingbroke usurped the crown, Halton and his other possessions passed with it; and Halton,—which had twice before been nearly merged,—first, in the earldom of Lincoln, and, secondly, in the dukedom of Lancaster, and which, in John of Gaunt, had given a king to Castile, and now, in his greater son, gave a king to the throne of England,—lost in its great access of power nearly all its individuality as a barony, while Lancaster became a dukedom without a duke.

Shakspeare, it is true, has conferred that title on prince John of Lancaster (the prince between whom and himself, Falstaff said there was a mutual dislike, because one liked and the other disliked sack); but this is a mistake, for there has been no duke of Lancaster since Henry IV. merged that title in the greater dignity of king.*

On the 18th April, 10th or 11th Henry IV., as appears by the Duchy Records, Sir Richard de Aston was appointed steward of Halton. Sir Richard, a stalwart soldier who had served in Spain, escaped death in the field only to confront him in a form more hideous at home; for he lost his first wife and all their children by the plague at Ringey, shortly before he was made steward of Halton. Sir Richard was made treasurer to queen Philippa for her rents and lands in Ambraye and in Wales, and steward of Hopedale. In rebuilding the parish church of Runcorn, in the year 1847, two tombstones were discovered, with the following inscriptions let into them in lead:—On the first:—

**Hic jacet Ricardus Aston miles qui obiit anno Domini mcccc.
nonaginta iii^o.**



Rhu Mercye.

On the other:—

Hic jacet domina Matilda Aston.



Lade Helpe.

* But in a writ dated 5th Henry IV., Henry prince of Wales styles himself duke of Lancaster; and in Sir Hugh Cholmondeley's Inquisition, 39th Elizabeth, the Queen is styled duchess of Lancaster.—*Westminster MSS.*

Sir Richard was a descendant of a former governor of Halton of his own name, and the date of his death differs by one year from the account given of it by Sir P. Leycester.*

In the 9th of Henry VI., William de Harrington, the same who probably bore the king's standard at Agincourt, issued orders as steward of Halton to the parker of Northwood-park, to deliver an oak for the repair of Farnworth church;† and on the 11th June in the following year, John Savage, constable of Halton Castle, was commanded to receive into his custody there, from the hands of Randle de Brereton, high sheriff of Cheshire, the bodies of Richard de Whelock and George de Wevre.‡

The notices of Halton during the Wars of the Roses, are few and unimportant. Situated in an angle between the Mersey and the Weaver, off the line of any great road, its obscurity was partly its protection. It is true that a ferry had existed at Runcorn from very ancient times; for in a charter of the time of John, sixth baron of Halton, Richard de Mora (the same who witnessed the Kekewick charter) granted to his son W'goon lands in Runcorn and elsewhere, "to hold to God and St. John the Baptist, and the holy house of the hospital at Jerusalem, by the rent of two shillings, and the condition of finding, for the love of God, one-half of the ship of Widnesse, with its furniture and tackle for all who desired to pass that way." But the road to and from this ferry, and which led directly under the castle walls, must have been subject to interruptions, and was at no time a great highway.

Sir John Savage, the skilful commander who played so important a part at Bosworth, in 1485, mustered the Cheshire men, who joined his banner and contributed to his success, under the walls of Halton.

Piers Warburton, better known as "Wise Piers," one of the great men of his family, and the rebuilder, *not* the builder, of Arley, and a descendant of that sick seneschal whom we have before heard of, was seneschal of Halton down to the time of his death in the year 1495. That such men as Pilkington, Aston, Harrington, and Warburton, filled the office of seneschal, shews that the office must have been honourable. While Piers Warburton was seneschal, he was the correspondent of Eleanor Stanley, the sister of Richard Nevil earl of Warwick, the king maker, and the wife of Thomas lord Stanley, afterwards earl of Derby. Eleanor seems to have considered his assistance of value in a matter of business. He was also the correspondent of the historic Sir W. Stanley,

* See Ormerod's *Cheshire*, Vol. I. p. 534.

† Baines' *Lancashire*, Vol. III., p. 722.

‡ Cheshire Recognizance Rolls.

HALTON CASTLE AND TOWN,

FROM AN OLD PRINT IN KING'S VALE ROYAL OF ENGLAND.

M. J. Sullivan Ltd.

who placed the crown on king Henry's head at Bosworth. By the kindness of its present possessor, Mr. Egerton Warburton, of Arley Hall, I am enabled to give the following letter from Sir William to Piers, written probably at the very time when he was seneschal of Halton:—

“Cosyn Pers, I comaunde me unto you.

I dowte not y^e remembre how I pr'mised you to come unto yo^r Pke & y^r to have kylled a buk wth my hownds & hit ys so as now I am so besy wth olde Dyk I can have no layf thereunto; notwthstandyng if hit pleas you to have my S'vaunt & my hownds they shal be redy at yo^r comaundement and Crist kepe you. Written at Rydeley the vi day of Septemb^r

W. STANLEY, kn^t”

Piers was succeeded in the seneschalship of Halton by his son, Sir John Warburton, who held the office for his life. While he was seneschal of Halton he received a command, as constable, to receive into his custody William Pull, esquire, and to keep him until he should be legally discharged.

About this period Henry Southworth, descended from a great Lancashire family, was born in this Castle. He became one of the guards to king Henry VII. and king Henry VIII., and filled for thirty-three years the office of yeoman bowyer and surveyor of the Tower of London, where he lies buried.*

In the 12th Henry VIII., Thomas Aston, probably as park-keeper of Halton, sued Thomas Butler and John Farrington on some dispute respecting the herbage and pannage of Halton park.†

About the year 1579, this once proud Castle, long the head of a barony and the chief abode of the constables of Chester, which had given thrones to its possessors, declined from its palmy state, and was transformed into a prison for recusants, under the government of Sir John Savage, who was then commanded to receive them into his custody.‡

In 1608, the steward of Halton certified that the records of the manor from the time of Edward III. were remaining in his custody at Halton. These records, it is to be feared, are still there, and if so, it might be desirable to memorialize Her Majesty to remove them to some safer place of custody, where their contents might be more accessible to the genealogist and the topographer.§

* Weever's *Funeral Monuments*, p. 286.

† Duchy Calendar, p. 127.

‡ Ormerod's *Cheshire*, Vol. I., p. 525.

§ Baines' *History of Lancashire*, Vol. III., p. 722.

On the 21st August, 1617, for the second time in its annals, Halton was honoured with a royal visit. King James I., having slept the previous night at Bewsey, the house of Sir Thomas Ireland, arrived on the above day at Halton, and having hunted and killed a buck in the park, proceeded thence to Rocksavage, the seat of Sir Thomas Savage, and there passed the night. Of the noble mansion which thus received the king, there is now scarcely a vestige remaining. Erected by Sir John Savage in the reign of Elizabeth, in a situation of great beauty, and with a solidity that might have defied decay; it flourished in splendour only for a short period, and then declined so rapidly that a gentleman, who was born in the house in the seventeenth century, lived to drive a pack of hounds through its ruins not many years after. So rapid a decay might serve to point a moral on the mutability of human grandeur.*

On the breaking out of the civil wars between king Charles and the Parliament, the importance of Halton partially revived, and it was taken possession of and garrisoned for the king in June, 1643, by Earl Rivers, in command of a regiment in the royal service, who appointed captain Walter Primrose to be its governor. It was the same Earl Rivers whose death is thus recorded in the Frodsham register:—"John Savage, earl of Rivers, died at Frodsham Castle, and was buried at Macclesfield, October 12, 1654."

It was probably by a party from the garrison at Halton that the attack was made on Norton Priory, which was so gallantly repulsed by colonel Henry Brooke. On the 25th of February, 1643, shortly before this attack, the parliament had ordered this house to be fortified; and when the assailants came they found the owner prepared, for a chronicler of the time, in a lively but somewhat partial account, informs us how, with his eighty servants, he effectually repulsed his assailants.

In July, 1644, the Castle still held out for the king, and colonel Fenwick appears to have been its governor, for Goring, writing to prince Rupert at this time, informs him that the garrison of Warrington had beaten up colonel Fenwick's quarters at Halton; but on the 22nd of that month it appears to have been taken possession of by the parliamentary troops under the command of Sir William Brereton.†

The Castle was shortly afterwards dismantled and reduced to a ruin; and Nigel's proud structure ceased any longer to have an individual history.

The ivy now waves on those walls where once floated the banners

* Pennant's *Tour from Downing to Alston Moor*, pp. 1 & 2.

† *Rupert and the Cavaliers*, by Eliot Warburton; and Ormerod's *History of Cheshire*, Appendix, p. 444.

28 AUGUST 1900.

ROCK SAVAGE, CHESHIRE. (CIRCA 1780).

THE RUINED SEAT OF THE SAVAGE FAMILY.

of Nigel, of Lacy, or of Plantagenet ; but if we examine it more nearly we shall find greater contrasts than this between the Castle as it now is, and as it was in ancient times.

Crossed to and fro by armed men cased in steel, its courts were then murky even by day, for the only light came struggling in through crenelles and loopholes, as if afraid of admitting danger along with it. Great need had these men of the solemn and softening influence of those religious services, which, to their honour, our ancestors never omitted to provide. Twice in the course of this sketch we have met with William the chaplain, and a later charter of John Lacy expressly introduces to us Gregory the priest of the Castle. As there was a priest, there was no doubt a chapel standing here in ancient times. Originally it stood within the Castle ; but in 1265, when the first mention of it occurs, it was outside the walls, and doubtless on the same site as the chapel that was destroyed in the civil wars, as well as of that which succeeded it, and of that far more beautiful structure which has lately risen like an exhalation, to eclipse the glory of all its predecessors at Halton.

But if the change be great within, it is infinitely greater beyond the Castle walls. Troops of sumpter mules, attended by armed guards, then slowly wending their way along the valley, toiled painfully up the Castle slopes, to bring its inmates such stores of food, fuel, and necessaries as they required,—stores which might now be poured into the place with perfect safety, and in larger abundance, wafted from the remotest parts of the country on the wings of steam !

In an earlier age, vast forests overspread the valley, and the few scanty pastures and scantier corn lands which dotted the scene, appeared to the eye like the green glades of a wood.

Our noble river then, more widely outspread and meandering more sluggishly, amply sufficed for the small craft that navigated it ; but now the stream, with its three tributaries—the Sankey, first-born of English canals,—the Bridgewater, which closely followed it,—and the Old Quay Navigation, their third sister,—hardly affords expanse enough for the fleets which crowd its bosom twice every day.

While the Castle stood, a colony of smiths at Widnes, one of the baron's possessions on the opposite side of the Mersey, found employment in forging jacks and hauberks, and helmets and morions, and weapons offensive and defensive, for the retainers of the Castle. With the fall of the Castle their employment had ended, but being men of *mettle* in more senses than one, these men turned into another channel the skill they had acquired as armourers, and established at Widnes the manufacture of iron and steel tools, for which the place is now, and has ever since been famous.

The progress and present condition of the valley, with its long array of docks, quays, canals, and shipping, its bridges, viaducts, and railways, and the other great works of art which render it more remarkable than any other in the world, may well reconcile us to seeing the walls of Halton crumbling into ruin ; and instead of overawing and defending the valley of the Mersey, becoming a picturesque ornament to beautify and adorn it.

St. Nicholas' Chapel, Chester.

WHEN, in 1854,* the Rev. Canon Blomfield read his interesting Paper on St. Nicholas' Chapel, it was taken for granted that the building had never been employed as a Theatre prior to 1727, as no earlier notice of such a desecration had occurred to the lecturer. Since then, the Editors of this *Journal* fell in with some additional information, the substance of which was given at page 473 of our first Volume.

The following letter, copied from the original in the MS. collection of Mr. Frederick Potts, goes far to prove that so early as 1606, or 118 years after it ceased to be used for divine service, the Chapel of St. Nicholas, at that time the Town Hall of the city, had so far lost its first estate as to be occasionally used for dramatic performances. The letter is addressed

“To my loveinge ffrende the maior (Philip Phillips) of the Cittie of Chester,
theese deliur.”

“This Companey beinge my Lo. of Harforth his men, and haveinge beine wth mee, whose retorne and abode for this Christmas tyme I expecte, I ame to desire that if theire occasione bee to come to the Cittie, that youe will p'mit them to use theire quallatic.† Lathome my howse this ijth of Decembr 1606.

Your loving frend

postscript—I would request you
to lett them have the towne
hall to play in Ite Vale.”

WILL: DERBY.

The writer of this letter was William, father of that distinguished patriot James, Earl of Derby, who was tried at Chester, and afterwards beheaded at Bolton, for his loyal attachment to King Charles I. The letter was penned by Earl William, from the family seat at Lathom, only a few weeks prior to his unfortunate son's birth.

The “Earl of Harforth,” whose dramatic company it would seem visited Chester about this time, was Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, who married Catherine, sister of the ill-fated Lady Jane Grey. Many heads of noble families, the Earl of Derby amongst others, had at this period distinct companies of players in their own employ.

* Vol. I. pp. 251—262, 473.

† Profession or occupation.

*hugh Crosse, & at the Stationers Ar:
mas in the Watergate Street,
Where alsoe Books both new & Old
are to bee bound. and sold,*

**CURIOUS BOOKPLATE OF
WILLIAM THORPP,
CHESTER, 1664**

On Chester Literature,

Its Authors and Publishers,

DURING THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

BY MR. THOMAS HUGHES.

HAVING, some three or four years ago, become the fortunate possessor of a curious book-plate, dating probably from the period when printing was first introduced into this venerable city, I take the liberty of submitting it to the notice of the Society, with a few passing remarks on the early history of a profession with which I am myself in some measure connected.

The literary history of Chester, prior to the national advent of the printing-press in the 15th century, is indeed a dreary blank. Few and far between were the privileged individuals who could read or understand the ponderous tomes of MSS. preserved in the Cathedral and other monastic libraries of the city,—fewer still were they to whom those volumes were open for inspection. There were no Mechanics' Institutes or public libraries, no Archæological Societies in those days,—no *London Times* or *Chester Courant* to relieve the monotony of our city's life;—with the men of Chester, in those bygone times, their very "ignorance was bliss," and with most of them, beyond doubt, it was held to be the height of "folly to be wise." But a brighter and better day was about to dawn upon England, and Chester itself, somewhat late it is true, ultimately felt the happy influence of the change.

The Chester "miracle plays" of the 14th century, and the "Polycronicon" of Ranulph Higden, which was the third book printed by the immortal Caxton at London in 1482, may be cited as in some degree qualifying these remarks; and the "Holy Lyfe and History of Saynt Werburge, very frutefull for all Christen people to rede," as the author, Henry Bradshaw, himself modestly styles it, is another and a later case in point. But these works, be it remembered, were all productions of St. Werburgh's cloister, and for aught we know to the contrary, were the only proofs of a literary taste existing in the city. The downfall

of monasteries secured for our benighted city, among other advantages, the establishment of the King's School ; from which valuable seminary emerged some of those intelligent men, the Chaloners and Holmes, who were the literary pioneers of Cheshire in the latter part of the 16th and beginning of the 17th centuries. Nor must we forget those splendid contributions to the early history of our country, which we owe to the genius of Holinshed and Speed, both of whom were natives of this fair county palatine. These are names and men the " world wotes well of ;" and certainly, after a lapse of some 300 years, it is gratifying to reflect that never, since the day of their first publication, have those works been more eagerly coveted, or higher prices given for their possession, than now.

Although, in 1592, the Company of " Paynters, Glaseors, Imbroudereres, and Stacioners," had long existed in Chester, there does not seem to have been a single tradesman in the city then absolutely engaged in the business of a Stationer. Literature was at that time, as we have already stated, almost in its cradle. The disciples of Caxton, busily employed on their glorious calling in and about the metropolis, had no leisure or inducement to settle in old Chester, especially as but few of the citizens, even those, alas ! holding the highest positions, could accomplish the simple feat of signing their own names ! No wonder, then, that at the date referred to, a stationer's shop was a thing unknown to our streets and rows. The small quantity of paper required by our wealthier merchants and clergy would, in all probability, have come from the kindred stores of the painters, or other members of the privileged company.

It is curious to note that there is, even now, no *Printers'* Company at Chester : the very trade of a printer had no existence when those guilds were enfranchised,—monks were the only printers, common reeds the types, and clerical fingers the presses then solely in requisition. Even the *Stationers* are not named in the earlier charters, and we only hear of them during and subsequent to the reign of Elizabeth, about which time they would appear to have been grafted on to the original Company of " Paynters, Glaseors, and Imbrotherers." *

Incongruous as may appear to us this association of trades—" painters, glaziers, embroiderers, and stationers"—it was certainly otherwise at the time we refer to. In an age when ignorance so largely prevailed, the painters must have been men of more than ordinary intelligence, having certainly a fair general acquaintance with the mother tongue, and the taste to adapt that knowledge to the

* The arms of the four associated companies, as shewn on the accompanying plate, are copied from an original drawing, by the second Randle Holme, attached to one of the Company's earliest volumes of accounts.

Paynters. Glasiers.

Imbroderers. Stacioners,

From a drawing by Randall R. Jones, A.D. 1682

10.7.1682. 100. 1000

**ARMS OF THE UNITED COMPANY OF
PAINTERS, GLAZIERS, EMBROIDERERS, & STATIONERS,
CHESTER.**

requirements of their customers. The glaziers, again, when stained or painted glass was so much in fashion,—and the embroiderers, when that art was in the zenith of its glory, would be little behind their brethren, the painters and stationers, in either education or taste. As a proof of this, we read that when, in July, 1577, “the Earl of Derby, the Lord Strange, with many others, came to this city, and were honourably received by the Maior and Citizens, the *Shepherds’* Play was played at the highe Crosse, with other triumphs at the Roods Eye.”* This was the play always performed by the ‘painters and glaziers’ company, and was no doubt chosen for representation before the Earl on account of the superior merit of the actors.

Thomas Chaloner, the poet and player, was at this very time connected with the painters’ company, and was resident in Chester with his family. By trade an arms painter, and withal an antiquary whose enlightened researches the genealogists of Cheshire feel justly proud of, Chaloner was also a member, and an important one too, of Lord Derby’s celebrated company of players. Several volumes of his collections, and not a few of his poems, the latter of more than mediocre merit, exist in the British Museum.†

To Thomas Chaloner, on January 10, 1587, was Randle Holme, the first of that honoured name, apprenticed for the term of 10 years. On the death of Chaloner, in 1598, Holme became his successor in more ways than one; for seemingly not content with the flourishing business alone, he shortly afterwards took to himself the widow also of his deceased master. Jacob Chaloner, son of the poet painter, whom he rivalled in zeal for antiquarian pursuits, was in his turn apprenticed to Randle Holme, his step-father, in 1602. These Randle Holmes, down to the fourth generation, were settled in Chester, and connected with this Company; while the result of their industrious and joint labours in the antiquarian field, during that lengthened period, is to be found in the 257 volumes of ponderous MS. now adorning the library shelves of the British Museum.

The *first* Chester stationer appears to have been William Holme, who was admitted a brother of the associated company on June 12, 1592, and to whom, in the following year, one John Garret was bound apprentice for the term of nine years. This William Holme, who was cousin of the first Randle Holme, of heraldic notoriety, was Alderman of the Stationers’ Company from 1601 to 1604, and dying, at the age of 63, in July, 1617, lies buried in Trinity Church. His funeral would seem to have been attended by the brethren of his company, for in the account of their disbursements for that year we

* *Vale Royal of England*, Part II. p. 201.

† Chaloner held also the important post of Ulster King-at-arms.

read that there was "Spent at the buriall of William Holme, xx^d" William Holme had a son John, bound apprentice to him March 25, 1602, of whom I can afterwards find no trace,—probably he left Chester, and tried his fortune in some other locality.

Almost coeval with Holme, but a trifle later in point of time, we find Peter Ince, stationer, admitted into the company February 5, 1613. He was alderman of this guild from 1635 to 1642, and became during that period celebrated in our local annals as a staunch friend of William Prynne, the nonconformist, on account of whom, in 1636, he suffered a fine of £500. Peter Ince died in 1648, and by his last will * it appears that he was a cousin of William Ince, Mayor of Chester in 1642, and some time M.P. for the city. His house was in Watergate Street, and a legacy left by him is secured thereon, and still paid in bread, every Sunday, to the poor of Trinity parish, Chester.

Contemporary with Peter Ince was Thomas Humphreys, stationer and notary public, and Alderman of the Company in 1654, whose son David and grandson Thomas followed the same literary occupation. David Humphreys became, later in life, a clergyman in Chester, and was, I think, a Minor Canon of the Cathedral.

It need scarcely be told that while the old charters remained fully in force, none except freemen of the city and company concerned dared establish themselves in business within the liberties of Chester. In 1636, as was frequently the case in previous years, attempts were made by strangers to set up shops, otherwise than at Chester fair, in opposition to the tradesmen protected by the company. The monopolists were naturally tenacious of their rights, and were not long in bringing the offenders to summary justice. Accordingly we find in the records of the Stationers' Company, the following entries under the year 1636:—

"Given y^e macebearer his fee for feching of Ric. Thrope, the Stationer, before Mr. Maior, for setting up a shoppe in y^e citty, being a forenervij^d."

"Spent more on Munday after, to suppresse Richard Throppe when we had a warrant from Mr. Maior for shuttinge in of his shoppe...ix^d."

This proceeding seems to have had its due effect, for the refractory stationer was compelled to purchase his freedom of the company, in order to keep open his new establishment. Thus, on February 22nd, 1637, we find that "Richard Throppe, stationer, by extraordinary favour was admitted a brother, and payd for his fine v^{ll}." It appears that Throppe had not served his apprenticeship at Chester, but in London, hence the objection to him as a "forener." He served the office of Alderman of the Company in 1665.

* *Report of the Commissioners for enquiring concerning Cheshire Charities*, 1838, p. 392.

In 1655, Thomas Humphreys the elder being Alderman of the Company, his grandson and old apprentice, Thomas, was elected a brother. At this juncture the elder Humphreys, doubtless from death, for he must have been a very old man, disappears from the stage.

The following year, viz. in 1656, Daniel King, painter, and a member of the Company, published that most curious and interesting work to all Cheshire men, the "Vale Royal of England," which was the joint compilation of two natives of the county, William Smith and William Webb. King was the son of William King, of Chester, baker, and was apprenticed for ten years to the elder Randle Holme on the 3rd of September, 1630. He was afterwards, for a long time, in business at Chester; but having removed to London, he there published the "Vale Royal." He visited Chester in the Restoration year, 1660; and in the records of the Company for that year we find that there was "Spent at the entertainment of Mr. Kinge, when he was at Alderman Holmes his house, in wine, sack, ale, and cakes...xij^s. viij^d." Daniel King died in the following year, 1661-2.

And now, in 1657, three years before the final overthrow of the Cromwell party, we are introduced to the acquaintance of the individual whose advertisement gave rise to the compilation of this Paper. Upon St. Luke's Day, October 18, 1657, William Throppe, stationer, probably a son of the Richard Throppe before-mentioned, was admitted into the Company, and paid on his election the sum of £2 10s. In honour of the event, we find him presenting his brethren with a dinner, the expense of which amounted, according to the Company's records, to £1 13s. 4d.

In 1661, the Stationers' Company sought and obtained from Charles II. a renewal of their charter, and the following entries relative thereto appear in the accounts for that year:—

"Spent at Namptwitch goeing about our Charter to the Earle of Darbyvj^s. viij^d."

William Thorp was one of the prime movers in this business, and the next entry in the accounts refers to him more particularly:—

"Spent by William Thorppe when he went to Lancasshire to haue the vice-chamberlaine's hand and approbation for the examplyfying of our Charter, both horse and man, and horsehire.....iij^l. xvj^s. iij^d."

In 1662, William Thorp became Steward of the Company, and Richard Throppe, son of Richard Throppe the elder, entered the brotherhood, at the same time joning his father in business as a book-seller and stationer.

Shortly after this, the Phoenix Tower on the City Walls, in which the Company then, and for upwards of a century previously, met for the despatch of business, required a new roof; and we find Alderman

Randle Holme and our William Thorp, stationer, each contributing 5s. towards the expense of the work. The Phoenix Tower was usually decorated with garlands of flowers, and the floor of the upper chamber strewn with rushes, on the day of their annual meeting, the festival of St. Luke; and in the books of the Company we continually find payments recorded for “gilding the little phœnix” *—the very bird now ornamenting the front of the Tower—and for “dressing it with flowers,” this latter duty being performed by the wives and widows of the associated brethren.

Two years later, viz. in 1664, William Thorp issued the curious book-plate, a *fac-simile* copy of which accompanies this Paper. It is, as will be perceived, not without some slight artistic as well as heraldic interest; and is stated, in a pencil note made on my copy by a former possessor, to have been engraved by Hollar. This statement may be open to some question, but I am not sufficiently conversant with the work of that 17th century engraver to hazard an opinion upon the point.

To the proper right of the plate, we see the arms of the city of Chester,—three lions dimidiated, impaling three garbs. On the opposite side appear the arms of the Stationers' Company, their crest—“a dove displayed,” being introduced, though without heraldic sanction, upon the upper point of the chevron. Immediately underneath, added apparently by another engraver, is Thorpe's own coat, “checquy argent and sable, on a fess or, three martlets sable.” These arms are likewise to be seen, impaled with those of William Ince, on the latter individual's monument in the Holy Trinity Church, Chester. Ince married, for his second wife, a daughter of Alderman Thomas Thropp, of Chester. Again turning to the engraving, we see below the shields a man's hand extended towards a handsomely bound and clasped Bible, between which are the initials of Thorpe's name—W. T. Under all comes the inscription, reading somewhat quaintly to our modern ears:—“Printed for William Thorpp, Book seller in the citty of Chester, & are to be sould by him there at his Shop at the hand and Bible neere the high Crosse, & at the Stationer's Armes in the Watergate Street. Where alsoe Books both new and Old are to bee bound and sould.”

This book-plate, or fragment of title-page, as the case may be, I bought some years ago, in an old black frame, from Mr. John Gray Bell, of Manchester; and from enquiries since made in the most likely quarters, there does not seem to be another copy of it now known. Our venerable associate, Mr. Hawkins, of the British Museum, had never

* The *Phœnix* is the crest of the Painters' Company, and to this circumstance the Tower in question owes its name.

THESE are to give notice, That at
 the Sign of the *Hand and Bible*
 in this City of *Chester*, that any
 one that stands in need or hath a desire to buy
 any *Bookes*, may there be furnished with se-
 veral sorts of New and Old, or have *new*
 and *old* bound at a reasonable price; and
 smal Pictures in black and white, and in
 colours, And also several sorts of Maps
 smal and large, black and white, and in co-
 lours. Likewise white paper of several sorts,
 gilt and ruled for Musick Books, and ruled
 for books of *Accompts*, and coloured pa-
 per of the best. Sealing *Wax* hard and soft.
Pennes, *Pensils* black and red. And also
Inkhorns of several sorts, and *Letter-Cases*,
 black boxes, *Vellome*, *Parchment*, *Spectacles*
 of several sorts, & *Cases* for them of several
 sorts, *Mouth-glue*, *clasps* for books, *Quills*,
Wafers, *New-bookes* and *Newes* weekly.

WILLIAM THORPPE.

B. J. Dutton del.

FAC-SIMILE OF
 A CHESTER STATIONER'S HANDBILL,
 Temp: Charles II

seen it until it met his eye in my own collection. It is right to mention, *en passant*, that Mr. Hawkins is himself the owner of perhaps the largest and most valuable private collection of Cheshire books and prints in the world.

Welcome as was to me the acquisition of this rarity, I chanced still more recently to let upon another, at least equal in curiosity and interest to the book-plate of William Thorp. This was no other than a printed circular or handbill issued by this same individual, the which has been here carefully reproduced in *fac-simile*, as the earliest specimen of Chester typography now known to be extant. It is without date, but as William Thorp is known to have died in 1675, it cannot be very far from 200 years old.

The handbill sufficiently speaks for itself, and a more quaint or curious literary production it would be difficult to meet with! It was found pasted within the cover of an old volume by Mr. G. H. Crowther, bookseller, of this city, who, knowing my mania for such matters, carefully detached it, and laid it aside for my portfolio.

What "mouth-glue" refers to, in the latter part of the advertisement, is somewhat problematical. The arrival of "*newes weekly*," too, sounds peculiarly odd to us in the present day, with the *London Times* and other daily papers lying upon our tables on the very morning of publication,—to say nothing of that marvellous conductor of news, the Electric Telegraph! There was no newspaper printed at Chester for some 40 or 50 years after this date.

William Thorp was one of the original subscribers to Blome's *Britannia*; and it appears by the impalement on his coat of arms, as engraved in that work, that he married a sister or daughter of Thomas Allen, Esq., of Greenhills, in this county,—the latter gentleman being also a subscriber to the work. Thorp served the office of Churchwarden of Holy Trinity parish, Chester. in 1673, just two years before his death.

In 1670, one Peter Bodvel, stationer, opened a shop in Chester, without the leave of the Company. Accordingly, the following items occur in their book of accounts for that year, shewing that the transgressor soon repented of his sins:—

"Item, for fetching Mr. Bodvel before the Maioriv^d."

"Item, spent att Mr. Bodvels house after he was admitted a brotherviij^s."

Bodvel was made steward of the Company the following year, having previously had apprenticed to him for seven years John, son of Randle Minshull, macebearer of this city, and an inn-holder. Bodvel died in 1674, and John Minshull completed his term with Elizabeth Bodvel, his master's widow.

On October 18, 1676, he was admitted a brother of the Company, —he and the younger Richard Thropp being then the only two Booksellers in business at Chester. Throppe seems to have failed in trade about 1680, and to have become a pensioner on the Company, his place being supplied by one George Atkinson, who died in 1682.

To Atkinson, in 1684, succeeded Humphrey Page, bookseller ; soon after whose reception into the Company we find engaged in litigation with his brother stationer, John Minshull, for that he, Minshull, “ had set up *two* shops in the city,” contrary to ancient usage. It would seem that Page got the better of his opponent, that the brethren were highly rejoiced thereat, and that a regular jollification was the result, as witness the following items in the Company’s register of payments for 1685 :—

“ Spent at Mr. Minshull’s (the Wolf’s Head) at a dinner of Humphrey Page, for ale bear and tobacco.....vj^s. iv^d.
 “ For 4 bottles of wine, and one of sackevj^s. iv^d.
 “ For suger and nutmegsv^d.
 “ Given to the fidlervj^d.
 “ Given to y^e maids of y^e houseii^a.

Having satisfactorily disposed of his antagonist Minshull, Humphrey Page, flushed with conquest, speedily embarked upon a second crusade. The Grocers of Chester, not content with selling tea, sugar, and other like commodities, sought to share in the profits of the booksellers also. This, of course, could not be tolerated ; we therefore read as follows in the Stationers’ Company’s accounts for 1688 :—

“ Paid by y^e consent of y^e Company concerning Mr. Huitt, Grocer, for selling of Bookes.....xviij^s. viij^d.”

They are likewise recorded to have spent on the same day in wine and beer, at the Wolf’s Head, Garter Tavern, and Fox and Goose, 11s. 6d. painfully discussing the while this important question.

It was in 1688, just about this time, that the third Randle Holme printed at Chester that laborious work which has made his name famous in the heraldic world,—the “ Academy of Armoury,”—one of the most curious and extraordinary medleys that has ever issued from the Chester or any other local press. It is a large thick folio volume, with numerous illustrations ; and although my two Thorpe relics are at least 20 years older, yet this work of Randle Holme’s is full of interest to Cheshire men, as being not only exceedingly rare, but also the earliest complete work now known to have been printed and published in Chester.* At the time his book was published, Randle Holme was Alderman of the Stationers’ Company, which office he held for a long series of years. He was also gentlemen sewer to King Charles II., and deputy to

* An alphabetical Index to the families whose arms are blazoned in this work was published, in folio, in 1821.

Garter, king of arms. His father, the second Randle, had been Mayor of the city in 1643, and died in 1659.

In 1691, the grocers had again become poachers on the booksellers' preserve; and on July 21, we find there was "Allowed unto John Minshull, stationer, which he hath laid out of a suitt against Nathan Jolly, grocer, i^{li}. xvj^s. vj^d."* It is to be presumed that this suit was decisive, for we read of no more troubles between them.

John Minshull was a man of considerable importance in Chester: he is frequently referred to by local writers of his day, and he served the office of Mayor in 1711, having, in 1687, dined with his diocesan, Bishop Cartwright, at the episcopal palace, as appears by that prelate's "Diary," published by the Camden Society.

In 1691, Joseph Hodgson, who was the son of Gabriel Hodgson of Minshull Vernon, and an old apprentice of John Minshull's, became a brother of the Company. In 1704, Randle Minshull, son of John Minshull, also joined the fraternity: but, as we have confined ourselves simply to the men of letters of the 16th and 17th centuries, it only remains to state that, in 1700, there were but three booksellers resident in Chester, viz.: John Minshull, Humphrey Page, and Joseph Hodgson. Of Minshull and his son, enough has been already said. Humphrey Page was Mayor of Chester in 1707, and his son, John Page, stationer, filled the chief magistrate's chair in 1755. Joseph Hodgson was Mayor in 1717, and his afterwards apprentice, John Lawton, whose father, John Lawton, had been an innkeeper at Chester, was honoured with the like dignity in 1770.

Finally, then, the existence of these two literary relics, and their strange re-union, after the lapse of two centuries, in one and the same collection, will, it is hoped, be taken as a sufficient apology for thus thrusting them upon the notice of the Society. Independently of this, I feel sure that, in a literary and historic society such as ours, any attempt to illustrate the lives of those men who were the first purveyors of that literature within our venerable city, will be received with cordial sympathy and favour.

The following additional extracts from the books of the Stationers' Company will not be devoid of interest, especially in connection with the foregoing Paper. Under the year 1620, we read that there was.

"Payd at Mr. Maior's Taverne.....i^s. ijd."

"Payd to Moyes Dalby for mending the glasse windoes of the meeting house (Phoenix Tower)vj^s. viij^d."

* Nathan Jolly and Robert Huitt, the two grocers here shewn to have been "at loggerheads" with the Company, each issued a copper token at Chester in the reign of Charles II.

Then come some interesting entries relating to the ancient pageants upon Midsummer Eve :—

“ Given to a berrage for severall works about the Phenix for Midsomer showxviij^d.”

“ To three men for carrieng the phenix, and for leadinge the horssexviij^d.”

“ To Sir Henry Bunburie’s man for his paynes about the horsse... [xviij^d.”

“ Shoes, hose, and gloves for y^e child.....ij^a x^d.”

“ Payd for riban and shoetiesx^d.”

“ Spent at dressinge the childe.....v^d.”

“ For our banquet at Midsomer Evevij^a.”

In 1622, we have two curious entries relating to the Holme family, by which it appears that they then resided in Castle Street, perhaps in that newly-fronted timber building on the north side, now occupied as a bakehouse. Their residence here will account for their being buried in St. Mary’s Church :—

“ Payd for sacke and clarid wyne at William Holme’s dynner to y^e company at his father’s new buldinge in Castlelaneix^a.”

“ Payd for sacke and wyne at Rand. Holme’s dynner the next day for the company and their wives at the same placevj^a ij^d.”

Taking into account the quantity consumed, it would seem that the presence of their wives on the latter occasion had a beneficial effect on the potations of the brethren. From Castle Street, Randle Holme afterwards removed to Bridge Street, to the large dwelling-house erected by him there, known in later years as “ Old Lamb Row.”

In August, 1625, there was “ Spent in wyne to entertayne the wardens and others of the company of Stacioners of Londonij^a vj^d.”

Under the year 1632, we find the following items :—

“ Payd Thomas Wayte for mending the glass windoes in y^e (Phoenix) towerxviij^d.”

“ Payd Garratt for mending Abraham’s picture in y^e window....x^d.”

John Garratt was, as previously stated, an old apprentice of the first Randle Holme. “ Abraham’s picture” has vanished from the window, having probably been destroyed during the Siege.

“ Payd for Lining of the Record Rowle of y^e bulding of y^e tower... [vij^d.”

This “ record roll,” which would doubtless have afforded some curious particulars as to the early history of this Tower, is not now to be found among the muniments of the Company.

These entries might be multiplied *ad infinitum* ; but enough has been adduced to shew that the ancient records of this and the other companies established in Chester are full of matter eminently useful to the local historian, and not without interest to the general reader.

SCOLDS' BRIDLE
FROM STOCKPORT.

Actual size of mouth piece

(Engraving 1877)

On Obsolete Punishments, With particular reference to those of Cheshire.

BY MR. T. N. BRUSHFIELD.

PART I.

The Brank, or Scold's Bridle.

THE practice of torture was in use from very early times, more especially wherever the Roman Catholic religion predominated. It was employed partly as a direct punishment, but principally as a means of extorting confession in political and ecclesiastical offences. Confining my remarks to England, it is a bright spot, amongst many dark ones in our history, that torture never was the *law* of the land; "it had always been illegal. In the most servile times, the judges had unanimously pronounced it so."* In the reign of Edward II., when the order of Knights Templars was abolished, everywhere on the Continent the members of this order were subjected to the most frightful tortures. In England alone was this not the case; the king dissolved the order and imprisoned the Knights; and he was accordingly censured by the Pope for not having put them to the torture, instead of performing such an act of clemency; and the Archbishop of York, wistful, I presume, to please the head of the Church, not only mooted the question of torture, but, as no machine for that purpose existed in England, he enquired of his clergy whether he ought not to send for one from abroad, so that the prelates might not be chargable with negligence!

It is true that torture *was* employed on some occasions; "religious intolerance seems to have allowed it a more unquestioned scope than the ordinary tribunals admitted; and we must refer to the pages of such authors as John Foxe, if we would know very much of the practice in England. From a comparison of his descriptions with such others as

* Macaulay's *History of England*, Vol. III. p. 289.

are contained in Millæus' curious and horrible book, *Praxis Criminis Persequendi*, (Paris, 1541), we may trace all these barbarities to the one source, and that the Spanish and Italian torturers; who seem to have exhausted their inventions in ingenious cruelties, which they worked into practical use with a finish and a neatness of manipulation, as if they delighted in their horrible employment.* The rack and wheel we read of in the history of our own land; whilst the spiked collar, branding apparatus, thumb screws, and multifarious other forms of instruments may yet be seen in our Museums.

In the Chester City Gaol there is a pair of iron torture gauntlets, which are hinged on the palmar aspect, to permit of the introduction of the hand, and confined at the wrist by a handcuff, so that it was impossible for the member to be withdrawn; they seem to have been made for the purpose of extorting confession by thrusting them in the fire. A similar pair may be seen in the Water Tower Museum, Chester.

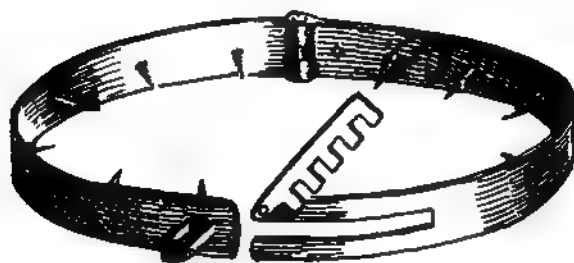
Relative to its practice in England, Macaulay, in his *History of England* (Vol. III., pp. 289—90) states that "those rulers who had occasionally resorted to it had, as far as was possible, used it in secret; had never pretended that they had acted in conformity with either statute law or common law; and had excused themselves by saying, that the extraordinary peril to which the state was exposed had forced them to take on themselves the responsibility of employing extraordinary means of defence. It had, therefore, never been thought necessary by any English Parliament to pass any act or resolution touching this matter. The torture was not mentioned in the Petition of Right, or in any of the statutes framed by the Long Parliament. No member of the Convention of 1689 dreamed of proposing, that the instrument which called the Prince and Princess of Orange to the throne should contain a declaration against the using of racks and thumb screws, for the purpose of forcing prisoners to accuse themselves. Such a declaration would have been justly regarded as weakening rather than strengthening a rule which, as far back as the days of the Plantagenets, had been proudly declared by the most illustrious sages of Westminster Hall to be a distinguishing feature of the English jurisprudence." Torture "was inflicted for the last time in England in the month of May, 1640."† In Scotland, however, it continued to be practised for many years afterwards.

Dismissing the subject of torture, I now pass on to the more immediate object of this Paper, viz. the description of those popular punish-

* Paper by Mr. Fairholt, read before the *Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society*, Vol. VII. p. 63.

† Macaulay's *History of England*, 4th Edition, Vol. I. p. 95.

IRON GAUNTLETS
IN THE
WATER TOWER MUSEUM, CHESTER.



COLLAR OF TORTURE
FROM WETTON, STAFFORDSHIRE
IN THE MUSEUM OF T. GATEMAN ESQ. VOLGRAVE, DERBYSHIRE.

(Signed and dated 1871.)

ments in England which were principally used for the correction of civil offences—(although by no means confined to this class)—from the time of the Saxons to within the present memory of man, but more especially during the last three centuries. The principal forms of punishment may be thus enumerated:—The Brank or Scold's Bridle—the Ducking Stool—the Pillory—Stocks—and Whipping Post. There are also some varieties or modifications of these, which I shall describe in this or a future paper. In the description of them in detail I shall have to make use of much material that, in one form or other, has already appeared in print, but which is necessary to explain fully those portions which relate peculiarly to Cheshire, and which I believe to be now collected together and described for the first time.

The Brank.

In commencing a description of the Brank or Scold's Bridle, I cannot do better than quote a passage from Dr. Plot's *Natural History of Staffordshire* (p. 389), in which he says,—“Lastly, we come to the *Arts* that respect *Mankind*, amongst which, as elsewhere, the civility of precedence must be allowed to the *women*, and that as well in punishments as favours. For the former whereof, they have such a peculiar *artifice* at *New Castle* (under Lyme) and *Walsall*, for correcting of *Scolds*; which it does, too, so effectually, and so very safely, that I look upon it as much to be preferred to the *Cucking Stool*, which not only endangers the *health* of the *party*, but also gives the tongue liberty 'twixt every dipp; to neither of which is this at all lyable; it being such a *Bridle* for the *tongue*, as not only quite deprives them of speech, but brings shame for the transgression, and humility thereupon, before 'tis taken off. Which being an instrument scarce heard of, much less seen, I have here presented it to the reader's view, as it was taken from the original one, made of *iron*, at *Newcastle* under *Lyme*.” Then follows a description of the instrument,—“which, being put upon the offender by order of the magistrate, and fastened with a *padlock* behind, she is lead round the towne by an *Officer* to her shame, nor is it taken off, till after the party begins to show all external signes imaginable of humiliation and amendment.”

Fosbroke, in his *Encyclopædia of Antiquities*, defines the Brank as “a sugar-loaf cap made of iron hooping, with a cross at the top, and a flat piece projecting inwards to lie upon the tongue. It was put upon the heads of scolds, padlocked behind, and a string annexed, by which a man led them through the town.” This is a description of the instrument, as well as the mode of use of the brank at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, as engraved in Brand's *Newcastle*, and is not a strict definition of the majority of specimens.

Wilson* terms it "an instrument of ecclesiastical punishment, chiefly employed for the coercion of female scolds, and those adjudged guilty of slander and defamation. It may be described as a skeleton iron helmet, having a gag of the same metal, which entered the mouth and effectually *brankit* that unruly member—the tongue,"—the idea being to place a gag on the tongue in such a manner that, whilst it restrained the use of that organ, yet did not necessarily hurt it, and also that no attempt on the part of the wearer could remove it.

The etymology of the word *Brank* is involved in some obscurity. "Gaelic, *brancas* is mentioned by Shaw, as signifying a halter; *brans* is also said to denote a kind of bridle. But our word seems originally the same with the Teutonic *pranghe*, which is defined so as to exhibit an exact description of our branks."† Whatever the etymology may be, the word itself is occasionally employed in the North and also in Scotland, to denote a rude substitute for a horse's bridle, formed most frequently of a halter and stick; and also as a verb, signifying "to hold up the head affectedly; to put a bridle or restraint on anything;"‡ and, in Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary*, to brank is "to bridle, to restrain." In a *Glossary of the Westmoreland and Cumberland Dialects*, (published in 1839, by J. R. Smith,) its meaning is stated to be "to hold up the head proudly." If the name of the instrument had its origin in the provincial use of the word, it is very evident that it was employed in a derisive sense; for any one wearing the Brank could scarcely hold their head "affectedly" or "proudly." It is not a little singular that an article of attire formerly worn by females was called a *Branc*, which is stated by Strutt (quoted in Fairholt's *Costume in England*,) to have been "a linen vestment, similar to a rochet, worn by women over their other clothing."

It has been called by several names,—a Brank, the Branks, a pair of Branks, the Scold's Bridle, Gossip's Bridle; and in the records of Macclesfield it is called "a Brydle for a curste queane."§ (Queane is an old English synonym for scold.) I may here remark, that the term *scold* was restricted to the female sex.

The origin of this form of punishment, as well as the date of its earliest employment in England, are equally unknown. It is only within the last few years that the attention of archæologists has been directed to it; and so little appears to have been known about it, that Mr. Greene, when he exhibited two Staffordshire Branks before the Society of Antiquaries, in 1849, advanced the supposition that the use of them was peculiar to that county. Later enquiries have, however, entirely disproved this statement, as I hope presently to show.

* *Archæology of Scotland*, p. 692. † Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary*.

‡ Halliwell's *Dictionary*.

§ Ormerod's *History of Cheshire*, Vol. p. 385.

Branks were in active use in Scotland many years before their introduction into England. "In the Burgh Records of Glasgow, under date of April, 1574, 'Marione Smyt and Margaret Huntare,' having quarrelled, they appear, and produce two cautioners or sureties, 'that thai sal abstene fra stryking of utheris in tyme cuming, under the pane of x lib., and gif thai flyte to be brankit,' " * i. e. to undergo the punishment of the Brank. "In the records of the Kirk Session, Stirling, for 1600, 'the Branks' are mentioned as the punishment for a shrew." †

The earliest authenticated mention of its existence and use in England that has yet occurred to me, appears in the records of the Corporation of Macclesfield, in this county, under date 1623. ‡ The only allusion to its having been in use at an earlier period that I have as yet met with is thus stated by Mr. Albert Way: §—"In a copy of Dr. Plot's *History of Staffordshire*, in the British Museum Library, the following marginal note occurs on his description of the Brank. It has been supposed to be in his own handwriting. 'The Bridle for the Tongue seems to be very ancient, being mentioned by an ancient English poet, I think Chaucer, *quem vide* :—

'But for my daughter Julian,
I would she were well bolted with a Bridle,
That leaves her work to play the clack,
And lets her wheel stand idle.
For it serves not for she-ministers,
Farriers nor Furriers,
Coblers nor Button Makers
To descant on the Bible.' "

It appears tolerably certain that the punishment was of Continental origin, and assimilated partly to the military punishments of the period, and partly to those employed by the agents of the Inquisition during the Spanish ascendancy in Germany and Flanders. No one has shown this so strikingly as Mr. Fairholt, in a Paper read by him before the Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society in 1854, when he produced a drawing of a military mask which he had purchased in Nuremberg for Lord Londesborough, and which he thus describes :—"It is constructed of bands of iron, and is made to fit closely over the head, being

* Wilson's *Scottish Archæology*, p. 692.

† *Journal of the Archæological Institute*, Vol. XIII. p. 267, Paper entitled "Additional Notices of the Brank," by Albert Way, Esq. From this article I have made extracts very freely.

‡ In the Corporation Records of Worcester, quoted in Hooke's *Worcester in the Olden Time*, p. 110, is the following :—"1658. Paid for mending the bridle for bridlinge of scoulds, and two cords for the same.....js. ijd."

§ *Journal of Archæological Institute*, Vol. XIII. pp. 268-9.

secured at the back by a padlock. A flat piece of iron covers the mouth, and closes upon it so entirely, that if the person upon whose head it is placed attempts to speak, the voice is collected towards a small hole in the centre, ascends up the wooden nose by means of a small pipe, and ends in being expelled by a loud whistle. It is thus impossible to speak, the man attempting it but makes himself ridiculous; and to do this the more thoroughly, an ass' ears are affixed to the sides of the head, and a huge pair of spectacles over the nose; a mouth is painted over the mouth-piece, and eyebrows over the spectacles. It was probably manufactured towards the end of the 16th century, a time when judges began to believe that a feeling of shame might be useful in preventing petty infringements of propriety." A somewhat similar mask, but without the mouth-piece, is also in Lord Londesborough's collection. "Grotesque masks, of a somewhat similar kind, were used in Germany to punish refractory soldiers, one of which is in the Armoury at Goodrich Court, and which Sir Samuel Meyrick, who owned this collection, thought to be of the time of Henry VIII. It is constructed of wood, in imitation of the hood worn by the jesters who formed part of a noble's retinue at that period, and has a high crest with bells attached, which ring on the slightest movement of the wearer. It opens with a hinge behind, and is secured beneath the chin by a padlock. As the elevated bells supplied the place of a crest to this grotesque helmet, the representation of the wreath usually encircling the knightly one is carved below it, to make the absurdity more perfect." * A very remarkable Brauk, having a decidedly foreign appearance, was exhibited at the Temporary Museum of the Archæological Institute at Lincoln in 1848: "it has an iron mask entirely covering the face, with apertures for the eyes and nostrils, the plate being hammered out to fit the nose, and a long conical peak affixed before the mouth, bearing some resemblance to the peculiar long-snouted visor of the bascinets occasionally worn in the time of Richard II. No account of the previous history of this singular object could be obtained."†

It appears probable that the introduction of this punishment into England was as a substitute for the not less disgraceful and dangerous penalty of the Ducking-stool; and as a means of restraining the tongue of an infuriated female, it certainly must have been more effective in its operation. The form most prevalent throughout this country and Scotland (I believe no specimens are to be found in Ireland or Wales), was that of a skeleton helmet, more or less complicated, and so

* Fairholt's Paper in the *Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society's Transactions*, Vol. VII., p. 62.

† A. Way, p. 265.

contrived with hinged joints, as to admit of being readily adapted to the head of the scold. It was generally supplied with several connecting staples, so as to suit heads of different sizes, and was secured by a padlock. Affixed to the inner portion of the hoop was a piece of metal, which, when the instrument was properly fitted, pressed the tongue down, and effectually branked or bridled it. The length of the mouth-piece or gag varied from $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch to 3 inches,—if more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, the punishment would be much increased,—as, granting that the instrument was fitted moderately tight, it would not only arrest the action of the tongue, but also excite distressing symptoms of sickness, more especially if the wearer became at all unruly. The form of the gag was very diversified, the most simple being a mere flat piece of iron; in some the extremity was turned upwards, in others downwards; on many of the specimens both surfaces were covered with rasp-like elevations. The instrument was generally painted, and sometimes in variegated colours, in which case the gag was frequently red; it was occasionally covered with leather. A staple usually existed at the back part of the instrument, to which was attached a short chain terminating in an iron ring;—any additional length required was supplied by a rope.

Wearing this effectual curb on her tongue, the silenced scold was sometimes fastened to a post in some conspicuous portion of the town—generally the market-place,—of which a good example is figured in *Willis's Current Notes* for May, 1854, to which it was communicated by a correspondent from Yarmouth, having been copied “from a manuscript of the seventeenth century in his possession; with no other particular than the intimation ‘how ould Mary Curtys tongue was branked for skandle.’” At other times, the female delinquent was led through the town by the appointed officer. In that curious book published in 1655, by Ralph Gardiner, and called *England's Grievance Discovered in relation to the Coal Trade*, the author brings various charges against the mayor and corporation, and, amongst other depositions, is the following one (p. 117). In 1653, “John Willis, of Ipswich, upon his oath, said that he, this deponent, was in Newcastle, six months ago, and there he saw one Ann Bidlestone, drove through the streets, by an officer of the same corporation, holding a rope in his hand, the other end fastened to an engine, called the branks, which is like a crown, it being of iron which was musled, over the head and face, with a great gap, or tongue of iron, forced into her mouth, which forced the blood out; and that is the punishment which the magistrates do inflict upon chiding, and scoulding women, and that he hath often seen the like done to others.”

The most simple form of the Brank or scold's bridle “consisted of a single hoop which passed round the head, opening by means of hinges

at the sides, and closed by a staple with a padlock at the back ; a plate within the hoop, projecting inwards, pressed upon the tongue and formed an effectual gag."* A sketch of this kind of bridle was given to Mr. Albert Way by Colonel Jarvis, of Doddington, who also informed him " that an object of similar construction had been in use amongst the Spaniards in the West Indies for the punishment of refractory slaves." † Of similar simplicity as regards the hoop, but far more terrible in the action of the gag, was the horrible instrument called the " Witches' Bridle," which until lately was to be seen in the old steeple at Forfar. It is described in the *Old Statistical Account of the Parish of Forfar* " as the Bridle with which the wretched victims of superstition were led to execution ;"—" the date 1661 is punched on the circle, along with what seems to read ANGUS S. The object aimed at in applying so dreadful a gag to those who were condemned to the stake as guilty of witchcraft, and dealing with the devil, was not so much the purposed cruelty which its use necessarily involved, as to prevent the supposed possessors of such unearthly gifts from pronouncing the potent formula, by means of which it was implicitly believed they could transform themselves at will to other shapes, or transport themselves where they pleased, and thus effectually outwit their tormentors." ‡ The application of this Bridle to witches before execution was by no means of universal application,—I have as yet met with no English instance. I may here perhaps be pardoned for noticing a collar of torture which was discovered at the village of Wetton, in Staffordshire, in 1849, and which that eminent antiquary, Mr. Thomas Bateman (in whose museum it is now deposited), suggests was used to compel an avowal of witchcraft. It is a collar of iron, with numerous blunt spikes on the inner surface ; it opens by a hinge, and has a graduated rack by way of fastening : when closed, the pain was made more or less intense by the variation of the fastening, and not by the weight of the instrument itself, as is the case with the specimen in the Tower of London.

Reverting to the simple hoop Brank, it is evident that unless the instrument fitted tolerably tight, it might with a little management be slipped off the head ; and this most probably led to the early adoption of an ascending portion terminating at the crown, and so constructed as not only to invest closely the fore part of the head, but also to embrace the nose in such a way, that any attempt to remove the instrument would be quite futile without injuring that organ. Of this kind is the specimen preserved in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford ; which is very singular, from having the chain by which the wearer was led or

* A. Way, p. 264.

† Ibid, p. 264.

‡ Wilson's *Archæology of Scotland*, pp. 693-4.

fixed to a post, attached in front to the portion immediately above the nose. I know of but one other example.

In the next variety, the ascending portion passed completely over the head, and was attached to the back part of the hoop. One of this kind formerly existed at Newcastle-under-Lyne; it was afterwards deposited in Mr. Mayer's museum at Liverpool, from whence I am sorry to state that it has been stolen. It has been suggested that the abstractor was perhaps fearful of being compelled to wear the instrument for which it was originally destined, but of this deponent sayeth not:—its loss is the more to be deplored, as I believe it was the very specimen figured and described by quaint Dr. Plot, in his *Natural History of Staffordshire*. This Brank is curiously alluded to in a humorous and interesting Paper by Mr. Joseph Mayer,* on the "Ancient Custom of electing a Mock Mayor in Newcastle-under-Lyne," which appears to have been carried on annually for nearly 300 years. At its revival, in 1833, the ceremony was proceeded with in the usual way, and the customary proclamation was made, from which I extract the following section:—"Fourthly, Our worthy Mayor giveth notice, and commandeth that all canting, back-biting, gin-drinking women be brought before him, that he may punish them with the *Bridle*, kept by him for that purpose; and he recommendeth his brother freemen to eat plenteously of roast beef and plum-pudding, to gain which they must work more and drink less; and further that all persons found drunk in the streets after this notice will be put in the Stocks for one hour and thirteen minutes." Similar in form were those formerly in use at Leicester and Shrewsbury.

In the next kind, a transverse band is attached, so as to pass down the sides of the head on either side, and to be affixed to the hoop. "One very complete specimen still preserved at St. Mary's Church, St. Andrews, is popularly known as the Bishops' Brank, and is usually said to have been fixed on the head of Patrick Hamilton, and of others of the early Scottish martyrs who perished at the stake during the religious persecution of James V.'s reign. This tradition, however, is not borne out by history. * * * The real origin of its present title is to be traced to the use of it in much more recent times, by Archbishop Sharp, for silencing the scandal which an unruly dame promulgated openly against him before the congregation."† Another of similar form "was discovered in 1848, behind the oak panelling in one of the rooms of the ancient mansion of the Earls of Moray, in the Canongate, Edinburgh."‡ In two examples this additional band is continued

* *Journal of the Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society*, Vol. III., p. 126.

† *Wilson's Archaeology of Scotland*, p. 692.

‡ *Ibid*, p. 693.

towards the chin, so as to form a complete circle; the portion below the gag being filled up with a plate of iron pierced with a few small holes. One has been noticed and figured by Mr. Carrington,* which he supposes to be of the period of William III. from the circumstance of its bearing the stamp of a W with a superposed crown. Another was exhibited by the Rev. T. Hugo in the local museum formed during the late meeting of the Archæological Institute in Chester, and, with the exception of the stamp, appeared to be identical in form with Mr. Carrington's specimen. In a Brank belonging to the Corporation of Lichfield, another half band is added to the skeleton framework.

At the Manor House at Hamstall Ridware, Staffordshire, is preserved a Brank of very remarkable form and construction, consisting of a closely investing skeleton cage for the head, formed of a series of bands connected together at the top by a large ring; these bands were

BRANK AT HAMSTALL RIDWARE, STAFFORDSHIRE.

also tied to each other by means of others passing at right angles to them; in the forepart a grotesque mask is inserted; access for the head is obtained by a door at the back.† All things considered, it serves as a connecting link between ordinary Branks and the Doddington specimen, in endeavouring to trace the origin of this remarkable instrument to the military punishments of the Continent.

* *Journal of Archæological Institute*, Vol. XIII. p. 257.

† *Ibid.*, p. 266. We are indebted to the Council of the British Archæological Institute for the loan of the above interesting wood-cut.

Formerly at Garlington
Now in the Warrington Museum

M. Altringham.

Printed by J. G. & Co. 1887

CHESHIRE SCOLDS' BRIDLES.

WE now, in the last place, turn to consider the specimens known to exist in Cheshire, or as having once belonged to the County, and we shall soon discover that the Palatinate was by no means deficient in its supply of this article of punishment.

Commencing with the most simple form, I turn to the specimen belonging to the Corporation of ALTRINCHAM. This is the most rudely constructed, primitive looking Scolds' Bridle I have yet seen; the workmanship is so rough as to lead one to suppose it must have been made by some very ordinary blacksmith. In form it is somewhat similar to the Oxford example; the gag is a plain flat piece of iron; the hoop is fastened at the back by a plain hook and staple, and there is a separate hook for the leading chain. No compensation whatever exists for the adaptation of the instrument to heads of different sizes, and as the Bridle is a very small one, a great deal of additional scolding must have been caused during the endeavour to affix it to any large head. The ascending portion terminated in an enlarged flat extremity, the base of which appears as if constructed for the purpose of attaching a cord, to secure it more firmly on the head. The gentleman to whom I am indebted for the loan of the specimen (Mr. Mort, of Altrincham) informs me, that he saw it used on an old woman about 35 years ago, who appears to have been a regular virago, and who violently abused her peaceable neighbours, more particularly two very inoffensive people on each side of her own dwelling. All means were tried in vain, and as a last resource, she was ordered to be bridled and to be led through the town. When the instrument was affixed to her head she refused to walk; the authorities, however, were so determined to make her a public example and carry out the punishment, that they ordered her to be *wheeled* through the town. She was accordingly placed in a barrow, and, escorted by a great mob, was wheeled through the principal streets, round the market place, and thence to her own home. It may be as well to mention, that this punishment was attended with the most salutary results, as she ever afterwards kept a more civil and respectful tongue in her head.

The next example is one preserved in the Town Hall at MACCLESFIELD, where it may be seen surrounded by handcuffs, leg-irons, *et hoc genus*. Contrasted with the Altrincham one, it is really a very respectable looking Brank. The gag is plain, and the end of it turned down; there is only one band, which passes over the head and is hinged to the hoop; a temporary joint exists at the upper part, and ample provision is made for readily adjusting it to any description of head. The chain still remains attached to the hoop. Through the kindness of Mr. Swinnerton, bookseller, of Macclesfield, I am enabled to append a sketch of this Brank, copied from a photograph obligingly

communicated by that gentleman. Mr. Swinnerton informs me that he never saw it used, but that at petty sessions it had often been produced, *in terrorem*, to stay the volubility of a woman's tongue; and that a threat by a magistrate to order its appliance, had always proved sufficient to abate the garrulity of the most determined scold. Mr. Way,* however, was informed that it had been used within the memory of an aged official of the municipal authorities. It is mentioned in the Corporation records of the year 1623, being there described (in the delivery of articles to Sir Urian Leigh, Knight, on his election as mayor,) as a "brydle for a curste queane."† This I believe to be the *earliest* mention of the existence of the Brank in England.

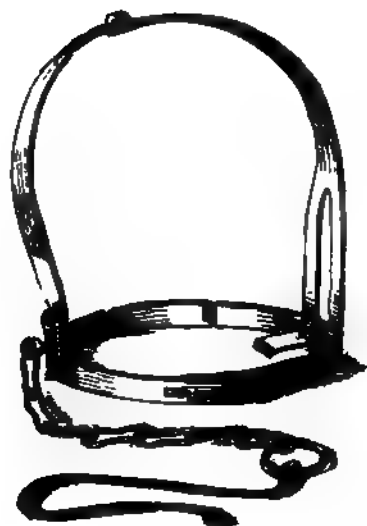
The Bridle at CONGLETON is kept in the Town Hall, and is similar in form, mode of fastening, and general construction, to the one just described; the original chain and rope still remain attached. Through the kindness of Mr. W. Warrington, a member of our Society, and late Mayor of that borough, I was enabled to examine the Corporation records, as well as the Brank itself, of which latter I made a drawing. In the records I found the following entry:—"At an assembly held October, 1662, It was ordered that Matthew Lowndes, the new Jailer, should enter into a bond of £500 for the due performance of the office of Mace Bearer and Jailer, and had delivered into his custody," amongst other articles, "one Bridle for scolding women." There are similar entries bearing date 1664 and 1666. To the same gentleman I am indebted for the following particulars relative to this instrument. He says that "it was formerly in the hands of the Town Jailer, whose services were not unfrequently called into requisition. In the old-fashioned, half-timbered houses in the Borough, there was generally fixed on one side of the large open fire-places, a hook; so that when a man's wife indulged her scolding propensities, the husband sent for the Town Jailer to bring the Bridle, and had her bridled and chained to the hook until she promised to behave herself better for the future. I have seen one of these hooks, and have often heard husbands say to their wives, 'If you don't rest with your tongue, I'll send for the Bridle, and hook you up.' The Mayor and Justices frequently called the instrument into use, for when women have been brought before them charged with street brawling, and insulting the constables and others while in discharge of their duty, they have ordered them to be bridled, and led through the borough by the Jailer. The last time this Bridle was publicly used was A.D. 1824, when a woman was brought before the Mayor (Bulkeley Johnson, Esq.) and Magistrates,

* *Journal of Archaeological Institute*, Vol. XIII., p. 266-7.

† Ormerod's *History of Cheshire*, Vol. III., p. 385.

At Manchester.

At Longleat.



of 3. layer box - formerly in
Stamford Hall.

CHESHIRE SCOLDS' BRIDLES.

one Monday, charged with scolding and using harsh language to the Churchwardens and Constables as they went, on the Sunday morning, round the town, to see that all the public-houses were empty and closed during Divine Service. On the examination, a Mr. Richard Edwards stated on oath 'that on going round the town with the Churchwardens on the previous day, they met the woman (Ann Runcorn) in a place near 'The Cockshoot;' and that immediately on seeing them, she commenced a sally of abuse, calling them all the scoundrels and rogues she could lay her tongue to; and telling them 'it would look better of them if they would look after their own houses, rather than go looking after other folks', which were far better than their own.' After other abuse of a like character, they thought it only right to apprehend her, and so brought her before the bench on the following day. The Mayor then delivered the following sentence:—'That it is the unanimous decision of the Mayor and Justices that the prisoner (Ann Runcorn) there and then have the Town's Bridle for Scolding Women put upon her, and that she be led by the Magistrates' Clerk's clerk through every street in the town, as an example to all scolding women; and that the Mayor and Magistrates were much obliged to the Churchwardens for bringing the case before them.' " "In this case," Mr. Warrington adds, "I both heard the evidence and saw the decision carried out. The Bridle was put on the woman, and she was then led through the town by one Prosper Haslam, the Town Clerk's clerk, accompanied by hundreds of the inhabitants; and on her return to the Town Hall the Bridle was taken off in the presence of the Mayor, Magistrates, Constables, Churchwardens, and assembled inhabitants. The woman had not proceeded more than a score of yards when she turned round, and after an emphatic oath, said 'I'll be —— if I won't do it again the next time I see you going round, for you deserve more than I have given you, and I'll do it again.' "

The fourth Bridle is one that formerly belonged to CARRINGTON, in this county, and is now deposited in the Warrington Museum; it was exhibited in the temporary museum formed during the meeting of the Archæological Institute at Chester.* It is the most capacious specimen I have seen, owing to the large size of the hoop, which is no less than eight inches from front to back; the gag is plain and fan-shaped. The most singular circumstance in connection with it, is the presence of four rings on the hoop, which have puzzled the heads of many archæologists. It seems to me that their probable use was for the passage of a cord through them to be attached to the shoulders, so as to keep

* We are indebted to Dr. Kendrick, of Warrington, for much valuable information on the subject, as also for his kindness in forwarding the Bridle for exhibition before the Society.

the instrument *in situ*, rendered somewhat necessary from its cumbrous manufacture and weight.

The fifth Cheshire specimen is preserved in the Church of WALTON ON THAMES, Surrey, and is figured and described in Brayley and Britton's *History of Surrey* (Vol. II. p. 331), under the name of "The Gossip's Bridle." It is stated to have been "presented to the



GOSSIP'S BRIDLE FROM WALTON ON THAMES.

parish more than two hundred years since by a person of some consequence at that period named Chester, and that it bore the date 1633, and the following inscription:—

‘CHESTER presents WALTON with a Bridle
To Curb Women's Tongues that talk too idle.’

Its presentation arose from the circumstance of the individual whose name it bears losing a valuable estate through the instrumentality of a gossiping, lying woman. When this note was taken does not appear; the Bridle has since become so corroded that the inscription cannot now be read, only some few indications of letters remaining." Such is the tradition: but however probable it may at first sight appear, it is not at all likely that any person would be ambitious enough to see his name affixed to an instrument of degrading punishment. There is, on the contrary, every reason to believe that the donor was a Chester individual. The type of the instrument, as a whole, is very similar to the specimens still existing in Chester, and no county in England seems to have been more prolific than our own in the employment of the Brank.*

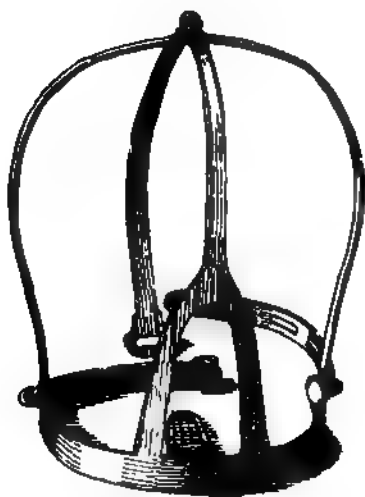
Another Bridle, exhibited at the Institute's meeting at Chester, and belonging to Mr. Mayer, is a very handsome specimen, being surmounted with a decorated cross.† Attached to the top of the head-band are two side pieces to keep the instrument in position; its height is 11½ inches;

* This Bridle is noticed more at length in *Willis' Current Notes* for May, 1854, from which work the above illustration has been kindly lent to the Society by Messrs. Willis and Sotheran, 136, Strand, London.

† There is an engraving of it in Vol. II. p. 25 of the *Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society's Transactions*.

In the Water Tower Museum.

In the City Gaol.
(the posterior hand misfiring)



In the City Work-house

In the possession of Mr. Rogers

(reproduced, (London, 1887)

CHESTER SCOLDS' BRIDLES.

the tongue being quite plain. It was formerly used in KNUTSFORD House of Correction.

The next specimen is the STOCKPORT Brank, belonging to the Corporate authorities of that town, and it is to the kindness of Mr. Thomas Claye I am indebted for the opportunity of sketching it, for the first time, as an illustration to this Paper. It may be considered as a perfectly unique specimen, and by far the most remarkable in this county. It is of very light construction, differing in this respect from all the other instances enumerated; the ascending nasal band terminates at the crown, and is strengthened by two lateral ones. The extraordinary part of the instrument, however, is the *gag*, which commences flat at the hoop and terminates in a bulbous extremity, which is covered with *iron pins*, nine in number, there being three on the upper surface, three on the lower, and three pointing backwards; and it is scarcely possible to affix it in its destined position without wounding the tongue. To make matters still worse, the chain (which yet remains attached, and, together with a leathern thong added to lengthen it, measures two feet) is connected to the hoop at the fore part, as if to *pull* the wearer of the Bridle along on her unwilling tour of the streets; for it is very apparent that any motion of the *gag* must have lacerated the mouth very severely. Another specimen was formerly in the WORKHOUSE at STOCKPORT, and was sold, a few years ago, as old iron!

We have here before us four CHESTER Bridles, which appear as though they had been made by the same artificer. They are of plain construction, and present nothing particularly worthy of notice, excepting the *gag*, which in each case has both surfaces roughened like a rasp, and in two of them the sides are also roughened; three of them are slender, light, and the workmanship particularly good.

One is in the possession of Mr. E. NOYES, of Chester, and originally belonged to the city. It remained the property of the Corporation, forming one of a miscellaneous collection preserved in the City Gaol, until some 25 or 30 years ago, when it was presented to the father of Mr. Noyes by the then gaoler, Mr. James Voyce. The liberality of the donor cannot perhaps be questioned; but the right of transfer, on the part of that official, is altogether another matter! An inventory of these curious relics, taken once or twice a year under the authority of the city magistrates, would effectually curb these "fits of abstraction." This course has been adopted in other public establishments with satisfactory results.

The second Chester specimen belongs to the Board of Guardians, and is in charge of the Master at the HOUSE OF INDUSTRY. No record exists of its use in the Workhouse books.

Another Brank still remains in the Chester CITY GAOL, and was,

by the kindness of the Town Clerk, exhibited before the Society, along with the curious pair of iron Torture Gloves, already adverted to at the commencement of this Paper.

The fourth specimen, now belonging to the WATER TOWER MUSEUM, was likewise originally in the City Gaol, and was transferred to its present custody, by permission of the Magistrates, several years ago. A duplicate pair of Iron Gloves also passed, at the same time, into the above Museum, from the like official source. This last named Bridle is of similar workmanship to, though much heavier than, the other Chester examples. The gag belonging to it is thick, large, and roughened; and as the instrument weighs altogether about $3\frac{1}{4}$ lbs., it must of necessity have punished the wearer very severely.

It is worthy of remark that, notwithstanding the existence at Chester of so many Scold's Bridles, no notice of their use is to be found in the Corporation books, several of which have been specially examined with that object in view. That they were not unfrequently called into requisition in times past cannot be doubted; but the Magistrates were doubtless fully aware that the punishment was illegal, and hence preferred that no record should remain of their having themselves transgressed the law.

I am informed that there is, or was, a Brank in the Workhouse at NEWHALL, in the parish of Acton, near Nantwich, which, until the introduction of the New Poor Laws, was employed as a punishment for refractory paupers.*

I have thus brought under notice the majority of the Branks known to exist in England, and, from what I have stated, it may be gathered that they were employed solely for the purpose of punishing female lingual delinquents, for which purpose they were kept in the Town Hall or Workhouse of the district, frequently a specimen in each place;—that they were modifications of certain engines of punishment employed on the Continent,—and that they were in active use in this country from about the year 1620 to the close of the last century. I know of no authenticated instance of a *man* having been so punished, during the whole of that period.

It is certainly most singular that the County in which the practice of employing this painful and ignominious punishment was carried on to the greatest extent, should have been the County of Chester! I have already enumerated *thirteen* specimens; and no doubt further research would reveal more. Lancashire was and is famous for its

* Information of T. W. Jones, Esq. of Nantwich.

witches, but I have never heard or read that Cheshire was celebrated for *scolds*; and yet if such a number of tongue-repressing Bridles were required, the Palatinate must have been a riotous County indeed. Suffice it, however, for us to say,—and I speak altogether on behalf of the gentlemen,—that whatever it may have been in times gone by, yet it is certain that the gentleness and amiability of the ladies of the present generation make more than ample amends for the past; and Shakspeare, when he wrote those beautiful words,

“ Her voice was ever soft,

Gentle and low; an excellent thing in woman,”

unintentionally, of course, yet fully anticipated the attributes of our modern Cheshire ladies.

The object of this public punishment was not only to restrain the use of the tongue, but also to cause a feeling of shame in the individual, as well as to act as a warning to others. It may, however, seem strange to us, “ that it should ever have been thought necessary to punish thus disgracefully a woman for the too free use of her tongue; but in the turbulent independence which reigned among the inhabitants of mediæval towns, the unruly member was not unfrequently the cause of riots and feuds, which endangered the public peace to a greater degree than we can now easily conceive.”* In Mr. M. A. Lower's *Memorials of Seaford*,† amongst a list of presentments at the Quarter Sessions, in the early part of Elizabeth's reign, is the following:—“ We do present the good wife Pupe for mis usyng her tunge to the hurt of her naybors.” In the 17th of James I. the jury present “ Cooper's wiffe, for makeinge discorde betwixt neibours;”‡ and in 19th Charles I. “ Goody Rance was presented as a scold.”§ Similar entries occur in other borough records.

Our ancestors appear to have entertained such a horror of female scolding and brawling, that even statutes were passed for the repression of the nuisance, and, as we shall learn in a future Paper, the Ducking Stool was the legal punishment for it. *The Duke*, in Tobin's comedy of “ The Honeymoon,” says

“ I'll talk to you; but I'll not beat you.

He that lays his hand upon a woman

Save in the way of kindness, is a wretch

Whom 'twere gross flattery to call a coward.”

These lines can scarcely be considered as complimentary to the framers of the statutes against Scolds.

In addition to the physical suffering caused by the introduction of

* Wright's *Archæological Album*, p. 49.

† *Sussex Archæological Society's Collections*, Vol. VII. p. 96.

‡ Ibid, p. 103.

§ Ibid, p. 104.

the *gag*,—for we can scarcely imagine that, from the very nature of the offence requiring its use, the instrument was properly adjusted without severe struggling on the part of the female,—we must also recollect the mental anguish experienced by being exposed to the gibes and jeers of her neighbours, without being able to return “like for like.” The anecdote of the Congleton Bridle sufficiently proves that it cannot always have answered its destined purpose. The use of the instrument was sanctioned by no law,—it was altogether illegal,—and perhaps it was for this reason that it was rarely mentioned in the Corporation records.

Before I conclude this notice of the Brank, there is yet one other use of the instrument, which was suggested by the Venerable Archdeacon Hale, viz. “that in those times,” when they were in frequent use, “there being few Lunatic Asylums, and insanity being a disease little understood, it was probable that many insane women were violent, and punished as scolds, who would now be treated as lunatics ;” * and this suggestion appears to be a very probable one. Medical officers of Asylums can always point out many female patients who, if they had been living a couple of centuries back, would undoubtedly have been branked as scolds. †

* Mr. Carrington’s Paper, printed in the *Journal of the Archæological Institute*, Vol. XIII. p. 257.

† One of the female lunatics in the Cheshire Asylum gave me, a few days since, a very graphic account of the manner in which she had been “bridled” some years ago whilst an inmate of a Workhouse, thus affording a practical confirmation of the suggestion thrown out by Archdeacon Hale.

Golden Tower. Denbigh Castle.

Denbigh Castle.

BY WILLIAM AYRTON.

DENBIGH is one of the most amusing, if not always the most instructive, provinces of the Archæologist, has ever been the etymology of names,—both of things, people, and places; and perhaps in no country is there such a field for tracing real or fancied derivations as in Wales, where almost every hill, valley, river or ruin, possesses a title referable to either a British, Saxon, or sometimes a Roman origin.

Denbigh is certainly no exception to this rule; but from the mass of conflicting opinions as to the origin of its name, we may select that of Archdeacon Newcome, who in his *History of Denbigh* says, “The first syllable of the name is without doubt *Dinas*, a city; and perhaps the last is a proper name.” Walters’ Dictionary makes it *Dinas buch*, i. e. the desirable city.

While searching the Welsh language for the etymology of the word, it has been remarked by our Historic Secretary, Mr. Wynne Ffoulkes, that the name of Denbigh is nowhere to be found as the title of the place before the Conquest. Previous to that time the inhabitants of the neighbourhood are mentioned in every authentic record as “the men of Rhos Rhyfoniog;” so that Denbigh is, in all probability, a name of English origin. Henry Lacy, first Lord of Denbigh, was Earl of Lincoln, and possessed, among others, a manor in Yorkshire called Deneby, which name, he (Mr. Ffoulkes) thinks may probably have been bestowed by the Earl on his new possession in Wales.

It appears doubtful whether any Castle (in the present sense of the term) preceded the ruin now under notice. That the site was, long before this time, an important fortified post we have abundant evidence, but that it possessed anything we should recognize as a complete garrisoned town and Castle is not so clear.

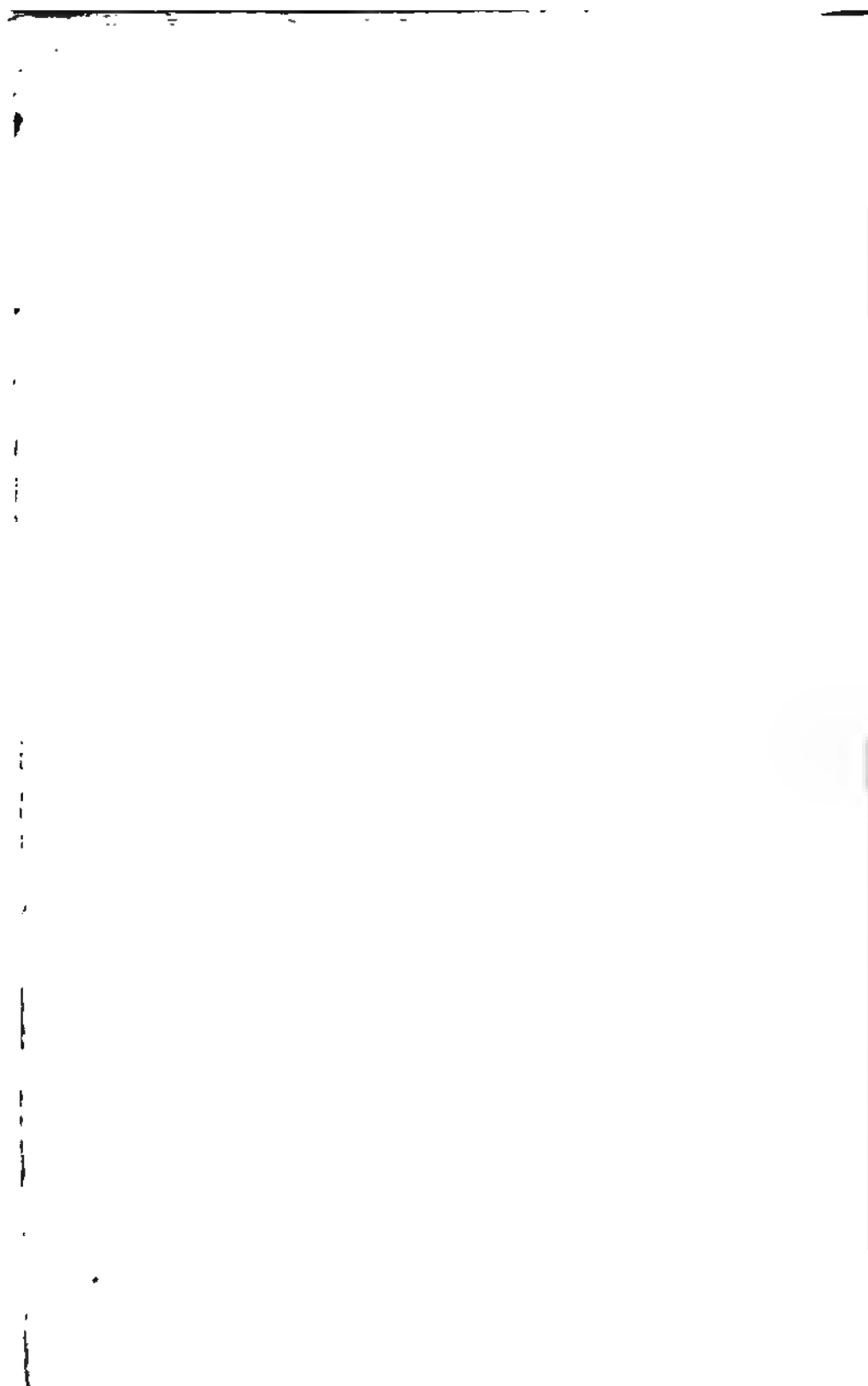
In speaking of the four Cantreds of Wales, claimed by Edward I.

in 1277 as his possessions, Warrington observes, " These were, the Cantred of Rhôs, in which stood the Castle of Dyganwy ; the Cantred of Rhyfoniog, the chief place of which was Denbigh ; the Cantred of Tegeingl, in which stood the Castle of Rhuddlan ; and the Cantred of Dyffryn-Clwyd, in which was erected the town and Castle of Ruthin ;" and it is singular that of the four Cantreds, Denbigh alone is not mentioned as having a Castle.

I am not inclined to adopt the system laid down by some antiquaries of viewing different parts of the Castle as indicating distinct eras, simply because the style of the towers varies from the square to the round, and again to the polygon ; the two latter, at all events, belong to the same date. The round towers of Conway and Rhuddlan, and the polygons of Carnarvon, all date from 1282 to 1284. Those of Denbigh are of the same date, and are probably the design of the same architect. Whatever may have preceded Henry de Lacy's time, he certainly consolidated and left the Castle of which the ruins now remain, and there is no reason to doubt the generally received opinion, that the sitting figure on the great gateway is an effigy of himself, just as the statue over the gateway of Carnarvon Castle was unquestionably the figure of its royal builder, Edward.

Henry Lacy, the founder of Denbigh Castle, is said to have been succeeded, in 1310, by Thomas Plantagenet, Earl of Lancaster, but it appears doubtful whether Denbigh ever passed into the possession of the Earls of Lancaster ; and it is suggested that this supposition has arisen either from a mis-writing or mis-reading of the Earldom of *Lincoln*, abbreviated as both the titles constantly were in the Latin deeds into *Linc^r* and *Lanc^r*, with a contracting mark over the words. However this may have been, King Edward II. upon the execution of Thomas Earl of Lancaster, or probably even at an earlier period, bestowed Denbigh on his contemptible favourite, Hugh de Spencer, and with it the title of Lord of Denbigh and Rhôs. His fate followed the turbulent and bloody character of those days ; and on his being hung, with the most studied contumely and disgrace, Denbigh was given by Edward III. to Roger Mortimer, Earl of March. Mortimer also incurred the death of a traitor, and the scaffold again received a Lord of Denbigh.

In the person and character of William Montacute we have a striking contrast to the unworthy minions who, at earlier and later periods, disgraced the title of Lord of Denbigh. He was an accomplished statesman and soldier, and acted a very prominent part during the reign of Edward III., at whose hands he received the Lordship of Denbigh for his services in surprising Mortimer in the Castle of Nottingham. The town and Castle remained under the Montacutes from A.D. 1330 until



the reversal of Mortimer's attainder in 1356, when it was restored to his family.

In 1377, Denbigh was bestowed on Henry Percy, surnamed Hotspur, and during his possession of it took place that celebrated conspiracy and subsequent rebellion, which we have been so accustomed to look at through the powerful medium of the great dramatist's art and imagination, that it is now scarcely possible entirely to divest history of fiction.

We are all of us thus familiar with one great cause of Percy's dissatisfaction,—the King's refusal to allow him to ransom Mortimer, Earl of March, the nearest heir to the throne after Richard II., of whose title the King was so jealous as to refuse consent to his freedom,—

“He said he would not ransom Mortimer,
Forbad my tongue to speak of Mortimer;
But I will find him when he lies asleep,
And in his ear I'll holla—Mortimer!
Nay—I'll have a starling shall be taught to speak
Nothing but Mortimer,—and give it him
To keep his anger still in motion.”

Percy's tenure of Denbigh ended only with his eventful life at the battle of Shrewsbury, A.D. 1403.

During the civil wars of the Roses, Denbigh underwent the vicissitudes common to the kingdom, and it would be little useful, even if it were possible, to trace her constant change of masters. But, in fact, all we know of Wales at this period declares that the Principality suffered in an intense degree the ravages and desolations which afflicted the kingdom at large during this period. An old Welsh rhyme bears witness to this fact,—

“Harddlech a Denbech pob dôr—yu cynneu
Nan 'Conwy yn farwor
Mil pedwar cant oediunt Iôr
A thri 'gain ae wyth rhagor.”

and Sir John Wynne, in his *History of the Gwydir Family*, describes the whole country as reduced to cinders (cold coals).

Few records of Denbigh exist from this time until the reign of Elizabeth, when we find it once more bestowed upon a monarch's most unworthy favourite, and Denbigh received the Earl of Leicester as its Lord. Leicester repaired the Castle, and commenced rebuilding the Church, on a scale which indicated a purpose to make Denbigh a principal and especial charge of his own. But, whether from caprice, or that he took offence at the opposition he encountered to his overbearing and rapacious oppression, certain it is that he abandoned his beneficent intentions, and was content to leave his memory in Denbigh distinguished only by his tyranny and exactions.

It is supposed that the old Town Hall owes its existence to Leicester's authority, and a letter is extant to that effect.* His encroachments at length led to open resistance; and a letter which he wrote to the electors of Denbigh reproaching them with venturing to return a member of their own to Parliament, in preference to a nominee of his own, discovers at once the ill-governed haughtiness of his own temper, and the little esteem in which he was held by the burgesses.†

Denbigh Castle once again, and for the last time, became, like almost every other stronghold in the kingdom, prominent and of importance, during the wars of the Commonwealth. It was held for King Charles, who appointed William Salusbury governor, a soldier who well and gallantly sustained his charge.

The interesting passages connected with Denbigh during that eventful siege, would form matter for a separate Paper; they have been well and ably detailed by Archdeacon Newcome, in his *Account of the Town and Castle of Denbigh*, as well as by Mr. Williams, in his more recent work, entitled *Ancient and Modern Denbigh*, to which works I would refer all who are curious to know more of the events of that period.

The gallantry of Salusbury was nobly supported by the loyalty of the garrison in this long protracted siege, and the terms on which they at length capitulated, long after all hope was gone, and by express command of the Sovereign, were alike honourable to themselves and creditable to the moderation of their besiegers.

Mr. Williams observes, as a singular coincidence, (or perhaps rather as a striking evidence of the importance of Denbigh as a stronghold, and of the loyalty of its race of men,) that "Denbigh was destined to be not only the last seat of the last remnant of the ancient British dynasty, which became extinct with Prince David ap Griffith, but the last remnant of the English empire when that monarchy fell for a season." It is indeed worthy of remark, that from the 17th of April to the 14th of October, 1646, Denbigh Castle and its precincts, about a mile and a quarter in circumference, held out for the King after every other foot of land in his dominions had submitted to the Parliamentarians.‡

With this last act of distinguished loyalty terminates the history of Denbigh Castle. The ruins now remain, an interesting relic of ages, men, and manners long gone by; over which time and distance have thrown a shadowy obscurity, investing them with a charm of poetry and

* Pennant's *Tour in Wales*, 4to, Vol. II. pp. 42-3. Speed's Map, published in 1596, indicates a building on the locality of the present Town Hall.

† Archdeacon Newcome's *History of Denbigh Castle*, p. 41.

‡ Pennant's *Tour in Wales*, 4to. Vol. II. p. 38.

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romance, perhaps little proper to them, but of which neither the researches of the archæologist, nor the severe truthfulness of the historian, will ever be able wholly to divest them.

Having endeavoured thus briefly to convey a very slight historical outline of Denbigh Castle, I will now turn to the Castle itself, and consider its original design, as well as the ruins which yet remain. I should be unable to do this with any effect but for the kind assistance of my friend, Mr. James Harrison, our Architectural Secretary, to whom our thanks are especially due for an elaborate survey of the ruins, made during several days of most unfavourable weather; in spite of which difficulty, he has produced a plan which constitutes the principal feature of this Paper, and will ever be of interest to succeeding Archæologists, whatever may become of the less important text which accompanies it.

The ground-plan of the Castle discovers at once, by its irregular form, that it was so designed in order to render available, to their full extent, the natural advantages afforded as a place of defence, by the hill on which it stands, the acclivities of which have dictated the direction of its walls. As usual in all fortresses, but especially in those built before the use of artillery, it is divided into a number of compartments, each being a strength within strength; the single possession of which by a besieging force did not absolutely affect the tenure of the rest, or of each other, but only reduced the besieged to closer quarters and greater distress, and so diminished their powers of endurance as well as their chances of ultimate relief.

Strictly speaking, Denbigh Castle is confined to the upper ballium or court, to which entrance was obtained by a gate at the south, of which few vestiges remain; by the principal, or north entrance; and by a sally-port on the western side. But the outer town walls were essentially necessary to a prolonged defence of the Castle, no doubt formed part of the original design, and must be accepted as part of our subject.

Perhaps it would render our task more easy if we were to give the rein to our imagination, and, going back some five hundred years, endeavour to realize this then very important fortress in its original state, and accompanying in our mind's eye an invading force, survey the difficulties they had to surmount ere they obtained possession of its strength. And, in the first place, the now smiling cultivated corn fields and pastures of the populous Vale of Clwyd, must give place to a very different scene. Wide extensive forests, or boggy unenclosed tracts, then possessed the valley, varied here and there by a few parks belonging to the neighbouring barons. These parks were valued only as capable of affording subsistence to so many head of deer, and seldom

possessed even so much venison as they professed to support. Sometimes, in their stead, were to be seen scanty droves of bullocks, sheep, or swine, which might fall a prey to the sudden approach of an enemy, or were hastily driven to seek the nearest refuge beneath the walls of the Castle. Cottages there were none ; a few miserable huts constituted the suburbs of the Castle, or clustered round the castellated residence of some lord strong enough to intimidate freebooters and command respect. Here and there a well-defined beaten way indicated a great road towards Chester or some neighbouring town, but for the most part the roads were wandering, uncertain tracks, never repaired, and requiring a guide at every turn. The river Clwyd, now confined within well kept banks, then held an unchecked career through the neglected country, each flood which brought down waters from the undrained bogs and mosses above, spreading them over the wide valley, or taking the bed of the river in some new direction, thus robbing owners of property no one thought it worth while to rescue, and adding to the difficulties of the traveller by rendering the roads yet more uncertain and unsafe.

All these existing features of a barbarous age assisted greatly, of course, in rendering such a stronghold as Denbigh almost impregnable. It was more difficult for an invading force, however powerful, to exist any length of time in these wilds and morasses, than it was for the garrison to hold out against a prolonged blockade, while the want of artillery prevented the more speedy method of a determined assault. Hence we find that the troops within frequently bid a successful defiance to forces apparently overwhelming.

On the east side, Denbigh Castle was absolutely unapproachable. Precipitous rocks, crowned by lofty walls and towers, ran from the N.E. to the S.E. corner of the Castle. From this point, the natural difficulties not being so great, a deep dry moat surrounded the outer defences of the south and west sides of the fortress. On the north and north-west were the miserable suburbs of the borough. Dividing the borough from the Castle, and running along the ridge of a hill which is still so steep as to try the pedestrian in its ascent, was the town-wall, or north curtain of the outer ballium.

At the north-east end was a projecting round tower, which enabled the archers of the garrison to command the curtains both towards the west and south-east. At the west end of this nearly straight wall were two very strong round towers, supported by buttresses, between which was a gateway (defended by a drawbridge and portcullis) connecting the towers in a building and apartments of considerable size and importance. This gateway, called the Burgess Tower, gave ingress to the lower court of the Castle. From the Burgess Tower, the town-wall ran first S.S.W.

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and then S. and S.E. to the Exchequer Tower and Gate.* From the Exchequer Gate, an *outer* wall crowned the moat which ran round the west and south sides of the Castle; affording an ample parapet in front of the *inner* wall, and defended at the south-west and south-east corners by towers which commanded both the curtains and each other. Among the exterior defences I have not yet noticed, is one on the east side, standing out from the perpendicular rock against which it is built,—a tower of lofty and striking dimensions, whose strength would seem superfluous in a spot where the rocks themselves are inaccessible,—but whose importance will be understood when we find, that it covers and protects one of the only two wells on which the garrison had to depend for water, and against which the Parliamentarians concentrated all their energies during the wars of the Commonwealth. This is called the Goblin Tower, and contains a winding stair, by which the garrison descended to the well below, which yielded their principal supply of water. North of this is a square tower, called the Countess' Tower, connected, by a curtain, with the round tower at the north-east corner of the Castle.

Having now surveyed the outer defences, we enter the lower ballium or court of the Castle. This, as it gave accommodation not only to part of the garrison, but to the burgesses of the town, must have presented a very different appearance to its present condition, or even to that conveyed by Speed's map of 1596. Even so late as the time of the Commonwealth, when Denbigh was the refuge of so many scattered Royalist garrisons and families, there must have existed numerous buildings in the lower court. They were, however, evidently of the slightest character and materials, as they have nearly all disappeared; what few small buildings now exist being of modern construction. St. Hilary's Chapel alone remains of the original buildings, and of that only a fragment here and there testifies to its date, as nearly contemporaneous with the Castle. Below it are the ruins of Leicester's intended church, which was never completed. We have already traversed the exterior of this court on the north, east, and west: its south side is bounded by the great gateway and septagonal tower of the Castle, and by the north curtain connecting them.

It is on this portion of the Castle that the greatest care and most elaborate means of defence have been bestowed. Supposing the lower court to have been carried by an enemy who fully succeeded in establishing himself within its walls, the fortifications already won would

* In mentioning these Towers, I make use of the names by which they were known at a later date, and which are still given them, though probably derived from uses long subsequent to the period and purpose of their erection.

only bring him before others of two-fold strength and resources. First and most important of these was the great gateway, which lies at the north-west corner of the inner court ; its remains still testifying to the noble style of its architecture, its grandeur, and vast strength. It consisted of an arch in the decorated style, flanked and commanded by two octagonal towers which it connects. The approach was over a drawbridge, 20 feet in length ; the portcullis was of great size, as indicated by the mouldings in which it worked. There were no machicolations, or shafts for pouring molten lead, &c. on besiegers ; the two shafts above the entrance, and which yet remain, are so placed as to be useless for such a purpose, and probably served for the heavy weights which balanced and assisted in raising the drawbridge. On each side of, and immediately within the entrance, are chambers which were occupied by the guard, and passages for the purpose of defence. Under them are cells, which were probably used as dungeons. Passing through the gateway, we enter a noble octagonal chamber, 26 feet in diameter. This, and the apartments over it, were no doubt used for state purposes and occasions, for receptions, audiences, trial of prisoners, &c. Passages communicate with various apartments ; and a doorway of considerable size, of which some mouldings remain, led from this chamber through a strongly guarded passage into the inner ballium of the Castle. This doorway is not placed opposite to the one leading from the gate, but in an angle of the chamber. The outer front of the great gateway was finished with great care, and its remains indicate the pristine grandeur and magnificence of the whole structure. The mouldings of the decorated arch are still sharp and well defined, and the ornamentation over it is in strict accordance with the style. Above the pointed arch is the effigy of a seated figure, traditionally said to represent the founder of the Castle.

Denbigh Castle is unusually abundant in its intermural shafts and passages, the uses of which have formed the subject of much discussion. That some of them were mere sewers is evident from existing features ; but that some of them were not so, seems to me equally plain. I cannot reconcile their form, their abrupt rectangular turns from the vertical to the horizontal direction, and their locality, some of them in the more central parts of the Castle, with such purposes. Whether they indeed only served for sewerage, or whether their intention had not more important objects, and was meant to supply secret communication, the furtherance of concealment, or of dark designs, remains yet a matter of much doubt and interest. The opinion of some one well acquainted with the military and domestic architecture of that period on this head would be desirable.

From the east tower of the gateway, the north curtain of the upper

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ballium, with a dry moat in front, separating it from the outer ballium, runs east to a septagonal tower at the north-east corner of the court. This tower consisted of three stories: the one on the ground-floor was the great kitchen of the Castle; indeed the tower went by that name until it received the prouder title of the King's Tower, in honour of its being occupied by Charles I. in 1646. In all probability, that was the principal residence in the Castle; the number of fire-places and position of the tower and windows imply this, which is confirmed by its occupation in 1646. From this tower the east curtain of the Castle runs south to the S.E. corner, where it joins a round tower. Close to this round tower, and protected by turrets, the foundations of which yet remain, was the southern entrance to the Castle. It was strongly guarded, and, according to a survey taken in the reign of Henry VIII., had two draw-bridges. The way, leading in zig-zag route from the outer defences below, is still easily traced, and the site of one draw-bridge is pretty clear; but all traces of the second have disappeared, and so ruinous are the other fortifications which remain, as only to suggest their probable design. Very few walls of the interior buildings are now standing in the Castle. The survey of Henry VIII. mentions "within the said Castle a fair large green, wherein standeth a Chapel to serve the Castle." The survey of Elizabeth also mentions the chapel as then ruinous, and Speed's map shews us the site of it, but all traces of it are now gone. The "Green Chambers," mentioned in both these surveys, are yet defined by their broken remains, and the position of the hall, mentioned as existing at the north end of these chambers, is shewn by corbels, which once supported the roof of the hall, now remaining in the east wall of the Castle. This hall, and the Green Chambers, stand (with reference to the inner ward and the eastern curtain) much in the same position as the great Banqueting Hall of Conway Castle, and were no doubt devoted to similar purposes.

I have not yet noticed a sally-port which led out from the western rampart or parapet into the suburb below. This sally-port is marked in Speed's map, but whether it communicated immediately with the inner court appears doubtful. The fragments yet left of this sally-port are very interesting.

Leland's short but quaint description of Denbigh, and of the Castle, as it existed in his day, has been often quoted, and need not, therefore, be repeated here.*

Among parts of the Castle and outer fortifications, which I have in this general survey only alluded to cursorily, a very interesting one is the "Burgesses' Gate," which, both from its present remains and the

* See Williams' *Ancient and Modern Denbigh*, p. 322.

associations connected with them, deserves a further consideration. The Burgess Tower was undoubtedly one of the original defences of the Castle, and the solidity and strength with which it was invested testify to its importance. It was the principal town gate, if not indeed the only one on the north side of the town, or outer ballium of the Castle. Externally it consists of two massive round towers, which the gateway unites, and which form on the south face one flat tower of irregularly quadrated form, rising above the gateway, over which it affords room for chambers of considerable size. One of these bastions is still inhabited, and it is not so very long since both of them were so. Some have regarded the buttresses supporting the round towers as peculiar; they are, however, by no means uncommon, though strikingly picturesque, and are simply continuations of the square foundations on which the round towers rest.

Mr. Williams* thus describes it:—"It appears from the charter of Henry de Lacy," of which Mr. Williams gives a full translation, "that there were at that time 47 'burgages,' or dwelling-places for the occupation of the Burgesses within the town-walls of Denbigh, with 44 curtilages or crofts without the walls, which were bestowed on 40 or 39 Burgesses 'living in the aforesaid town of Denbigh within the walls,' for certain suits and service, as well as a 'Housegable, or Manorial Rent.' The chief service on which these 'burgages and curtilages' were held, was to find an armed man for the defence of the town, which would, for the 47 burgages and 44 crofts, give a force of 91 men." Some particulars of the privileges enjoyed by the burgesses under this charter, and of their forfeiture for non-fulfilment of service are very interesting.† That the prison mentioned in the charter was part of the Burgess Tower is pretty evident, and is confirmed by the bye-law of 1597.‡

I am not sure whether in later times the Council Chamber of the Corporation continued to be in the Burgess Tower, but if so, some of the records give us an idea that it may not always have witnessed scenes so grave as the title of Council Chamber would suggest. A Burgess, on his admission, paid always a fee, and this, in the case of "foreigners," was five pounds, for those days a heavy one. By "foreigners," we are to understand *natives*. Denbigh, like Conway, Carnarvon, and Beaumaris, was considered exclusively an English town,—the Welsh were called foreigners; and in the first ages of English domination, were on no account admitted to office, or even residence within the walls. In the 17th century, however, we find them admitted, either through

* See Williams' *Ancient and Modern Denbigh*, p. 300.

† Ibid, pp. 307-8.

‡ Ibid, p. 314.

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English family influence, or on payment of a fine.* But besides this, a good old custom prevailed—(I regret to say that, like many others, it has sadly gone to decay!)—and a Burgess was expected, on being elected to this honour, to give a treat to his fellow Burgesses, or, in the words then in use, “he payed his wine.” †

An equally interesting portion of Denbigh Castle, and of equal, if not greater importance than the Burgess Tower, was no doubt the “Exchequer Gate.” Nothing now, however, remains of this tower but its foundations. Leland says, ‡ “Here for centuries were kept the records and revenues of the Lordship of Denbigh, and in this town the Lords of the Castle held their Court.”

I am anxious to be allowed a few words of indulgence and explanation in conclusion, in order that I may, on the one hand, be acquitted of presumption in having undertaken so much; and, on the other, may not be charged with indifference or want of zeal in having accomplished so little. I wish to explain both why I have undertaken this Paper at all, and why I have attempted no more. I do think that the motives which have influenced me have, perhaps, been too little considered by the members of our own, as well as of other similar local Societies. I think, too, that a better consideration of them would tend very greatly to increase the usefulness of all provincial meetings of this kind, and to remove many of the impediments which at present stand in the way of our receiving all the benefits, which we might otherwise expect from those sources of information which it is the province of such Societies as our own to discover and open out.

It is with Archæology in the present day as it is perhaps with many of her sister sciences: men are too much given to theorize, and too little to practical observation and a dry acquisition of matters of fact. It is so much more pleasant and easy to accept some theory or system, see all things in one light, refer all things to one established standard, and square all our researches by one acknowledged dogma; this is so much easier than to accumulate incidents and facts in their dry detail, make our memory and note-book a storehouse, as it were, for other men's deductions, and contenting ourselves, as gleaners over the field of history, leave it to master-minds to separate the wheat from the chaff, and build up the edifices for which we but furnish the material. It is, I say, so much more pleasant to affect the one, and so much more arduous and less flattering to our self-love to accomplish the other, that there is no wonder we overlook the more useful, in pursuit of the more shining and ambitious path. It is thus that we are tempted to grasp at

* See Williams' *Ancient and Modern Denbigh*, pp. 106, 107, 108.

† Ibid, pp. 109, 110.

‡ Ibid, pp. 316, 317.

effecting too much, while we fall short of even that which we might easily attain, and which is indeed more legitimately within our province. Now I wish to see this mistaken sense of the archæologist's duties and acquirements exploded. I am fully convinced it holds back many a willing mind from contributing to our general fund of information, and taking a more prominent part in our proceedings. Those local Societies are sure to languish, in which there is an impression that nothing but very superior talent and ability will be favourably received. I wish, therefore, we could better assure our Members that the services of a provincial archæologist are not necessarily dependent on deep research or very abstruse learning; but that every one who is sufficiently imbued with a love of history to enquire into the past, and patiently to register those simple facts which opportunity may bring within his own observation, will contribute a welcome addition to the general store, and be a useful member of the Society as well as the more learned antiquary. We should then have overcome a prejudice which at present operates most fatally against our true interests, shuts out from us much information which we might otherwise acquire, and by too exalted an idea of the talents required for the study of archæology, checks and turns aside many who are too diffident of their own abilities, or who are afraid that the leisure hour (which perhaps is all they have to devote) is insufficient for the pursuit.

A wish to assist in dispelling this illusion, has emboldened me to make public the results of a mere common-place enquiry into the subject we have considered. I have endeavoured to describe Denbigh Castle, not as it was, or as an accomplished architect and archæologist might restore it, but simply *as it is*. Its history has been indefatigably and carefully compiled by more able hands than mine, and from their labours I have merely condensed such an abstract as might lend some interest to our consideration of the ruins themselves. I am well aware that we number among our ranks some whose acquirements would enable them to offer, on this very subject, remarks the offspring of much deeper research, and therefore of much more originality and value than my own; but I wished to shew that something might be also done, without professing that exclusive and devoted study, which has hitherto been supposed necessary to the success of even the provincial archæologist, and which it is so seldom within his power to devote to it.

ROGER WILFRID HAMMOND ESQ F.R.S.A.
AUTHOR OF "A GLOSSARY OF CHESHIRE WORDS"

ON
Cheshire Words, Proverbs, and Sayings.

BY MAJOR EGERTON LEIGH.*

IT may fairly enough be said, in the words of an old Cheshire Proverb, that *I* have no more call to lecture to an Archæological Society (particularly in Chester) than

and that "A cow has to use side-pockets,"

"I am a pretty fellow to make an axle of an oven."

I say particularly in *Chester*, a city which (as has been said of Pompeii) seems to have been potted for posterity, and where the inhabitants ought to be naturally born archæologists. I have somewhere seen a caricature, in which a foreigner (armed and accoutred like the huntsman in tapestry days, with horn and couteau de chasse) is represented as riding well in advance of the hounds after a fox which has just broken cover. He replies to the indignant huntsman, who asks him with a withering sneer, "Do you think *you* can catch that ere fox?" "I do not know, mon ami; but I veal trai, I veal trai." So I will try, however unsuccessfully, to discourse a little on "CHESHIRE WORDS, SAYINGS, and PROVERBS."

A short time since, being confined to my bed through a fall, I amused myself (having an interleaved copy at hand of Roger Wilbraham's *Glossary of Cheshire Words*†) by inserting any words or proverbs

* This Paper was read before the Society on June 2, 1856.

† Roger Wilbraham, F.S.A., was the second son of Roger Wilbraham, of Townsend House, Nantwich, and uncle of George Wilbraham, Esq. of Delamere Lodge, the late respected M.P. for this county. Born at Townsend House on December 30, 1743, he was baptized at Nantwich Church on the 11th of January following, and proceeded in due course to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took a high Wrangler's degree in 1765, being shortly afterwards elected a Fellow of his College. He passed several years of his early life in Italy, Spain, and France, and became well conversant with the literature of those countries, and generally laid in that stock of knowledge which was the ornament of his middle age, and

not mentioned, or incorrectly noticed by him. The result of these few notes will appear in the present Paper, in the compilation and delivery of which I have laboured under two great disadvantages. The first is gleaning (or *sangoing*, to use the Cheshire word) after the gleaner ; for I shall introduce very little from Wilbraham's *Glossary*, with which I take it for granted most members of the Chester Archæological Society are well acquainted. My other disadvantage is, being unable to give the real Cheshire pronunciation to the few Words and Proverbs I shall mention, not having passed those years when the mind is "wax to receive, and marble to retain," in the old County Palatine. However, if I only speak

"To as much purpose as the geese slurr on the ice,"

to use another Cheshire proverb (which means to no purpose,) my wish to please must still be allowed to cover any sins of omission or commission.

It is very difficult to trace out the origin of some of our *commonest* English words, as, for instance, the words *bother* and *bumper*. Look

the comfort of his declining years. On his return to England, he obtained a seat in the House of Commons, and served in different Parliaments as Member for the two Cornish boroughs of Helston and Bodmin. Throughout his political life he was warmly attached to the person and principles of Mr. Fox ; and though he rarely spoke in the House, was esteemed an able, honest, and enlightened senator. On the 25th of November, 1802, Mr. Wilbraham was nominated a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and, in 1819, became one of the Council of that venerable body. Two years before, viz. in May, 1817, he addressed to Samuel Lysons, Esq., then Vice-President of the Society, and one of the authors of the *Magna Britannia*, an original and learned dissertation on the "DIALECT OF CHESHIRE," which was published the same year in the 4to Transactions of the Society. The *Attempt at a Glossary of some Words used in Cheshire*, as the essay was modestly styled by Mr. Wilbraham, was received with much interest, especially among Cheshire men ; the result being, that it was twice reprinted in 12mo., the first time in 1820, and again in 1826, each time with considerable additions. A portrait of him was engraved in 1828, he being then in his 85th year, and from that original the accompanying sketch is a faithful copy. Mr. Wilbraham, who added to his other literary distinctions that of F.R.S., was a sound and diligent antiquary ; and his large collections for Cheshire, and more particularly for his native town, Nantwich, were placed in the hands of Dr. Ormerod, when engaged in writing his valuable *History of Cheshire*. The materials for Partridge's *History of Nantwich*, a small work published anonymously at Shrewsbury, in 1774, came almost entirely from the M.S. stores of Mr. Roger Wilbraham. He died at his house in Stratton Street, on the 3rd of January, 1829, in the 87th year of his age, and was buried at Twickenham, in the interior of which church a monument has since been erected to his memory. We are indebted for much of the foregoing information to the courtesy of George Fortescue Wilbraham, Esq., of Delamere Lodge.

out *bother* in the Dictionary, and you will find "Bother, vulgarly used for Pother, *vide* Pother." You do as directed, and find "Pother, vulgarly Bother, origin unknown." Now there is little doubt that the origin of this word is clearly traceable, and that it is "both ear;" and we may see an example of it any Sunday afternoon in the Cathedral, when the number of ladies requiring seats doubles the existing accommodation; and when the Vergers (the most civil of men, by the bye,) who say that they "would sooner meet the Russians than the ladies of Chester on Sunday afternoon," are *fairly* and *unfairly bothered* by the petitions simultaneously addressed to *both ears* on all sides. The Cheshire words for to bother are to *punger* and to *moither*; in Gloucestershire the word is to *Twyvally*! One would hardly imagine that four such entirely different words could be used in the same country with the same meaning; and there are doubtless many additional synonyms.

Bumper, in the Dictionary, is derived from bump. Now, I understand the true version to be the following:—In Roman Catholic times, the first glass after dinner was drunk "Au bon pere," i. e. The Pope, —hence, without difficulty, we arrive at bumper.*

We have just had a French word turned into English; I will now give an instance of the contrary, which has a curious effect. A Frenchman, giving an account of his travels in England, said that, amongst other names in London, he heard one which struck him as very peculiar: it was a street called "Irons manger l'âne," i. e. "We will go and eat the donkey!" *Ironmonger Lane* would scarcely recognize itself under this accusation of Onophagism.

There is a place in Cheshire called *Hobs Hillock*, where an *obelisk*, according to tradition, formerly existed. In High Leigh there is a lane marked in one of the county maps as *Rensherd's Lane*: the real name is Wrenshot Lane, where in former days boys used to pop at wrens and other small game. Hunting the wren, by the bye, is more an Irish than an English custom; in England, "the robin and the wren" are supposed to be under the especial protection of Providence. In Ireland, wrens are called "The Devil's Servants," as there is a tradition that in the last battle fought in the North of Ireland between the Protestants and Romanists, the former were on the point of being surprised when asleep by the latter, had they not been aroused just in the nick of time by some wrens dancing and pecking on the drums as the enemy were advancing; in short, acting the part of the peculiar bird which, according to Gordon Cumming, the Lion Hunter, watches over the safety of the slumbering rhinoceros; or the zic zac, mentioned

* Another derivation I have heard for it is *bon verre*.

in Curzon's *Monasteries of the Levant*, as the self-appointed sentry and guardian of the repose of the crocodile ; or the geese which, by their soft melody, are said to have saved Rome. I mention these few instances to shew the propensity words have to escape from their origin ; changing their clothes, and requiring all the persevering acuteness and patience of the detective policeman of "auld lang syne" (I mean the antiquary) to run them to ground.

Another great accumulator of difficulties for posterity was the almost universal and utter ignorance of all mankind, except the clergy, in the matter of reading and writing. In the 14th century, the great warrior and statesman, Duguesdin, had not a notion of the mysteries of A.B.C. ; and even in the 17th century, the great Constable Montmorency would have been lost at a modern infant school. The old Douglass, too, indignant at the discovery of Lord Marmion's forgery, thus bursts out :

"Thanks to St. Bothan, son of mine
Save Gawain, ne'er could pen a line ;
So swore I, and so swear I still,
Let my boy Bishop fret his will."

The old noble's words are a fair reflection of the feeling entertained in those days towards the arts of reading and writing. Even Louis XIV. could hardly sign his name, but first used to manage a final S, and then made five straight lines, which he afterwards with some difficulty turned into Louis.

There is scarcely a name of town, place, or family, spelt as it was 200 years since. From the general ignorance of reading and writing sprang the immense number of ways of spelling the same name ; and in many of the old deeds the same name was spelt in *every* known way (for precaution sake) on the same parchment. The name of Mainwaring is an instance of this multiplicity of spelling ; and even my own name, which would hardly seem to admit of such variety, is spelt in at least twelve different ways ; in short, in every imaginable way except the shortest,—L.E. I never remember hearing of a legitimate two lettered name, although I once saw in an old American paper, amongst the list of visitors to the Falls of Niagara, a Captain and Mrs. To ; and even in this case, I have no doubt Mrs. To's visiting card would shew the name spelt with three or four letters.

With regard to Cheshire words, the wonder is not that so many, but that (comparatively speaking) so few should have come down to our time. No county in England is more isolated, with the exception of Cornwall ; in which county within the three last generations an original language existed (now not only dead, but lost,) which some go so far as to say was the language of ancient Carthage ! From my own small knowledge of our own county words, I should say Wilbraham's list

might be increased three-fold. The peculiarity of words in Cheshire springs from many sources and takes many forms. Cheshire touches, or is connected by the sea with two countries, which have languages peculiar to themselves,—Wales and Ireland,—and it can hardly fail to have engrafted words from each. There are other words preserved in this county, which have nearly died out in others. To this list belong the adjective *libbard*, applied to cold stiff land; *suck*, the Cheshire for ploughshare; *squab*, for sofa; *delf*, for quarry. To delve, is one of our old Saxon words:—

“When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman?
Upstart a *churl* and gathered good,
And thence did spring our gentle blood.”

Churl meant, in former days, merely rustics and country people, and had not the bad meaning we now attach to it. *Snye*, is overwhelmed or overrun. A house is said to be “Welly nigh snye with rats.” *Shippin* is a cow-shed, the derivation being *sheep-pen*; curious in a county where till lately so very few sheep were kept. Sheeling is the Scotch, and *chalêt* the Swiss word for *shippin*: two words remarkably similar, considering the distance of those two countries from each other.

“When the wind is in the East
It's neither good for man nor beast,”

as we have sufficient opportunity of practically testing in England. We in Cheshire have a very expressive adjective to denote this raw creeping feel of the weather,—*hask*,—the very sound of which seems to intimate the personification of something thoroughly uncomfortable; as *mulsh* seems to define, and means something quite the reverse. We call a calf *staggering Bob* and *yellow slippers*; in Devonshire, it is called a *heathen*; and the reason given for this is, that the calves not kept to continue the breed are killed within the week, and *therefore* never see a Sunday. I will not make myself answerable for the logic of this idea.

I come now to *mispronunciations*, which, in many cases, alter the original word most materially; thus we have *rabbidge* for rabbit; *cliveley* for cleverly; *turmips* for turnips; *rosydendrum*s for rhododendrons; *merry-tree* for cherry tree; *pale* for rail, &c. At the last Assizes, a witness used the word “pale,” and was corrected by the Judge saying to him, “You mean a rail;” but the man stuck to his *pale*.

Some of these mispronunciations lead occasionally to curious mistakes. A stranger asks the wife of a cottager, “What sort of a spring have you had in Cheshire?” “A deadly *dree* one, and all the Jacobs and damsels are killed,” is the answer. The natural deduction from

this reply, in the enquirer's mind, would be, either that our springs are terrific, or that our fair countrywomen have very delicate constitutions,—in short, are *nesh*,—but still the mystery would remain unsolved, at the sad result which the name of Jacob entails on its bearers. I need not inform a *Cheshire* reader that *damsels* are damsons, and that *Jacobs* are an early plum of that name.

As an example of the *transposition* of letters in words, I instance *ne-am* for name ; and the word reminds me of an anecdote of a Cheshire labourer, much to the credit of his self-respect. A commercial traveller was driving along the road at a time when railways were not, and seeing a poor man, he cried out to him roughly, "I say, Jack! which is my way to Nantwich?" "Whau tould you my *ne-am* was Jack?" said the man. "I guessed it, Jack; I guessed it." "Then," rejoined the other sturdily, "thou mayst guess the way to Nantwich!"

The verb to *pill*, for to *peel*, is an example of one of that class of words which, though found in Scripture, are not in general use: "And Jacob took him rods of green poplar and *pilled* strakes in them," &c.* *Pilling* oak bark is a most popular employment. A gentleman who makes large annual purchases of bark tells me that, whatever may be the pressure on the labour market, men will leave any employment for *pillling*. *Garner*, for granary, is another Scriptural word of common use in Cheshire.

There are other words entirely local,—*murenger*, for example, the official whose business it was in past times to look after the walls of the old city. A *wychwaller* is a boiler of salt, not remarkable for the mildest temper, if there be any truth in the old proverb,—

"To scold like a wych-waller." †

Panmug is another thoroughly Cheshire word, and means the coarsest sort of crockery used at farms for dairy and other purposes. A country girl once went to see Capesthorpe Hall, in this county, where, amongst other curiosities in the drawing-room, there was a fine collection of Etruscan pottery. She returned home astonished and delighted at all she had seen, but said she *was* surprised at the *panmugs* being kept in the *house-place*,—(Cheshire for the best room).

Peart means well, in good spirits; *market peart*, in *too* good spirits, the result of market conviviality. I was once enquiring into the antecedents of an old couple, who had died of cholera after an unusually short attack, and who bore a very good character. I wanted particularly to find out whether they were fond of an extra glass, and ascertained from my informant, after a little pressing, that he had often seen them

* Genesis xxx., 37-38.

† *Notes and Queries*, Second Series, Vol. VI., p. 31, *et seq.*

on their return from market *plaiting their legs*: a most expressive term, and to me a new addition to the numberless ways of describing those who, as Burns says, are

“Na that fou, but just a drappie in the ee,”

or, to express it proverbially,

“One whom the brewer’s horse has bit.”

We have some peculiar words which speak of former days and former ways. I instance the word to *carpet*, which means to scold a servant. I have heard a servant boast (and a legitimate reason for boasting too) that she had never been *carpeted*. I imagine when houses were first beginning to emerge from their state of rush-strewn floors, the smartest room in the house might have boasted a carpet about the size of a rug in the centre of the apartment, as we frequently see abroad at the present day; and that for serious crimes and high misdemeanors the offending maiden was summoned to the state-room, to be then and there scolded by the lady of the mansion, sitting in stern and solemn dignity in the midst of her square of carpet.

We have in Cheshire *sanjam* apples and pears, and a *sanjam* fair at Altrincham, that is to say, particular apples and pears which ripen about the 25th of July, and a fair which takes place on *St. James’ day*. They hold the fair on the 5th of August, instead of the 25th of July, in consequence of eleven days having been blotted out of the year by Act of Parliament, when the Old made way for the New Style in 1752.

Some of the oldest fairs are held on the day of the saint to whom the church of the town was dedicated; and by the 13th of Edward I. fairs as well as markets were actually enjoined to be held *in* the church-yard, as being the most suitable place. There is an old proverb relating to *St. James’ day*, by which it appears that our ancestors considered it as the turning point of the year for their crops,—

“Till *St. James* his day be come and gone,
You may have hopes, or you may have none.”

Mark here the origin of the second S, as the sign of the genitive case; it is not *St. James’ day*, but *St. James his day*.

People go a good deal by particular days and times when things are to be done or avoided. Fires are lighted on *St. John’s day*; horses bled on *St. Stephen’s day*; no Scotch woman will be married in May, &c., &c. I remember a gentleman asking his gardener “whether he had any asparagus fit to cut?” “Why, sir,” was the answer, “*Balaam* is not come yet; and we never looks for sparrowgrass till then,”—

alluding to the time of the year when the chapters relating to the history of Balaam are appointed by the Church to be read.

To *clam* or *clem* is a word which with us means to starve.* One of the Mere woods is called *Clemhunger Wood*,—a miserable sounding name for a rather pretty plantation. To give an idea of the difficulty of the English language, not only to foreigners, but even to ourselves, the short word *clam* has (counting provincialisms) no fewer than fourteen meanings ; and the word *bay* some eighteen ! We use *enjoy* in a very unenjoyable way : “ How are you to-day, Letty ? ” “ I thank you, Sir, I *enjoy* very indifferent health.” Most counties that have any dialect have peculiar words for the commonest birds, flowers, &c. We have many examples of this given in Wilbraham’s *Glossary*. There is a common weed which grows in rich rank soil, called in Cheshire “ fat hen,” in another county “ lambs’ tongues,” in another “ Goose-foot ; ” the two latter names evidently given it from the shape of the two differently formed leaves. Our name for it, “ fat hen,” puzzled me, till I found it was also called *Bonus Henricus* and “ Good King Henry : ” then I began to see my way, and settled it must have been called after bluff King Hal, or, as he was not the best king in the world, after one of the earlier Henries.

I have heard of an anxious wife expressing her intense love for her sick husband in terms of affection, to say the least of it, ambiguous ; and complaining to a person who asked after his health, “ that he would neither doe nor dee,” meaning that he obstinately refused either to get well or to die out and out. Upon the death of an acquaintance, the feeling remark is not uncommonly made, “ Well, there’s his pot and porridge spoon for some one else.” It reminds me of the commentary of the smallest drummer boy in the army, on the death of the Duke of York, “ Well,” he said, “ we are all *very* sorry, but it gives *me* a step.”

The additions to the words of our language since the time of Johnson may be counted by thousands, but there are also many, *particularly* provincialisms, disappearing and dying out. Nor can we wonder at this when the slang of schools, which from circumstances one would have considered almost immutable, is liable to change and extinction. On talking over the subject with the Provost of Eton, I found that many words, even since my time, have disappeared from the Etonian glossary.

There are many Cheshirisms which, when the words are divided, have individually little peculiarity about them ; but which, when put together and taken collectively, are almost an unknown tongue to the

* Nixon, the Cheshire prophet, on being sent for to Court, is said to have foretold that if he did so he should surely be *clemmed*,—an event which, his biographers declare, actually came to pass.

uninitiated. "Bang her amang her een," screamed one boy to another who was endeavouring to drive an unruly cow. A Smithfield drover would hardly discover that this was the receipt so often and so sadly practised amongst themselves. "Strike her between the eyes," is the English of the Cheshire "Bang her amang her een!"

"What have you got in your basket?" said a lady to a man whom she met. "Nubbut a whiskettle a whick snigs," which being interpreted, or, as the Yankees would say, "biled and its skin peeled off," means "Nothing but a basket of live eels."

I will not linger, however, any longer amongst the Words, but proceed to the PROVERBS OF CHESHIRE. Of these, I am not aware that there is any separate County collection published. That of Grose is very limited, and one of the few he mentions is wrong. Rich, very rich, as we are in County historians, the Proverbs seem to have been a point—a most interesting point—not mentioned, or barely touched upon by any of them. My difficulty has been, out of the large mass of English proverbs, to select those that are *genuine* Cheshire; and I shall adduce as specimens—first, those relating to Cheshire places and families; secondly, those of which the Cheshire origin is pointed out by the presence of a Cheshire word; and thirdly, those that I have satisfied myself belong to the County.

The first I quote as a sort of link between my two subjects,—Words and Proverbs,—and to prove that the pronunciation of Cheshire some hundred years ago was very much what it is now:

"She hath been at London to call a streea a straw,
and a waw a wall."

the indignant complaint of a "stay-at-home" against some great lady traveller (the Ida Pfeiffer of the 15th century perhaps) who had made the journey to—London! and it was jealously wanted to be proved

"How much the fool which has been sent to roam
Exceeds the fool who has been kept at home."

We must give a high place in our catalogue to a proverb of which we ought all to be very proud, as the general definition of the men of Cheshire:

"Cheshire, chief of men,"

or, as it is versified,

"Cheshire, famed for chief of men,
High in glory soars again,"

which (if not given to our noble selves *by* our noble selves, as that malicious Grose insinuates,) must, I think, have been acquired when the first eight-oar mentioned on the Dee, and perhaps the *only* eight-

oar manned by kings ever noticed in history, bore the victorious Edgar from his palace to St. John's Church.

After this general prefatory exaltation of ourselves, we come to the proverbs relating to the old city, and begin with the Chester reading of "When the steed is stolen, shut the stable door,"—

"When the daughter is stolen, shut the Pepper Gate,"

which we all know originated in a former Mayor of Chester bricking up the Pepper Gate after his daughter had run away through it with her lover; for we may, I think, conclude that this was the *real* story of the *stealing*; as they say in Ireland,

"And when once the young heart of a maiden is stolen,
The maiden herself will steal after it soon."

It seems she was playing at ball when the catastrophe occurred, and ran, like young Lochinvar's bride, from the ball with her lover,—

"One touch to her hand, and one word in her ear,
When they reached the hall door, and the charger stood near,
So light to the croup the fair lady he swung,
So light to the saddle before her he sprung.
She is won; we are gone, over bank, bush, and scaur,
'They have fleet steeds that follow,' said young Lochinvar."

It is evident the Mayor was not one of those fathers of whom the song complains :

“ Her father was peeping about,
Oh ! fathers, you never should peep.”

I want very much to make out, on some old black letter authority, that the name of the Mayor was Peter Wood ; as, if so, I have two undoubtedly Cheshire proverbs that would just suit. The first is,

“ Peter Wood, Church and Mills are all his.”

Then comes the second proverb, in which he appears again :

“ I’ll tent thee, quoth Wood,
If I can’t rule my daughter, I’ll rule my good.”

Cannot we fancy the old gentleman shouting out this as he shook his fist at the disappearing couple, his “ daughter,” but *not* his “ ducats,” gone.

We naturally glide off by an easy transition from the Belle of Pepper (or Pebble Street, as some think it originally was called,) to another description of bell. A successful competitor is said

“ To bear away the bell.”

There is no doubt that a bell was the prize given to be run for in former days at Chester Races. I do not know whether any one possesses a specimen of this sort ; it would be a great curiosity, and I hope one will find its way to our Museum. The saying,

“ Salmon and Sermon have both their season in Lent,”

ought certainly to belong to Chester, a Cathedral town, containing formerly at least twelve Churches, with the salmon bearing Dee running through it. There is another old Chester proverb, used to express the *ne plus ultra* of extravagance,—the Monte Christo of the Eastgate, or the Alcibiades of Bridge Street, in the 15th century :

“ If thou hadst the rent of Dee Mills thou would’st spend it.”

I find the following note to this proverb :—“ Dee, the name of the river on which the city of Chester stands ; the Mills thereon yield a very great annual rent.” This was particularly the case with the Mills formerly, which despotically embraced the monopoly of a large circuit of country, within which no one could even grind their *own* corn without paying molage, a sort of *black* mail of *white* meal to the dominant

millers. Lords of Manors used to reserve to their own families what was called *molitura libera*, or the right to make use of a mill without paying toll. People used to take their revenge on the millers by a variety of bitter proverbs, and it is quite possible that the first derivation of the verb to *molest* may be *mola*, a mill.

We come now to some of the Name Proverbs, and, as the French say, "Place aux Dames."

"As fair as Lady Done."

This refers to the wife of Sir John Done, who was half bow-bearer of the forest of Delamere, and who is mentioned in that capacity as being ordered to take measures for the preservation of order amongst a sudden influx of people, brought together by the discovery of a new mineral spring in the forest. Report says his lady was as fair in mind as she was beautiful in form; and Pennant mentions that "when a Cheshire man would express super-eminent excellency in one of the fair sex, he will say, "There is Lady Done for you."* She was quite the country pet; the very nurses used the term of "Lady Done" to their girls to express unsurpassable perfection; as they did the name of "Lord Derby" to their male nurslings for the same purpose. But we must have done with Lady Done, and come to a saying which brings before us, certainly not in the most poetical manner (although replete with similes,) four families, which seem to have been celebrated at any rate for their numbers:

**"As many Leighs as fleas, Massies as asses,
Crewes as crows, and Davenports as dogs' tails."**

The existence of the last-mentioned family should have thinned the rogues in the northern part of the county, as they had the power of life and death over the vagabonds infesting Macclesfield Forest. Hence the crest of the Davenports,—*"A rogue's head coupéd at the shoulders, and in profile proper, round the neck a halter, or,"*—also, I conclude, most proper and *fitting*. I have some other proverbs relative to families, but I have mentioned enough as specimens, and pass on to others which concern different towns of the county; before doing so, however, I will mention one which, like "Chief of men," takes in all Cheshire, at least all the feline race:

"To grin like a Cheshire cat."

We have all heard of grinning like a dog, but why a cat should grin, and particularly a *Cheshire* cat (except from the intense delight of

* Pennant's *Tour from Chester to London*, 4th edition, p. 8.

seeing dairies—a cat's paradise—on all sides,) is beyond my comprehension. Speaking of cats reminds me of a curious sign of a public-house on the borders of Cheshire, between Macclesfield and Buxton. It is called the *Cat and Fiddle*. I have heard its origin traced to *Catherina Fidelis*, after whom the public-house may, in the first instance, have been called; signs of public-houses and inns formerly with us, and constantly to this day abroad (where it is carried to an excess bordering on profanity) being named after some event or sacred person mentioned in Scripture. We have still, for instance, in many parts of England, the sign of "The Salutation."

The first proverb relating to Macclesfield gives that town a good character for liberality:—

"Macclesfield measure, heap and thrutch." (i. e. thrust.)

The Cheshire word for bushel—strike—does not seem to intimate that the *heap* is universal; as the word *strike* is said to be derived from striking off the heaped-up part of the bushel with a stick.

The next proverb relating to Macclesfield has not so obvious a meaning:—

"To feed like a freeholder of Macclesfield, who has neither corn nor hay at Michaelmas."

It may allude to the cold situation of the town, surrounded by bleak hills, where a harvest of any sort (particularly an early one, at a period when agriculture was in its infancy, and the name of *Mechi* unknown,) would have been a difficulty. It is an old proverb of Ray's (date 1670), and in order to be entitled to rank as a proverb, the saying must be much older. The remark attached to it is this:—"Macclesfield or Maxfield is a small town or burrough of Cheshire." Times are altered: at the census of 1851 the population of this *small* market town was upwards of thirty thousand!

"To lick it up like Lim Hay,"

means to be very fond of a thing. Lymm is spelt in this adage L I M; doubtless the correct way, from *limes*, a boundary, the village being at the extremity of the county. We have the same name repeated in different ways in other parts of the county. Tarvin (originally written Terfyn) also means a boundary, from being situated on the verge of the Royal Forest. Lyme, near Stockport, is another instance, being situated on the boundary of old Macclesfield Forest. In Lyme Park, by the way, exists the only living archæological curiosity in the county,

—the original breed of English wild cattle,—only found, I believe, in three other parks of Great Britain.

“To tear Lim from Warburton,”

is used when speaking of something that is either inseparable or impossible,—the two parishes which appear in the above proverb having for a long course of years been reckoned as one. The inhabitants of Warburton have, however, one privilege denied to their Lymm brethren, viz. exemption from serving on juries, Warburton having once been a fief of the Priory of St. John of Jerusalem.

“Stopford law, no stake no draw.”

We have here the old name of Stockport, or *Stopport*, as the inhabitants now call it. Those only who contribute to an undertaking are to reap the advantages of it,—those only who subscribe towards the purchase of a pot of ale are to share it; in short, it is a fair-play proverb, at least according to one reading. A similar Lancashire saying,

“Lancashire law, no stake no draw,”

is explained as a proverb to avoid payment of a bet only verbally made. The proverb attached to Congleton is a curious one:—

**“Like Congleton Bear Town, where they sold the Bible
to buy a bear.”**

A new Bible was once wanted for their chapel, and not being able to purchase it at once, possibly owing to the poverty brought on by the plague, the inhabitants laid by money with a view to the ultimate purchase of a new one. In the meantime the town bear died, and the money originally intended to buy a new Bible was given to the Bearward to replace the defunct bear. This was about the year 1662. In the old accounts of Congleton, between 1589 and 1613, we find recorded:—“Payments to the Bearward: Fetching the bears to the wakes; bill for wine, sack, spice, figs, almonds, and beer, at the great Bear *Bate*.” The Bear’s Head and the White Bear Inns still bear testimony to the former sports of the town.*

The Mayors of Cheshire seem to have been particularly liable to

* Erasmus, who visited England in the reign of Henry VIII. says:—
“There were many herds of bears maintained in this country for the purpose of baiting.”

proverbial attacks. We have already seen how they stole away the Mayor of *Chester's* daughter. Now for the Mayor of Over :—

**"For honours great and profits small,
The Mayor of Over beats them all."**

It is said to have been the prerogative of the Mayor of Over, if he saw three pigs basking in the sun, to rouse up the middlemost and take his place ! This is really more insulting than the way the German students have of plaguing the Mayor of Oberwesel, on the Rhine, by screaming out, "Who is the Mayor of Oberwesel?" The answer returned by the echoing rocks is "Esel," German for a *donkey* ! The Mayor of Altrincham does not escape :—

"He lies in bed whilst his breeches are mending,"

and a good plan too ; could he be expected to walk about like a Highlander without them ? Then we come to a saying associating the Mayors of Altrincham and Over in most indifferent rhythm, or rather absence of rhythm :—

**"The Mayor of Altrincham and the Mayor of Over,
The one is a thatcher, the other a dauber."**

They would at any rate have the advantage over most people, in making themselves snug wherever they might be together ; the Mayor of Altrincham would thatch the house after his brother Mayor had built it of doub, or "wattle and dab," as it is sometimes called.* In some parts of the North, the neighbours used to meet at what is called in America a Bee, and then and there build a house of "wattle and doub" for any young couple who might have married before thinking of a house.

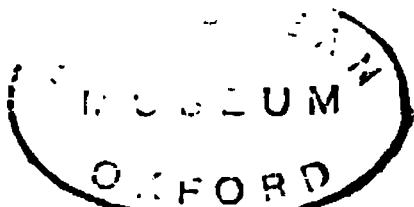
The two Peovers, with Knutsford, and Rostherne, are associated together in a saying relative to their Church bells :—

**"Higher Peover kettles, Lower Peover pans,
Knutsford sweet music, and Rostherne great drones."**

"Higgledy Piggledy, Malpas shot."

This seems at first sight inexplicable ; but the dark saying is thus interpreted :—One of our Sovereigns, whose name has not survived to us, (acting the part of Haroun al Raschid,) once came to Malpas *incognito*, and spent the evening at the village inn, in the company of the

* In Devonshire, this sort of building is called *cob*.



Rector and Curate ; but when the reckoning came and the *shot* had to be paid, the Rector refused to pay his share, and the Curate at once offered to pay for both. Upon which the King, giving vent to the proverb, made the Curate joint Rector, and gave him half the living. The other version of the story is, that after dinner the King proposed to the Rector that they should pay for the Curate, to which the Rector objected, saying,—

**“Higgledy Piggledy, Malpas shot,—let every tub stand on
its own bottom,”**

upon which the King proceeded to act as I have mentioned. There are two Rectors also of the church at Lymm, in this county, but I never heard that it is the result of a Royal visit.

“You may know a Mobberly man by his leather breeches,”

a delicate way of hinting that, in former days, the Mobberly rustics could not resist the temptation presented to them by the proximity of Tatton Park. The late Mr. Wilbraham Egerton told me of this proverb some years since.*

Many peculiar agricultural, and particularly dairy, proverbs must exist, if one could only find them out. I will begin with the farmer's toast,—

“Three flails and cuckoo,”

for the farmer who, at the return of the cuckoo, can keep three flails at work cannot want for capital. I think it is the 14th of April which goes by the name of cuckoo-day, and the 15th is called swallow-day, from the two birds in question being generally observed first at these periods. Next comes a warning to the farmer, in which the cuckoo is also introduced :—

**“When cuckoo comes to bare thorn,
Sell your cattle and buy corn ;
But when she comes to the full bit,
Sell your corn and buy you sheep.”**

* There is a saying of Piers Plowman's (which, for aught we know, may be entitled to rank as a Cheshire proverb), that

**“Thoro the pass of Halton
Poverté may pass without fear of robbynge.”**

This was a quaint way of telling the world that, in the days of friend Piers, there were more robbers than honest men located in the neighbourhood of Halton pass. See Chester Archæological Society's *Journal*, Vol. II., pp. 10-11.

Do not despair of the fertility of the year because the spring is late :

**"No grass first of May,
Fetch another cow to the ley."**

Another proverb warns the farmer against buying hay for his stock :

"Hanged hay never does cattle."

Hanged hay means hay that has been weighed out or hung on the steel-yard.

"To like the boose but not the ring stake,"

is a proverb taken from the shippon, and is made use of when a lady likes the suitor's *purse* but not his *person*,—likes the old lover's yellow *gold*, but not his yellow *face*. It reminds me of the answer given by a friend to an old man of the name of Gould, who, in announcing his marriage, had ended his letter with the following couplet :—

**"So you see, my dear Sir, though I'm eighty years old,
A girl of eighteen is in love with old Gould."**

This was the friend's answer :—

**"That a girl of eighteen may love *gold*, is quite true,
But believe me, dear Sir, it is Gold without U !"**

This, I rather believe, is an old Joe Miller ; but Joe Miller has attained an antiquity sufficiently venerable for archæology itself.

"To come home, like a Parson's cow, with a calf at her foot,"

is said of those lucky individuals whose pence are rapidly becoming pounds.

**"Who would keep a cow when he can have a pottle of milk
for a penny ?"**

A pottle is an old word for two quarts, and, to meet the case, we may slightly change and adapt two lines of that ancient (I believe very ancient) nursery song of the "Old Woman and her Silver Penny" :

**"Whence sages aver, and perhaps they say true,
That milk it was plenty, and pennies were few."**

We should, I think, be a long way from a pottle of milk were we in these days to offer a penny to the milkman, although he has unlimited assistance from that prolific member of the modern dairy,—“the cow with the iron tail !” A pottle is also a dry measure. We talk of a

pottle of hay, when we mean a truss ; and it has been suggested to me that the seeming absurdity of the proverb,

" Looking for a needle in a bottle of hay,"

may be reconciled with common sense by considering *bottle* a corruption of *pottle*.

My next records a most un-dairymaid-like trick : Grose gives the saying to Derbyshire, but it is common to both counties.—

**"I am very wheamow (i. e. active) said the old woman when she
stept into the middle of the bittlin" (i. e. milk-bowl.)**

I am afraid she must have been mother of the little girl who was told to spell " Milk ;" and, finding she had a difficulty in doing so, her schoolmistress kindly tried to assist, by telling her it was what her mother put in her tea ;—the little girl's face at once brightened up, as she spelt R-U-M.

The following agricultural proverb would render me liable to be kicked out of every agricultural society in England for abuse of the short-horns :—

" Curst cows have short horns."

" Dat Deus immuti cornua Bovi."

The note on this is, " That Providence so disposes that those who have the *will* want *power* to hurt." I read a curious exemplification of this in the account of a terrific fight (mentioned by Paliser) between a buffalo, and a long-horned bull belonging to the hunting station where he was visiting. It ended (though the bull had the disadvantage of constrained movements, from his being harnessed to a cart at the time of the conflict) in the death of the buffalo, and Paliser attributes the very little *comparative* injury sustained by the bull to the shortness of the buffalo's horns, and the clotted masses of hair about his forehead, which neutralized his immense weight and enormous strength, and acted like a railway buffer in the bull's favour.

The following is not a generally received notion, but I have heard it said that some of the old farmers liked some rain upon their newly-mown hay, " to wash the poison out of it." There is a shadow of a reason for this, as *weathered* hay seldom becomes mow-burnt, which is often the case in very fine weather.

The following proverb actually takes us back beyond history, and strengthens tradition :

**" From Birkenhead to Hilbree
A squirrel can jump from tree to tree."**

In the present day we must find a squirrel with mile bounds to accomplish this feat. But to prove that it was once not only possible but probable, there are evident remains of the roots of forest trees all along the coast, thickly set, between these two places; the fragments not of an earlier world, but of an earlier age. It carries us back to the traditionary period, when the Mersey rolled its uncontaminated waves into the Dee, through the valley now traversed by the Ellesmere Canal. Where now the shrimp fisher pursues her solitary walk amongst sinking sand-banks,—where the rich argosy, drawn by the wind, or in spite of the wind by the hot breath of the water, brings the varied tribute of the world to the modern Tyre,—the Druids may once have celebrated their mysterious orgies or cut the sacred mistletoe amongst dense forests, the lair of the wild boar, and the refuge of the wolf.

When this geographical convulsion occurred,—which, in a great degree, severed Cheshire from Lancashire, made Wirral a peninsula, allowed the Mersey literally to set up trade on her own account, and break off her partnership with the Dee,—is not known, but it must have been subsequent to the Roman invasion. In a list of inundations mentioned in Haydn's *Dictionary of Dates*, a flood is recorded as having occurred in Cheshire A.D. 253 (only some 1500 years since), in which 5,000 people and innumerable cattle perished. This *may* have been the flood which interrupted, or rather terminated, the nutting parties of the Birkenhead squirrels to Hilbree.

The antiquity of an article of dress still prevalent in the country is pointed out by the following:

“I'll make one (said Kirkham) when he danced in
his clogs.”

Who Kirkham was does not signify; but it shows how very long clogs have been worn; then, as now, made of alder, or, as we call it, *ouler*. On the first of May it used to be the custom, and may be so still, for the young men to cut a branch from where “the birch trees weep in fragrant bloom” and hang it up at their sweetheart's door. But woe betide the maiden, if instead of the birchen bough she found a suspended branch of the *ouler*,* or a *nut* wand: in the former case it was an unmistakeable hint she was considered a scold and a growler, in the latter a slut!

Cowper says “Oaths terminate (as St. Paul observes) all strife.” So it is with proverbs. If a proverb can be brought to bear upon a

* Sometimes spelt *oller*: see Sir William Brereton's *Travels in Holland, the United Provinces, England, Scotland, and Ireland*, A.D. 1634-5, published by the Chetham Society, under the editorship of Edward Hawkins, Esq., F.R.S.

point in dispute, we bow at once to ancestral laconism. A farmer was complaining to me of the expense and worry of his large family ; I used the old and comforting argument, that when *he* was old his family would show their gratitude by taking care of him, &c. He turned to me, and said :

"Did you ever hear of the kitling bringing a mouse to the old cat?"

I knew of no such case, and shut up at once. He could hardly have heard of the Spanish proverb :—"One father can support ten children ; ten children cannot support one father." But my friend might have been thinking of a Cheshire proverb, not creditable to Bessy Locket's filial affection :—

"Roint, ye witch, said Bessy Locket to her mother."

I hope "*Kitty Locket*," who "lost her pocket," and is now immortalized in a new country, with a new dress, as "*Yankee Doodle*," was a more dutiful character, and that the loss of her pocket was not a judgment on her for unfilial proceedings.

Some of the oldest Cheshire proverbs take the form of similes—here is a string of them :

"All on one side, like Parkgate."*

"Like Auger (i. e. Alsager) wenches, all alike."

We must take it for granted they were all alike "Fair! oh, how divinely fair!"

"He stands like Mumphazard, who was hung for saying nothing."

We are not so severe against the Mumphazards of the present day. I hope none of my readers will be inclined to hang *me* for saying too much.

"Like Goodyer's pig, never well except when he is doing mischief."

This saying, I think, sufficiently speaks for itself.

"Like Ludlum's dog, which was so lazy he leant against the wall to bark."

* Parkgate consists of a long, continuous, single street, by the side of the river Dee, on the S.W. coast of Wirral. Similar proverbs to this are current in other counties.



T. BAILEY SC.

WYBUNBURY CHURCH AND LEANING TOWER, (HESHIRE.
FROM AN OLD DRAWING IN THE POSSESSION OF MR TURNER, MANTWICH.

The greatest instance of laziness I believe on record, except, by the bye, that of the American's slave who once caught the ague. "But I guess," said his master, "the fever soon left him, for he was so tarnation lazy he would not shake."

The following may be cited as a specimen of a modern Cheshire proverb :—

"As crooked as Wembury (Wybunbury) steeple."

Till I saw this I thought that Chesterfield stood almost alone in its pre-eminence of crooked steeples.*

There is an old and somewhat dogmatical saying of another steeple in this county :

"Davenham steeple, the centre of Cheshire within three barleycorns."

Even the correctness of the Ordnance survey surely cannot beat this !

There are perhaps more proverbs relating to the weather than to any other subject. I have seen a book full of them, but cannot answer for many as being genuine Cheshire.

**"Till May is out,
Ne'er doff a clout:"**

advice most useful during last month. The proverb proves that formerly, as well as now, the May of poetry and the May of reality often widely differed.

**"A dripping June
Puts all in tune."**

If the present June continues as it has begun, we shall, according to this proverb, have no discord during our peace year—(1856).

**"An oak for a choke,
And an ash for a squash."**

* The present steeple of Wybunbury Church, near Nantwich, was erected in 1595. Owing to the foundations not having been made sufficiently secure, the tower was observed, about 1790, to have receded from the perpendicular to such a degree, that endeavours were forthwith made to restore it to position, but without effect. It then leaned 3 feet 10 inches towards the N.E. ; but in 1832, the inclination having increased to the alarming extent of 5 feet 11 inches, the parishioners employed Mr. Trubshaw, of Staffordshire, to restore it, if possible, to its original position. This object that gentleman effected in a most creditable and substantial manner, by under-building the tower with inverted arches placed beneath the foundations, and by increasing the area at the base to a considerable extent. During the progress of these works, the steeple gradually, and to the astonishment of the country-folk, recovered its perpendicular ; and,—as we are assured by Mr. Twemlow, of Hatherton House, who kindly furnished the above information,—has never since moved in the slightest degree.

The idea is, that when the leaves of the oak appear before those of the ash, the result is a dry season, and that when the reverse happens, the ensuing season will be wet. There is a curious tradition that the failure of the crop of ash keys (or candles, as the seed of the ash is called in Dorsetshire) portends a death in the Royal family.

There are several proverbs which have been handed down to us, the key to which is lost, and the meaning smothered by the dust of antiquity.

"Nichills in nine pokes." (Nothing in nine holes.) *

"He's bout (without) as Barrow was."

"As good as gooseskins, which never man had enough of."

"Well, well, is a word of malice."

"'But when?' quoth Kettle to his mare."†

These are instances of proverbs which at any rate *I* am unable to interpret. But I should be sorry to see a proverb cashiered merely because we have for the present lost the meaning of it, as something may always happen to explain dark sayings in a way perhaps both amusing and instructive.

There is a proverb *not* a Cheshire one,—“Tenterden's Steeple the cause of Goodwin's Sands,”—which I bring forward as a proof of what I have just alleged, to shew that nothing should be called, till proved, absurd; and how, by sifting enquiry and chance, the greatest apparent absurdity may become common sense. The proverb I have just quoted is used when any one brings forward an absurd and ridiculous reason. There exists the following account of it, as found in one of Bishop Latimer's sermons (the last one he preached before Edward VI.) on Covetousness. I will give a short extract from the sermon:—“Here was preaching against covetousness all the last year in Lent, and the next year followed rebellion; *ergo*, preaching against covetousness was the cause of the rebellion. A goodly argument! Here, now, I remember an argument of Master More's,‡ which he bringeth in a book he made

* *Nine Holes* was an ancient juvenile game, quoted by Forby, Nares, and others.

† This proverb may possibly belong to Chester city; for in the southern suburb of Handbridge there is a field, of old time known as “Kettle's Croft.”

‡ Sir Thomas More does not say he was sent to enquire into the cause of the Goodwin Sands, but that the enquiry was conducted by “divers men of worshippe.”

against Bilney ; and here, by the way, I will tell you a merry toy. Master More was once sent in commission into Kent, to help to try out, if it might be, what was the cause of Goodwin Sands and the shelf that stopped up Sandwich Haven. Thither cometh Master More, and calleth the country afore him, such as were thought to be men of experience, and men that could of likelihood best certify him of that matter concerning the stopping of Sandwich Haven. Among others came in before him an old man with a white head, that was thought to be little less than an hundred years old. When Master More saw this aged man, he thought it expedient to hear him say his mind in this matter ; for being so old a man, it was likely he knew most of any man in that presence and company. So Master More : ‘ Father,’ said he, ‘ tell me, if ye can, what is the cause of this great arising of the lands and shelves here about this haven, the which stop it up that no ships can arrive here ? Ye are the eldest man that I can espy in all this company, so that if any man can tell any cause of it, ye, of likelihood, can say most in it, or at leastwise more than any other man here assembled.’ ‘ Yea, forsooth, good master,’ said this old man, ‘ for I am well nigh an hundred years old, and no man here in this company anything near unto mine age.’ ‘ Well, then,’ quoth Master More, ‘ how say you in this matter ? What think you to be the cause of these shelves and flats that stop up Sandwich Haven ?’ ‘ Forsooth, Sir,’ quoth he, ‘ I am an old man ; I think that *Tenterten Steeple is the cause of Goodwin Sands* ; for I am an old man, and I may remember the building of Tenterten Steeple, and I may remember when there was no steeple at all there ; and before that Tenterten Steeple was in building, there was no manner of speaking of any flats or sands that stopped the haven, and therefore I think that Tenterten Steeple is the cause of the destroying and decay of Sandwich Haven.’ And even so to my purpose, is preaching of God’s Word the cause of rebellion, as Tenterten Steeple was the cause Sandwich Haven is decayed. And is not this a gay matter, that such should be taken for great wise men that will thus reason against the preacher of God’s Word ?”—So far Latimer, quoting from Sir Thomas More ; and, at *first* sight, there do seem to be grounds for the dictum of the old man becoming a proverb for Folly. But now let us see the other side, as quoted by Fuller in his *Worthies of England*, (from G. Sandys, in his Notes on the 13th of *Ovid’s Metamorphoses*) :—

“ Time out of mind money was constantly collected out of the county to fence the East Banks thereof from an eruption of the sea, and such sums were deposited in the hands of the Bishop of Rochester ; but because the sea had been very quiet for many years without encroaching, the Bishop commuted that money to the building of a steeple and endowing of a church at Tenterden. By this diversion of the collection

for the maintenance of the banks, the sea afterwards breaks in upon Goodwin Sands; and now the old man had told a rational tale, had he found but the due favour to finish it."

There is a reading of the term "To be cock-a-hoop," which also proves that we need never despair of explaining a saying, however dark. The original wording was to "Set cock on hoop,"—said of a prodigal who takes the spigot out of the cask and lays it on the hoop (*i. e.* the top of the barrel,) drawing off the whole liquor at once.

"Bout's (without is) bare, but it is easy."

This contented proverb means, that poverty is hard, but that there is none of the anxiety of wealth about it; like the Latin idea,—

"Vacuus cantat coram latrone viator,"

which, being interpreted for the benefit of the ladies, runs thus:

**"Careless abroad the poor man walks,
Where highwayman or footpad stalks."**

Another local saying,—

"Better bad than bout," (without)

is first cousin to the last, answering to the old idea that "half a loaf is better than no bread," and was used by a Cheshire wife in speaking of her good-for-nothing husband, whom her friends in vain tried to persuade her to leave.

"Billy has found a pin."*

said of one who makes a mountain of a molehill,—one of the industrious fleas of society,—the raker-up of small grievances,—the fomenter of petty quarrels,—the professor of useless pursuits,—so ably caricatured in *Gulliver's Travels*.

"Every man is not born to be Vicar of Bowdon;"

an intimation that everybody is not born with a gold spoon in his mouth. †

* Henry, Lord Delamere, in a speech on *Arbitrary and Illegal Imprisonments*, printed in the collected edition of his works, in 1694, comments on some rash proceedings of the Privy Council, in the following terms:—"And what a pudder did they make! In our countrey (Cheshire), when a man makes a great stir about a matter, and it ends in nothing that is significant, we say—'Billy has found a pin'!"

† Bowdon was in old times accounted one of the most valuable livings in Cheshire. The old Church, of which the accompanying sketch affords a pretty correct idea, is now (1858) in process of demolition, preparatory to the erection of a nobler edifice from the designs of Mr. W. H. Brakspear, of London. During the progress of the works, remains have been discovered of two earlier Churches, one of the Norman, and the other of the decorated period.

BOWDON CHURCH, CHESHIRE.

Trinity

The following, I believe, exists under different garbs, in most counties :

"You are a man amongst the geese, when the gander is away;"

thus we have in England, and elsewhere,

"A Triton amongst the minnows."

"Un Borgne parmi les avengles est Roi."

Some proverbs are said to be "sententious speeches of great authors;" and here is one said to have been often in the mouth of Sir Thomas Egerton, the Cheshire Lord Chancellor :

"Frost and fraud both end in foul."

In *Letters from the Bodleian Library*, it is mentioned that Lord Shrewsbury desired him to buy for him that noble manor of Ellesmere, and delivered him the money. "Egerton liked the bargain and seat so well, that truly he had kept it for himself; but the money he restored to the Earl of Shrewsbury again." If this story is true, coupling it with the preceding proverb, it rather reminds one of another: "The Friar preached against stealing when he had a pudding in his sleeve!"

**"Sigh no more, lady, sigh no more,
Men were deceivers ever;
One foot on sea and one on land,
To one thing constant never."**

So says the poet. The Cheshire proverb for inconstancy is :

"In dock, out nettle."

There are two old lines in which this proverb is quoted as the climax of inconstancy :

**"Uncertain, certain, never loves to settle,
But here, there, everywhere: 'In dock, out nettle.'"**

When a person is stung by a nettle (according to Wilbraham) the immediate application of a dock to the aggrieved part, and repeating three times "In dock, out nettle," will effect a cure. Another charm is, for the stung victim to repeat :

"Nettle in, dock out, dock rub nettle out."

According to the old Latin monkish adage, a woman's garter bound round the affected part was another sovereign cure for the sting of a nettle. "Honi soit qui mal y pense."

"Exeat ortica, tibi sit Periscelis amica."

Moukish authors, we find, often and most sadly disregarded quantity in verse-making.

"I have other fish to fry than snigs without butter."

The common world is satisfied when they refuse to do anything (from being pre-occupied or otherwise engaged,) by saying, "I have other fish to fry." Our Cheshire expression is stronger, for we not only allege the previous engagement, but also more than hint that what we are required to do is a loss of time, and disagreeable. We may remember the Frenchman answering, with full confidence in the perfection of his English, on a similar occasion,—*"No morr ami, I must go fry some feesh."*

The next is not properly a proverb or saying, but a *sobriquet* of the inhabitants of the villages named:—"Lymm greys, Statham blacks, Warburton blues, and Peover pecks (or speckled.)" These are said to have originated from the particular colours of the game cocks bred in the respective localities, when cock-fighting was universal, and not, as it is now, discreditable and illegal. I remember seeing a fine picture at Daylesford (once Warren Hastings' house) of himself as Governor of India, and all the celebrated men of his Court attending a cock-fight. In former days we used to hear of "Bowdon rabbits; Dunham Woodhouse hares; Carrington hawks; Altrincham and Bollington shabraques," &c.

There is a proverb which has been mentioned to me as Cheshire, but I suspect it is as wide-world as poverty itself: and if Trench and other collectors of proverbs have found a difficulty in saddling the right proverb on the right *country*, how much must the difficulty be increased to one who, like myself, am only in pursuit of those belonging to *one county*. But, Cheshire or not Cheshire, here it is:

"It is hard to make an empty sack stand upright."

by which the difficulty of great poverty and strict honesty co-existing is shewn. The more, then, are those to be admired whose honesty still shines, though in the fog of want.

Now for some saucy proverbs, specially directed against the ladies:

"Lasses are lads' leavings."

More gracefully put by the poet:

*"Her 'prentice hand she tried on man,
And then she made the lasses, oh!"*

"Oo's cap and button too."

Oo is Cheshire for *she*. This applies to the lady whose husband is a

nonentity. It was a dame of this sort who filled up the Census Return with her own name as *head* of the house, her husband's appearing next ; like Salius, mentioned as a bad second in the race, in the 5th *Æneid*,—" *Longo sed proximus intervallo*."

Amongst the Rhodians, fathers were commanded, in marrying their sons, to travel but one day. So we have in Cheshire :

"Better marry over the mixon than over the moor."

This is a sort of introduction to the proverbs on love and marriage. Ray's quaint note to it is,—“ That the gentlemen of Cheshire find it more profitable to match within their own county than to bring a bride out of other shires ; first, because better acquainted with her birth and breeding, (“ Beware of Breed ” is a Cheshire proverb) ;* secondly, for though her portion may chance to be less, the expense of maintaining her will be also less. Such inter-marriages in this county have been observed both a proloner of ancient families, and the preserver of amity between them.”

This last argument was exactly that used to me by my *sportsman*,—the “ Pat ” who always attended me out shooting in the Galway mountains as guide, game carrier, and (what was still more necessary) as interpreter. Finding him one day in a very confidential mood, I asked him how he came to marry his wife ? (who, by the bye, was uncommonly ugly, her beauty being something in the style of the Scotch lassie who was called “ Muckle-mouthed Meg.”) He told me that he had not married her for her *faish*, but for her *great back* ; his own “ back,” or clan, being small and insignificant, and her's dominant at race, wake, fair, and dance. In fact, it was a political match ; on the plan promoted by Louis Philippe for his family, but which had answered in the end better. Flying in the face of one's county's proverb does not always bring ill-luck. *I* am a living instance of one who ventured to “ marry over the moor,” and am content.

There is a curious proverb spoken of a maiden who, after her marriage, became idle and *not able*, instead of notable, as she was prior to the ceremony :

"She has broken her elbow at the Church door."

We come now to another proverb :

"It is time to yoke when the cart comes to the caples."

* A casual allusion to this proverb helped to lose a Cheshire candidate his seat at the general election of 1857.

Caple is Cheshire for a horse, from *cheval* and *caballus*.* This is particularly applicable to the *present* year (1856), as there is an old idea that in *leap* year ladies have a right to reverse the common plan, and propose to the gentlemen; the origin of which I know not, but even with this advantage, it is three to one against the ladies. In an old book called *Love, Courtship, and Matrimonie*, printed in 1606, after alluding to this leap-year custom, it goes on thus:—"And moreover, no man will be entitled to the benefit of the clergy who doth refuse to accept the offers of a ladye, or who doth in any wise treat her proposal with slight or contumelie." The proverb means, that it is time to marry when the woman woos the man.

Talking of leap-year, I was at the last Census staying at the house of a lady, who commissioned me to undertake the rather delicate task of collecting the ages of her household. I immediately ordered a Census parade, every one to appear in full—years. I got on very well; no maiden, of course, being more than 25. After they had disappeared, one who had purposely come late for parade, came in and asked, "Whether, according to the law,—(which she seemed to have studied carefully,)—it was not the age by the last birth-day which was to be entered?—as she was born on the 29th of February, and though really 43 by her *last birth-day*, she was only 40." I immediately, with *impromptu* gallantry, offered to put her down as *ten*, since she could only have had that number of birth-days; but she was satisfied with compounding for two score.

The following proverb,—“Like the Parson of Saddlewick (or Saddleworth), who could read in no book but his own,” though attributed to Cheshire by Grose and other authors, I entirely repudiate, as Saddleworth happens to be in Yorkshire; and it is only a Yorkshire trick fathering their ignorance upon us.

“For my peck of malt set the kiln on fire,”

is only one of the many proofs that the letter I and the number 1 have precedence, I am afraid, over all other letters and figures in every county and every country.

“Afraid of him who died last year.”

This, I conclude, alludes to the fear of ghosts, or (as the French name “Revenants” intimates) things that return: a most common and

* In the last century two smaller gateways adjoined the old Bridge Gate at Chester: one bore the name of *Capel* (or *Ceffyl*) Gate, and the other Ship or *Sheep* Gate.

universal fear is this of what, Bacon says, cannot be entirely believed, nor utterly disbelieved. Many a mind that would not have shrunk from the stern reality of any tangible danger, has been upset for ever by having been subjected to the most wicked and unpardonable joke of the simulated return of a departed spirit. Job, in speaking of the leviathan, says "On earth there was not his like, who was made without fear." This shews the universality of fear. Charles II. said of some one who was mentioned to him as a man who did not know what fear was, "Then he has never snuffed the candle with his fingers." I have always thought the definition of fear in "The Wisdom of Solomon" very true,—“For fear is nothing else but a betraying of the succours which reason offers.”

Now I come to the last proverb upon my list,—

“Afraid of far enough,”

which I shall specially apply to myself; though doubtless some of my readers may fancy, and justly so, that my fear of having gone “far enough” has come upon me rather late.

The subject I have chosen is not perhaps one generally interesting, and it may rather shew that I am myself, as we say in Cheshire, “Going down the brewe.” I have not, as is the case with many subjects, been able to appeal to any sense but the ear: the discourse, indeed, is one which would scarcely seem to allow of illustrations,—adjuncts usually so pleasing to the eye, and which make the ear forget its fatigue. I have omitted many County Proverbs that were uninteresting, inexplicable, or without any particular point, as well as others, of the genuine *Palatine* origin of which I doubted; but having introduced a list of some 80 examples, enough to give Cheshire a right to claim a proverbial philosophy of its own, I will now conclude with a French saying,—“Quand on n’a pas ce qu’on aime, il faut aimer ce qu’on a.”

CHESHIRE PROVERBS not commented on in the preceding pages:—

“As fine as Dick’s hatband.”

“As much wit as three folks,—two fools and a madman.”

“As thrunk as three in a bed.”

“Catty, put down thy feet,” (an expression used to denote surprise or annoyance at an interruption).

“Don’t take a servant off a midden.”

“Good to fetch a sick man sorrow, or a dead man woe.”

**“Go fiddle for shives
Amongst old wives.”**

"He's got into Cherry's boose," (i.e. good quarters; Cherry is a favourite name for a cow).

"Go to Holt to see Farn Races."

"He hath good blood, if he had but groats to him."

"How does he go through dirt?" (i.e., How would he bear temptation? a Proverb often in Sir Peter Warburton's mouth).

"If Riving Pike do wear a hood,
Be sure that day will ne'er be good."

"It is aw along with Colly Weston"—(used when anything goes wrong).

"Lad's love's a busk of broom,
Hot awhile, and soon done."

"Put another man's child in your bosom, and he'll creep out
at your elbow."

"To as much purpose as to give a goose hay."

"Marry come up, dirty cousin,"—(used to a person who affects nicety).

"To follow one like a Tantony pig."

"Right master, right, a noble a year is a crown a quarter."

"Take a little cold pudding to settle your love."

"To-morrow come never,
When two Sundays come together"—(i.e. never—Ad Græcas Calendas).

"Too too were in two,"—(extremes are dangerous).

"To shed Riners with a whaver."

"What is got in the County is lost in the Hundred."

"She hath given Lawton gate a clap."

"To catch a person napping, as Moss caught his mare."

"Ossing comes to bossing."

The Editors take the liberty of adding one Cheshire proverb to the number quoted by the gallant Major, which they think may probably have escaped his notice :—

"Mrs. Milton's feast—enough and no more."

This phrase is of Nantwich origin, in which town Elizabeth Milton, widow of the immortal author of *Paradise Lost*, resided during the last 50 years of her life. She was daughter of Randle Minshull, of Wistaston, near Nantwich, and appears to have lived a widowed life of "genteel indigence," having literally, according to the terse old proverb,—"enough, and no more."

On the Inns and Taverns of Chester, Past and Present.

PART I.

BY THOMAS HUGHES.

IT is no part of my present purpose to embark on a crusade against the vice of drunkenness, or to moralise on the evils inseparably connected with the public house system. Mine is purely an antiquarian theme, with which total abstinence on the one hand, and inebriety on the other, have in point of fact very little to do. While, therefore, directing attention to the INNS and TAVERNS of our ancient city, it will be my endeavour to exclude from discussion all topics upon which some difference of opinion or personal prejudice may be supposed to exist.

The origin of public houses of entertainment is, like many another and perhaps worthier matter, involved in obscurity. Turning for a brief moment to classical ground, we find the invention of ale and wine ascribed to Bacchus, that thirsty gentleman of the *very* olden time, who, having occasion to visit countries in which the grape was unknown, with a tasteful genius peculiarly his own, hit upon the union of malt and hops, producing thereby the beverage we call *ale*. Ale was known as a liquor at least 400 years before the Christian era; in fact, Herodotus, who wrote in the first century after Christ, ascribes the discovery of the art of brewing barley-wine to Isis, the daughter of Osiris, king of Egypt. Tacitus informs us, also, that "the Romans and Germans very early learned from the Egyptians the process of preparing a drink from corn by means of fermentation." A beverage very similar to our *beer* is mentioned by Xenophon, in his famous Retreat of the 10,000 Greeks, 401 B.C. Our Bible, also, abounds with notices of wine and other strong drinks, as being in constant use in the earliest times. Porter, or Stout, as at present brewed, was invented by a London brewer, named Harwood, about 1730, who called it *Entire*; but from

its having become the favourite drink of the porters of the metropolis, the name became gradually changed to its present more striking and significant title,—Porter. It was first retailed at a tavern called the *Blue Last*, in Curtain Road, London. Stowe records that one Richard Murle, a rich brewer of Dunstable, had two horses, all trapped in gold, A.D. 1414; proving that brewing was then, as now, a thriving and money-making business. So much, then, for the raw material,—the staple commodities of our taverns,—let us now turn our attention to the Taverns themselves.

Inns and Public Houses, differing but slightly from those of the present day, were well known to the ancients. “In the city of Herculaneum, destroyed August 24, A.D. 79, by an eruption of Mount Vesuvius, there were no less than 900 Public Houses. A placard or inscription discovered on the wall of a house in that ruined city was no other than a sort of bill for letting one of its Public Houses on lease; from which announcement it appears they had galleries at the top, and balconies or arbours, as also baths for the use of the visitors. The landlord had a particular dress, and the landlady wore a *succinct*, or tucked-up dress, and brought the wine in vases for the visitors to taste.” They had common drinking vessels as with us, and sometimes the flagons were chained to posts, just as the knives and forks were wont to be in the servants’ hall at Eaton, Wynnstay, and other great houses in this locality.

In this country also existed houses of entertainment, under various names, from the earliest times. Alehouses were mentioned in the laws of Ina, king of Wessex, A.D. 688. Booths for drinking purposes are recorded to have been set up in England as early as A.D. 728, when laws were passed for their regulation. The Anglo Saxons had their *eala-hus* (alehouse), *win-hus* (wine-house), and *cumen-hus* (inn); but they appear not to have been houses of general resort for travellers until long after the reign of Edward I. Taverns may be traced under that name as far back as the 13th century. Spelman records that, “in the reign of king Edward III., only three taverns were allowed in London, viz.: one in Chepe, one in Walbroke, and the other in Lombard Street.” In 1379 our Chester annals inform us that a gallon of wine at a city tavern cost 6d. and a gallon of claret 4d., and that the Mayor’s feast of that year cost altogether but 11 shillings and 10 pence! Whatever may be the case now, the right worshipfuls of those days had little cause to grumble at the expense of these entertainments.

The earliest London tavern I find named is the *Boar’s Head*, in Eastcheap, which flourished in the reign of Henry IV., and was the rendezvous of Prince Henry, then Earl of Chester, and his dissolute companions. Shakspeare speaks of it, in his play of “Henry the

Fourth," as the residence of Mr. Quickly, and the scene of Falstaff's uproarious merriment. A curious relic, perhaps the sign-board of this very house, was found among some ruins in Whitechapel formed by the great Fire of London, and passed in 1855 under the hammer of a London auctioneer. "It is carved in boxwood, and set in a frame formed of two tusks mounted in silver. On the front we have the *Boar's Head* in admirable relief; and on the back, rudely pricked in, the following inscription: 'Wm. Broke: Landlord of the Bore's Hedde, Estchepe, A.D. 1566.'" We had a *Boar's Head* Tavern in Chester also about this date. Of almost equal antiquity is the *White Hart*, in Bishopsgate Street, established in 1480, but taken down and rebuilt on the same site in 1829.

In the reign of Henry VIII., it would appear that the publicans of Chester were compelled to provide for the *lighting of the streets*. The corporation statute referring thereto was enacted in the mayoralty of Richard (or William) Goodman, A.D. 1537, and runs as follows:—"Ordered, That all Public Houses shall hang out their Lantornes and Candles from six of the clocke in the evening untill nine of the clocke every night, betwixt the feast of All Saints and the Purification of the Virgin Mary."* Some thirty years earlier, the civic authorities ordered "that all taverns be shut up at *nine* o'clock, or forfeit six shillings and eightpence,—a rule which some people imagine might be very profitably carried out even in the present day.

In 1540, certain abuses having crept into the management of our Chester taverns, and the morality of the city being much prejudiced thereby, the following order was issued by the Corporation:—

"Whereas *all* the taverns and alehouses of this city be used to be kept by *young women*, otherwise than is used in any other place of this realm, whereat all strangers greatly marvel and think it inconvenient, whereby great slander and dishonest report of this city hath and doth run abroad; in avoiding whereof, as also to eschew such great occasions of wantonness, brawls, frays, and other inconveniences as thereby doth and may arise among youth and lightly disposed persons, as also damages to their masters, owners of the taverns and alehouses: Ordered, that after the 9th of June next, there shall be no tavern or alehouse kept in the said city by any woman between *fourteen* and *forty* years of age, under pain of forty pounds forfeiture for him or her that keepeth any such servant."†

Taverns were restricted by an Act of Edward VI., in 1552, to 40 in London, 8 in York, 3 in Westminster, 6 in Bristol, 4 in Chester, 4 each in Exeter, Gloucester, and Canterbury, and 3 each in Shrewsbury, Salisbury, Hereford, Southampton, Worcester, Lincoln, Oxford,

* M.S. Orders of Assembly, preserved in the Record Room at the Town Hall, Chester.

† Hemingway's *History of Chester*, Vol. I., p. 147.

Winchester, Ipswich, and Colchester. Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, &c. were *then* places too insignificant to be specially mentioned. The number of public houses in the whole of England, in 1620, was about 13,000 ; while, in 1850, the licensed victuallers alone (exclusive of those national abominations—beer-houses) were in England 59,365 ; in Scotland, 15,081 ; and in Ireland, 14,080.

When these houses were originally *licensed* is not certainly known. I find no notice of a national licensing of them until 1620, when the power of granting this privilege was deputed by King James I. to Sir Giles Mompesson and Sir Francis Mitchell, for their own personal emolument. The same king imposed a duty on “all ale called bere,” one quart of which was to be sold for a penny. There is no doubt, however, that the right of licensing houses of this description existed in certain communities at a much earlier period. To take a local instance : *Tolcester*, as I find by a grant to the nuns of Chester, *temp.* Henry V., was the payment of a cistern of beer, at the Earl’s Castle of Chester, for a license to brew and sell beer for one whole year. The cistern contained 16 lagênas (or bottles) of new drink of the authorised measure.*

Chester, as is well known, possessed, time out of mind, a Guild Mercatorial, divided into separate Companies of two or three trades each. Of these, the “COMPANY OF INNKEEPERS, VICTUALLERS, AND COOKS,” had existed by prescription from time immemorial, but was incorporated by Royal Charter under the Mayor of Chester, June 10th, 1583. This Company possessed numerous immunities and privileges, and, in effect, the granting of licenses was one of them,—for certainly they admitted just whom they would into their corporation, and unless their names were so enrolled into the Company, none were permitted, under heavy penalties, to draw or sell liquors within the boundaries of the city. The brethren at present hold their meetings at the *King’s Head*, in Grosvenor Street ; where they annually discuss a substantial and epicurean feast, in which a haunch of venison from Eaton regularly plays its part. The late Lord Westminster was free of the Company, and for many years officiated, by deputy, as one of its aldermen.

I have carefully gone through the books of this Company, and find the first existing records of their transactions in a wretchedly dilapidated volume, commencing with 1583, William Styles (who procured them their Charter) being at that time Mayor of Chester. It was then, as now, governed by two aldermen and as many stewards, and the total number of brethren enrolled at that period was 34. The record of accounts appears to have been annually kept with great minuteness ; but the books are altogether lost between the years 1597 and 1670, a

* M.S. volume preserved in the Dean and Chapter Library, Chester.

period when all our records, civil and religious, were, like the kingdom itself, in a most disordered state.* A sample of the entries, which, to say the least of them, are curious and diverting, may here be fitly introduced. The first items in the accounts for 1583 run as follows :—

Payd for the chardges of our Corporacon, as well for the seall, as
for the drawinge and engrossinge, with the fee for the same,
and our chardges on Midsummer Eve.....xlvj^a ij^d.
Payd for a new benche, and for the makying of itxiv^d.
Spent over the shote at Widow Alsakers in the presence of our
brethrenij^a jd.
Payd for a key to our Meetinghouseijj^d.
Spent uppone the Stuardes of the Glovers at the taking of our
Meetinghouseij^d.

(From this I gather that they then rented a room belonging to the Glovers for the use of their Company.)

Payd the 1st day of April, 1583, of the commandment of our
aldermen, for two quartes of clarette wyne, and six potes of
drinkxiv^d.

(There would appear to have been "April fools" even in those days.)
Now come some memorials of a pageant on Midsummer Eve, in which
the brethren took prominent part. The play usually "set forth" by
the Innkeepers and Cooks was the "Harrowing of Hell," printed at
large in Halliwell's *Chester Plays*, Vol. II.

Payd for 4 paire of gloves to 4 boyes that did ryde afore our Com-
pany, at ij^d a pieceviij^d.
Payd to 4 footmen, at iv^d a piecexvj^d.
Payd for a pair of gloves for the woman that did ryde afore our
Companyijj^d.
Given to heare for heare paynsiv^d.
Given to a man to attend upon heare horseiv^d.
Payd for borowyng a cussoke for the womaniv^d.
Payd for potes for the womanxiv^d.

(*She* was no teetotaller, evidently.)

Spent in borowyng of a dymans (demon's) cote.....ij^d.
Payd for dresyng the pye and for the borse headvj^d.

(This, I suppose, belonged to the cook's department.)

Payd for drinking afore the Wache (Watch), and after uppon our
Companyviij^d.
Received of the Añewyffes in the City at Midsummer, towards our
Wachevj^a iv^d.

* The Vintners' Arms were "a chevron between *three tuns*," and the crest of the Company was a *pheasant*. Both these symbols occur in the city records as tavern signs.

Payd to the Clerk for his years wagesij^s vjd.
 (This was in 1583. Our late Town Clerk, Mr. J. Finchett-Maddock, was for many years Clerk to this Company, at an annual stipend of £3 3s.)—Then again in 1586 :

Payd for wyne to Mr. Maior, when Mr. Cotgreave and others
 wentxijd.

In 1587 :

Payd for a quart of wyne for Mr. Recorder, and sugar withal...vij^d.

In 1589, the Innkeepers were concerned in another pageant or watch, as the following items sufficiently demonstrate :—

Payd for gloves for the chyldeiv^d.

Payd the man that tendyd the chyldevj^d.

Payd to the Cryer at the Barresjd.

Payd for borowyng the dyvilles clothes.....ij^d.

Payd for the two men that wore themxijd.

Payd while the chylde was in dresynge, in wyne & kakesviij^d.

Payd for the boye's garters.....xviij^d.

(The " boye's garters" must have been rather extensive affairs.)

Payd the woman that ryd with them to breake the goddertens...viij^d.

Payd for 2 dozen of godderts *.....xvj^d.

Payd for the man that carrid the baskittiv^d.

Payd for our banner staff and rodevj^d.

Payd for the horse for chylde in bredde, &civ^d.

Payd for a rybbine for the seallevj^d.

(This seal is now lost ; but the wax seal of Elizabeth, originally appendant to the Charter, still exists, carefully laid aside in a box)

Again in 1596 :

Payd for a pottle of sack that we gave to Mr. Thomas Smith the
 Maiorxx^d.

(This was Sir Thomas Smith, Knight, of Hatherton, whose father, Sir Lawrence Smith, of Hough, was thrice Mayor of this city, and whose great-grandson, Thomas Smith, of Hatherton, was created a baronet in 1660.)

In 1671, I find 2s. 6d. paid to " the Boe Bell ringers,† and the like sum annually until 1738, when the entry runs thus :

Payd to John Davies for ringing the 9 of the clock bellij^s vjd.
 (by which, and similar entries in successive years, we perceive that the Innkeepers' Company, even until the present century, annually con-

* The *goddert* was a species of goblet or cup for drinking purposes.—*Notes and Queries*, First Series, Vol. II., p. 126.

† The *Bow Bell* took its name from the bell of *Bow* Church, which formerly rang the curfew, and warned the Londoners to " put out the light."

tributed their quota towards the expense of tolling the nightly curfew at the Cathedral.)

Again, in April, 1685 :

Payd with several of the Company waiting on the Maior to the
Roodee, carrying the streamersvj^s.

But, not to weary the reader with these musty extracts, we will now proceed together on an imaginary visitation of the "INNS AND TAVERNS" of our venerable city.

Taking the Cross as our centre, let us wend our way up Northgate street, first staying a moment to reflect, that on the very spot we are now occupying (the rooms of the Archæological Society, in St. Peter's Church-yard,) there stood, within the memory of man, an ancient tavern, loyally designated the THREE CROWNS. This sign, a popular one in the early part of the last century, is said to have originated in a sarcastic reply of Sir Robert Walpole to Queen Caroline, consort of George II. On being asked by her Majesty what it would cost to turn St. James' Park into a private garden for the use of the Royal family ; the candid minister significantly replied,—“ The price, your Majesty, would be *Three Crowns*,”—meaning thereby those of her husband, son, and grandson, all three then living. The house with which we are concerned had an old and picturesque gable front, its chief entrance being from Shoemakers' Row ; and had evidently seen its best days long before it was removed to make way for the present Commercial Buildings. At its demolition, the sign and license were removed to a house in Pepper Alley, now known as the BRIDGEWATER ARMS.

A little farther up the same Row, we come to another relic of “lath and plaster,” known by the name of the LEGS OF MAN. An American writer, speaking of the house, styles it the *Arms* of Man, which would appear to be, at first sight, an anatomical blunder : but, in the present instance, we may, as archæologists, endorse his statement ; for the *Legs of Man* are, in heraldic parlance, the *Arms* of Man. The Stanley family (Earls of Derby) were for a long period Lords of the Isle of Man, and, as such, quartered with their own proper arms, the ensign of Mona, “ three legs in armour, spurred and conjoined at the thighs,” and from this circumstance may have sprung its conversion into a tavern sign. Two centuries previous to 1740, there was a tavern in Northgate Street, called the EAGLE AND CHILD ; and as this emblem, also, was from time immemorial, the ancient crest of the Stanleys of Lathom, I conjecture that that house was the same we now know as the *Legs of Man*. The *Eagle and Child* was, at the period I have named, the court house of the Duttons of Dutton ; the family on whom Roger Lacy, Constable of Chester in the time of Earl Randle, conferred the jurisdiction over

“ the Minstrels of Chester,” and the last Minstrel’s Court ever held in Chester was that kept at this house in 1757. How long the *Legs of Man* has been so designated I know not,—certainly as far back as 1789, when I find it kept by Peter Carter, Verger of the Cathedral, who lies buried in the south aisle of the nave there, along with other members of his family. The house, externally devoid of interest, has an open gallery inside, running partially round the chief kitchen, from which the mistress of the establishment in the olden time could cast an attentive eye o’er the doings below stairs, to the constant dread of those mysterious “ cousins ” so everlastingly dropping in upon domestic servants. The *Legs of Man* appears at present to be in the last stage of decline,—in fact, I may say, upon its *last legs* ;* we will, therefore, leave it to its fate, and, ascending the Row, arrive in due course at the two CROSS KEYS.

CROSS KEYS ! Do not the very words advise us that we are treading on the skirts of our old Mother Church, and arrived within the precincts of the Abbey of St. Werburgh ? There is a *Cross Keys* tavern on either side of the street,—the one in the Row, and the *younger* of the two, being, curiously enough, termed the OLD CROSS KEYS. This latter house was, within my memory, called the CROSS FOXES, doubtless in honour of the Williams-Wynn family of Wynnstay, who bore for arms “ two foxes in saltire ; ” but the landlord of the former house, on changing his quarters to the opposite side, determined on carrying with him the old sign also, and thus it is we find these two mediæval emblems existing in such close proximity. The original *Cross Keys* stood exactly where the present house does, on the east side of the street, and was certainly a tavern of great antiquity, lying just on the confines of the Cathedral property, and rented, I doubt not, in its early youth, from the Abbey itself,—hence its peculiarly monastic title. Those who have ever seen the old house will remember an ancient and tottering gallery which ran up in front of it, and which, with the house adjoining, was the last relic remaining of the higher half of Brokenshin Row, once running to the bottom of the street from this point, but now, for more than half-way, entirely obliterated.

Leaving these two *Cross Keys* to work out their own cross purposes, we will go some twenty paces up Shoemakers’ Row, and rest awhile at the *Woolpack*, a tavern immediately opposite to the New Music Hall. This house was once, and, in the palmy days of our Chester Theatre, sacred to Thalia and the muse, and gloried in the name of the SHAKESPEARE TAVERN ; but the dramatic salt having lost

* Since this paper was written, the *Legs of Man* has ceased to exist as a tavern ; the license has been transferred, and the greater portion of the house rebuilt, and turned into a good modern shop.

T. BAILEY & CO.

OLD "CROSS KEYS" TAVERN,
NORTHGATE STREET, CHESTER.

its savour, the bard of Avon had to hide his diminished head beneath the folds of the *Woolpack*, as indeed it remains to this day. In this immediate locality an inn or tavern existed, two hundred years ago, called the WOLF'S HEAD (the arms of Wilbraham of Townsend, and, as tradition avers, of Hugh Lupus also), but I have been unable to fix its site, or to obtain any particulars concerning it, saving that, in 1691, the Company of Innkeepers spent 25s. 6d. there on the 5th of November, talking over, as we may well suppose, the story of Guy Fawkes and the Gunpowder Plot.

We are now clear of Shoemakers' Row, and turning sharp round to the left, come to the DUBLIN PACKET and the Boot, one on each side of the opening into Hamilton Place. The former, in reality, commemorates the packet-boat which used regularly to ply between Parkgate and Dublin, a generation or two ago; although some local genius has depicted on the sign a *steamer* bearing up for the Custom House, Liverpool! Steam, however, was nestling within the womb of time when this house was christened the *Dublin Packet*. Of the Boot tavern, I know no details worth communicating, save that it was always, owing to its position, a favourite resort of the stage-coachmen, whose *top-boots* may have given to the house its name.

Here, then, we are arrived at that well-known, superior establishment, full of reminiscences of the old coaching days,—the WHITE LION HOTEL. When the present noble house was erected I have no certain evidence: this much I know, that the *White Lion and King's Head*, (for so it was at one time called) was an inn of considerable standing more than 250 years ago, William Pue being recorded as "mine host" of the house in 1605. Towards the commencement of the 18th century, the *White Lion* began its career as a coaching establishment under the auspices of Mr. George Smith, whose name and family have ever since been connected with the house. William and Daniel Smith, each in their turn landlords of the *White Lion*, served the office of Sheriff of Chester; the former in 1740, and the latter in 1765. In 1761, the *Courant* heralds forth that, from the *White Lion*, the "Chester Flying Machine, on steel springs, goes thrice a week to London in 2 days, carrying 4 passengers,"—a considerable feat in those primitive days! On September 22nd, 1761, says the same local authority, being the coronation of King George III. and Queen Charlotte, the conduit at the Cross ran with wine, bonfires blazed in every street, and the magistrates, clergy, gentry, and officers of the garrison, had a grand entertainment at the *White Lion*, at that date accounted one of the chief inns of the city. From this period to 1840, the *White Lion* may be said to have been in its prime,—revelling in all its glory as perhaps the first coaching establishment in the county,—the house always full of the

right sort of visitors,—and seldom a vacant stall in the immense stabling at its rear. Then the happy joke went merrily round at the door of the Hotel, as some jovial whip stood playing with the ribbons, or familiarly patting the necks of his noble team. If that old mile-stone, yet remaining in front of the house,* had but ears to hear, and a tongue to speak, what a feast of wit and humour should we have in store! Times are changed now!—every dog has his day,—and doubtless every Lion too; at all events, our *White Lion* is neither so brisk nor so vigorous as he was of yore. The present worthy boniface is himself a retired whip; and as he rambles up and down through those noble rooms, once swarming with company, must often, we fear, look back gloomily upon the past, and inwardly feel, like *Othello*, that his “occupation’s gone.” One anecdote may be referred to in connection with this Hotel, and only one, for we must hurry on with our survey. There are few who have not heard of the celebrated pantomimist and clown, Joe Grimaldi,—and a more honest and worthy fellow than Joe never graced the boards of Old Drury. Well, it so happened that, in 1817, Joe was engaged to appear for six nights at the Chester Theatre. He travelled post from Leicester, and stopped at the *White Lion*, where he found Bologna, the celebrated pantaloon, who was also engaged to perform in the approaching pantomime. While sojourning together at this house, a laughable incident occurred, related at length by the inimitable pen of Mr. Charles Dickens,† and which want of space alone prevents our giving here.

And now, having settled our account at the *White Lion*, we come next door to a whitewashed tavern, “full of age,” if not also “of honour,” known in the last century as the GOLDEN HART, but metamorphosed about the close of the Peninsular War (and possibly in honour of that hero’s public visit to Chester in 1816,) into the LORD HILL. This is a very old house, and would seem originally to have belonged to some Roman Catholic family; for in one of the back rooms, according to a local antiquary of high authority, the figures of cherubim and other ornaments on the ceiling and walls, appear to mark it as a secret oratory or chapel during the troublous days of persecution for conscience sake. This tavern affords an instance of the way in which the most stupid corruptions occasionally arise. The front requiring to be painted about 1810, the artist employed, all ignorant of the existence of such an animal as the *hart*, actually depicted upon the shutters a huge *bullock’s heart*, double gilt, as a public intimation that the house in question was

* The mileage of the Cheshire coach roads was computed from the door of the *White Lion* Hotel.

† *Memoirs of Joseph Grimaldi*, by “Boz,” edition of 1846, p. 121.

the *Golden Hart*! The name has been again changed during the present year (1858) into the *Great Britain*.

Somewhere here about, but the precise locality I have not as yet identified, there stood, in the 17th century, a tavern of note, called the PHEASANT. It was a house much frequented by the travelling preachers of the Commonwealth, and was kept by one whose family were all most rigid Nonconformists. Nathan Jollie, for such was the landlord's name, was a son of Major James Jollie, of Droylsden; and in his capacity as host of the *Pheasant*, issued, in 1668, a copper token, bearing the following inscription:—"Nathan Jollie, in Chester, his 1d. in Northgate Street, at y^e Pheasant, 1668."

The very next door brings us to the SARACEN'S HEAD, a tavern of considerable repute, acquired, to some extent, under the fostering influence of Mother Leet,—as she was wont to be called by her friends and patrons,—a landlady highly respected in her generation, and whose venerable bones have only within the last few years been gathered to her fathers. The *Saracen's Head*, which is the Warburton crest, is a sign borrowed from the Crusades, and was a favourite one with English innkeepers of the 14th and 15th centuries. We had a *Saracen's Head* in Chester in 1571, in which year John Hankey, then landlord thereof, was Mayor of the city, having served the office of Sheriff some 15 years before. But though I find the house frequently mentioned for nearly a century afterwards, it had probably no identity with the present tavern. What we now know as the *Saracen's Head* was, I believe, for at least half a century prior to 1810, called the GEORGE INN. I must not omit to observe, that on the revival of the October Races at Chester, the gentlemen frequenting this tavern subscribed among themselves a handsome sum, which was continued for several years, and set apart for a special prize called the *Saracen's Head Handicap*, now, I understand, merged in the Innkeepers' Plate. In the cellar of this house, in 1851, that curious Greek Altar was found, which afterwards formed the subject of a Paper before this Society, to be found at pp. 359—364 of the first Volume of the *Chester Archæological Journal*. The altar itself is in the Society's Museum.

Two doors higher up the street, we reach the den of the BLACK LION, who frowns with an air of supreme indifference on his next door neighbour, the BLACK SWAN. Of his sable majesty of the forest we have nothing to communicate, save that he presided over the destinies of this tavern at least as early as 1784. The BLACK SWAN is a market inn of considerable antiquity, being described as an *old* one in 1750. Ten years afterwards, viz. on the 10th of May, 1760, an extraordinary outrage was committed in this house, by a couple of troopers belonging to General Honeywood's Regiment of Horse, then quartered in this

city. It was early morning, some hours before daybreak, and as one William Nevitt, of Hawarden, was coming out of a parlour of the *Black Swan*, one of these miscreants drew his broadsword, and, without any provocation, pursued Nevitt along the entry to the street door, where he severely wounded him about the head and body ; and, after cutting off a portion of the scalp and ear of his victim, delivered his sword to his companion, who made a forcible stroke at the head of poor Nevitt, the latter's arm getting broken in warding off the blow. The heroes, believing they had totally demolished an unarmed man, left him to his fate, and, going up stairs, the same morning made their escape. Strange to say, notwithstanding a reward was offered both by the War Office and the city, and thanks, in a great measure, to the splendid police system of those days, the retreat of these scoundrels was never discovered, and so the ends of justice were unhappily frustrated. In 1772, John Salladine, landlord of the *Black Swan*, was tried at our City Sessions, and convicted of forgery. Apropos of the *Swan*,—among a collection of Cheshire Tokens, in my possession, is one bearing the following inscription, extending over both sides :—“John Hough, at the *Swan* in Chester, his halfpenny, 1666 ;” but I incline to the belief that this has reference not to the house now under review, but to the *White Swan*, in Foregate Street, of which we may have to speak in a future portion of this Paper.

Taverns are in this locality as plentiful as blackberries. One door higher up than the *Swan*, and so next house but one to the *Black Lion*, we arrive at the FLEECE INN, formerly the *Stag's Head*, with its overhanging emblem of Jason,—a lamb decked with a *golden fleece*,—a strange exemplification of that Utopian doctrine, that in the latter days the Lion shall be found sitting down with the Lamb, and united, as here, in one common cause. The FLEECE, which is a capital and lately rebuilt inn, is one of the 16 houses in Chester, the tenants of which were bound in olden time to watch the city three nights in the year, and also to watch and bring up condemned criminals as far as the gallows, in their safe custody and charge ; for which service they were, like the residents in the Cathedral precincts, besides other privileges, exempt from the duty of serving upon juries.

This house stands immediately opposite the northern extremity of the Exchange ; at the eastern corner of which is a room now occupied as the office of the Town Clerk, Mr. John Walker, but which, with the cellars beneath, was 40 years ago a tavern, bearing the euphonious title of the EXCHANGE COFFEE HOUSE. Readers of this Paper need scarcely to be told that party spirit once ran fearfully high in this *pure* old city. Well, in one of these periodical struggles, not for a seat in the Parliament House, but for Mayor and Sheriff, in 1732, the contest ended, as

a matter of course, in favour of the Corporation candidates; but no sooner were the books closed, and the Mayor and his attendants retired from the hustings, than they found themselves surrounded by their defeated and enraged opponents, and were obliged hastily to retreat into the *Exchange Coffee House*. Here, however, they were not safe, for the mob broke in, seized the sword and mace, and, chairing their favourite candidate, bore the official emblems before him to his residence in triumph! This tavern was graced, in 1741, with the sublime presence of the immortal Handel, who happened to be passing through Chester on his way to Ireland. Dr. Charles Burney, then a lad in the King's School, in his "Account of the Musical Performances in Commemoration of Handel," 4to. 1785, relates how with boyish devotion and pride, he stood at the door of the *Exchange Coffee House*, and watched the movements of the mighty composer, enjoying his coffee and yet more soothing and favourite weed.

Nearly opposite to this spot, at the entrance to St. Werburgh Street, is a wine vaults which, at the beginning of the present century was a tavern, known to the slaves of King Alcohol as the CITY ARMS. Prout has preserved to us a small portion of this house, in his spirited sketch of the "West Entrance to the Cathedral."

Returning to the *Fleece*, we are again reminded of days gone by, as we arrive next door at the EASTHAM PACKET HOUSE, a tavern so named after those primitive steamers, or still earlier sailing vessels, which "dragged their weary length along" from Eastham to Liverpool, when the "four-horse coach" held exclusive sway betwixt the Mersey and the Dee.

Advancing a few steps, we may turn down Princess Street, better known to archæologists as the Parson's Lane,—one of the oldest streets of the city, and mentioned by its latter name in some of our most ancient records. The first tavern we come to is upon the right hand, and was until recently known as the THREE TUNS, being the armorial bearings of the Vintners' Company. This is an ancient house, and traceable under that name to the 17th century: Sarah Bennett was hostess in 1668, and a copper token exists, issued by her while resident here. The present holder however, having regard, one might suppose, to the swinish character of his guests, mercilessly "staved in" the *Three Tuns*, and put up in their stead the whimsical sign of the PIG AND WHISTLE.* The Pig, as a tavern sign, is as old as Rome

* In a letter, received on the day this Paper was read before the Society, from the American author already alluded to, we find that the "Pig and Whistle" is a favourite sign on the other side of the Atlantic, and that it occurs no less than four times on the market square of New Orleans!

itself ; and in the days of the Empire, the emblem of the Pig outside of a house in the "seven-hilled city" denoted that human hogs might be accommodated within. The same sign was also common at Pompeii. The *Pig and Whistle*, though, is neither more nor less than a ludicrous corruption of the *Peg and Wassail Bowl*, and owes its origin to our Anglo-Saxon forefathers. In those days, drunkards and gluttons appear to have been quite as numerous and intractable as now ; and as it was then the custom for all present at a carousal to drink from one vessel, it became necessary to provide against the inordinate zeal of these confirmed toppers. For this purpose, pegs were inserted at proper intervals in the cup or bowl, beyond which "the man in possession" was forbidden to go, and the last comer had thus some reason to anticipate his fair share of the spoil.

Midway in the street, and opposite one to the other, are the CROWN AND ANCHOR and the COACHMAKERS' ARMS, the latter established by a member of that craft, but, like its neighbour over the way, (and the ODDFELLOWS' ARMS, formerly the *Rising Sun*, a little lower down the street) neither requiring nor deserving further notice at our hands.

Returning to the head of Parson's Lane, we find at its northern corner an inn, once of considerable repute, and even yet not without some slight pretence to respectability, denominated in the last century by its present title—the COACH AND HORSES Inn. Changed are the days since that house was established,—the lively stage-coach, then in its infancy, has since attained a somewhat premature old age, and been consigned to "the grave of all the Capulets." In 1721, Robert Crompton, Esq., of the Bache, appears in the Corporation books as the proprietor of the "Coach and Horses," at that time one of the chief inns of the city. At least a hundred years ago, there was a large coaching establishment connected with the house, then tenanted by Charles Rackett, a relative of Alexander Pope, the poet. At that time, too, the principal Cestrian Lodge of the Ancient Order of Freemasons was held at this inn ; and here the brethren of that august Order, headed by Alderman John Page, Grand Master of the district, sat down to a banquet on the 11th of August, 1768, after having laid the foundation-stone of our present Eastgate. In February, 1773, Mr. Astley, of the Amphitheatre, London, accompanied by his son, then five years old, and a portion of his company of equestrians, performed for three days in a large croft behind and attached to the *Coach and Horses* Inn.

Bidding adieu to the *Coach and Horses*, with its open porch in front, a few steps will bring us to the ELEPHANT AND CASTLE, a tavern so called in 1789, but known long previous to that date as the *Chequers* ; a little beyond which, at the corner of Hunter's Walk, is the LIVERPOOL AND SHROPSHIRE HOUSE, once the *Mitre Tavern*, alias the *Crown and*



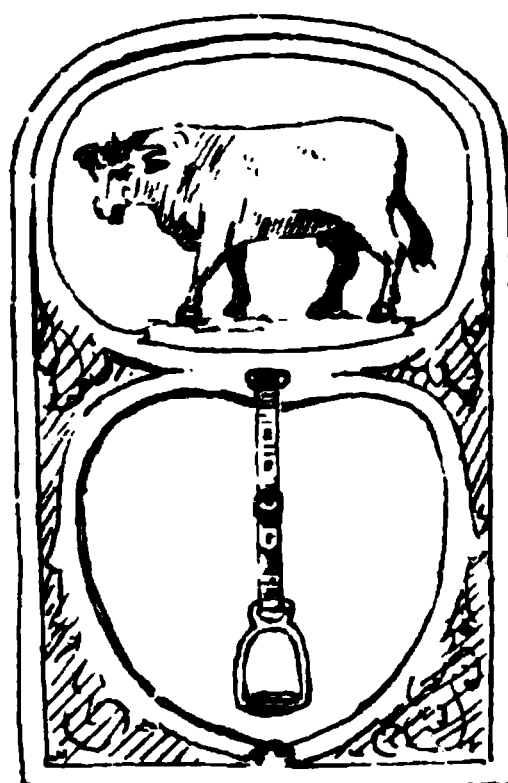
1. Legs of Man



2. Eagle and Child.



3. Pig and Whistle.



4. Bull and Stirrup.

209. 1000

CHESTER INN AND TAVERN SIGNS.

Mitre. On the right hand of Northgate Street, almost opposite to the latter house, is the *Bull's Head*, so named, perhaps, from the butchers' shambles immediately in front. Farther northward, on the same side, and midway between the higher and lower gates of the Abbey, is the WHITE HART tavern, a somewhat modern creation, having been established within the last half century, in the house previously occupied as an "Office of Reference," bearing the same name.

Again ascending the street, we come in due course to the *PIED BULL* Inn, a venerable hostelry at the head of King Street, serenely triumphing o'er the dust of centuries, and still one of the most respectable inns of the city. With perhaps a very few exceptions, the *Pied Bull* is the only house in Chester which can be clearly traced back, in its own person, to the 16th century. We find (by a deed bearing date 1533, and given at length in the first Volume of our Society's *Journal*,*) the spot this house occupies, and possibly the very house itself, designated as the "Bull tenement," the house being then "newly edified," and the property of Mr. Recorder Sneyd. In 1571, as appears by the records of the Innkeepers' Company, the *Bull Inn* was kept by Mr. Grimsditch, a member of the old Cheshire family of that name. Early in the last century this house had an extensive coaching establishment; and it is worthy of remark, that Mr. John Paul, the then landlord, (afterwards of the *White Lion*,) was the first to set up a four-horse coach between Chester and Liverpool in 1784. Five years afterwards, on the 13th of January, 1789, the stables of this Inn were destroyed by fire, owing, it is said, to the intoxication of the ostler, who perished in the flames. A Freemasons' Lodge (Independence) existed here many years ago; which, after remaining long in abeyance, has now lately been revived under promising auspices.

King Street being happily destitute of taverns, we pass to its northern corner, and are there introduced to the *RED LION*, a tavern believed to be at least 250 years old. A laughable anecdote is related of this house, at page 372 of Hemingway's *History of Chester*, Vol. II. which we will not stay to quote here; but hurrying on past the *BLUE BELL*, a tavern kept 40 years ago by Mrs. Thomas, the late venerable hostess of the *Pied Bull*, we emerge from the motley group of piazzas of which these houses form a part, close to the brewery and residence of Mr. Peter Eaton, Mayor of Chester in 1856-7.

The house just referred to (Mr. Eaton's) was, within the last 80 years, and for many years previously, the chief inn of the city, and the favourite resting-place of the several Lords-Lieutenants of Ireland, on their passage to and from the sister kingdom. The *GOLDEN FALCON*,

* Chester Archæological Society's *Journal*, Vol. I., pp. 146-7.

for such was the name of this house, was tenanted for two or three generations by the family of Kenna—Mrs. Katherine Kenna, who died here in April, 1770, being the last representative of her race. It was during the reign of the Kennas that two circumstances occurred, which have been preserved to us in the pages of Hemingway's *History of Chester** :—

“ In the year 1711, in the mayoralty of John Minshull, bookseller, the Duke of Ormonde, then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, in his journey to Parkgate, stopped at Kenna's, till the wind served for him to proceed on his journey. On the morning when he and his suite were setting off, one of the waiters ran after a servant of his Excellency to demand payment for some articles which he had omitted to discharge. The servant refused to pay, and the waiter, holding his horse's bridle, insisted on being paid before he would quit his hold ; upon which the servant drew a pistol from his holsters, and shot the waiter dead upon the spot. Upon the man being imprisoned, the Lord-Lieutenant directed that if he should be convicted, an express should immediately be sent to him, that he might apply to the king for his pardon. The prisoner was tried and found guilty ; and the Mayor being informed of the directions of the Lord-Lieutenant, replied, ‘ I will take care to save his Majesty and the Lord-Lieutenant any further trouble in this matter ;’ and ordered the man to be executed the next day after his conviction.”

“ The other recital is not less curious than the above. Mr. Samuel Jarvis was a ribbon weaver, kept a small shop under Shoemakers' Row, opposite the Theatre, and lived in a little house adjoining the *Falcon* Inn. It was observed, however, that this individual suddenly emerged from poverty and obscurity to respectability and affluence, without the appearance of any intermediate change of circumstances. It is said that an opulent banking-house in London had been robbed of a large sum of money by one of the clerks, who, absconding with the property, came down to Chester, and took up his domicile at the *Falcon*. He was pursued, and at a late hour one night, whilst he was in bed, he heard his pursuers below stairs ; upon which he rose up, threw the bags containing his treasure through the chamber window, which looked into a small area belonging to Mr. Jarvis's house, and went to bed again. He was secured and conveyed to London, but none of the property having been found upon him, he escaped conviction ; but subsequently, for another offence, he was found guilty and executed. It is added, that Mr. Jarvis found the bags in the morning in the area,—a circumstance corroborated by the fact, that he immediately after commenced

* Hemingway's *History of Chester*, Vol. II., pp. 19–20.

as a silk mercer in a very extensive line. He also purchased a large estate at Mollington, near Chester, where he built a handsome house, lately occupied by Mr. Roberts. He dying without issue, his property came to a person of the name of Dob, a gardener at Greg's Pit, near the Bowling Green, whose descendants in the second generation had squandered the property, and left no male issue. Mr. Jarvis served the office of Mayor of Chester in 1742-3; and at the time of his death was pricked down for High Sheriff of the county the ensuing year. He was buried near the baptismal font in St. Oswald's Church."

At the *Falcon* hotel Handel lodged while staying in Chester for three or four days in 1741, as recorded in an earlier portion of this Paper. Here, too, in 1769, his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland is recorded to have put up, when he came to Chester, to pursue his celebrated intrigue with Lady Henrietta Grosvenor. On the death of Mrs. Kenna, the hotel was newly fitted up by Mr. George Smith, owner at that period of both the *White Lion* and *Golden Falcon*, the initials of whose name, with the date 1763, and the *effigies* of the Falcon,* yet remain upon the water-spouts at the back of the premises. In this house, on January 11, 1772, was held a Chapter of the now unknown "Most Ancient and Honourable Order of Hiccabites." It appears by the advertisement summoning the Chapter, in the *Chester Courant* of that day, that, unlike most other secret Orders, *sisters* as well as brothers were admitted into the fraternity. Under the new *régime*, however, it ceased to maintain its previous high character, and after doing duty for a time as a Vinegar Manufactory, became eventually metamorphosed into what we now know as Eaton's Brewery. Several Roman remains of interest have of late years been discovered in the rear of these premises.

So much, then, for the *Golden Falcon*, now only to be ranked "among the things that were." A step or two northward brings us to the NORTHGATE TAVERN, occupying, indeed, a portion of the house just treated of; next door to which is the LIVERPOOL ARMS, once the *Dog and Partridge*, previously the *Bull and Dog*, but, in 1789, glorying in the name of the *Loggerheads Tavern*. A large signboard then crowned the door of this house, on which was depicted two stupid looking clowns, with, underneath, the motto "We three loggerheads be,"—the spectator of course making one of the three! A similar sign exists at Llanferres, in Denbighshire, and also at Tonbridge, in Kent; the former having

* The Golden Falcon, or, to speak heraldically, the "falcon belled or," was one of the supporters in the arms of the Savages of Rocksavage, and the hotel in question may not improbably have originally belonged to that honourable family.

been painted by the celebrated landscape artist, Richard Wilson,* who lies buried at Mold.

On the opposite side of the street is the GROSVENOR ARMS, occasionally described as the *Wheat Sheaf*, the “garb or” being the arms of that family; a house rebuilt not many years ago, on the site of what was in the last century a curious timber structure, known as the *Hen and Chickens*. The taverns in this neighbourhood reaped golden harvests when, in the days of the old Northgate Prison, unfortunate malefactors suffered, close to this spot, the last penalty of the law at the hands of the public hangman.

Passing through the Northgate into the ancient manor of St. Thomas, we find opposite to us, on our left hand, the BROWN COW, basking in the sun at the head of Canal Street. At the bottom of this street was also, until very recently, another tavern, established shortly after the cutting of the Canal in 1776, and known by the name of the CANAL PACKET HOUSE. An engraving of this house, as it appeared in 1816, when it was in its prime, (the landlord being compelled to take a second establishment, the “Coach and Horses,” in Northgate Street, for the accommodation of his customers,) forms the heading of an advertisement in the *Chester Courant* of that year.† In those days, railways were not; and the Ellesmere packet and the associated Canals were both alike prosperous undertakings: but the latter splendid monuments of Brindley’s and Telford’s genius having long been in their decadence, the tavern they here gave birth to has vanished from the scene, and now forms portion of the offices of the Shropshire Union Railway Company. The license of the house was, seven or eight years ago, transferred by the then landlord to the *City Arms* tavern, at Saltney.

Opposite the head of Canal Street we find George Street, leading towards Gorse Stacks, in which are two taverns,—the *Queen’s Arms*, at the corner of Oulton Place, and the *Victory*, a short distance beyond, at the corner of William Street. These, with the *Durham Ox*, a respectable house at the angle of Wellington Street, are the only taverns in this neighbourhood or Newtown which seem to deserve mention here.

Returning hence to Northgate Street, we find upon our right hand, a few steps onwards, a respectable farmers’ inn, bearing the mysterious

* Wilson is said to have been a far too frequent visitor at this tavern, which is in close proximity to the late painter’s residence, Colomendy Hall.

† From the woodcut above referred to, the accompanying engraving has been made, and will afford in times to come an apt illustration of a traffic now well nigh extinct.

7 July 42

OLD CANAL PACKET-HOUSE AND PACKET,
CHESTER.

sign of the BULL AND STIRRUP. To discover the origin of this sign, which has belonged to the house for nearly a hundred years, has, I confess, almost baffled my efforts. The *Pig and Whistle*, the *Goat and Compasses*, the *Goose and Gridiron*, and other equally as absurd signs are capable of explanation; but there is something about the union of the Bull and Stirrup more deeply enigmatical than either of these. Were I to hazard a solution of my own, it would be that the sign was originally the *Bell and Stirrup*, the bell being an ornament frequently found upon equestrian trappings of the middle ages. Confirmatory in some measure of this, I find the *Bell Yard*, in this immediate vicinity, mentioned in a document referring to the debtors of Chester. In the time of Henry VIII., the boundaries of the liberties within which all debtors might go free, were as follow:—"Along the Walls from the Northgate, on the west side, to the Water Tower; on the east side to Newton or Phoenix Tower; and towards the Corn Market as far as the New houses of St. Anne, which had been there lately built in the *Bell Yard*." The Rev. John Watson, our Society's Ecclesiastical Secretary, has since offered what certainly seems to be a more plausible suggestion,—the *Bowl and Stirrup*. The stirrup-bowl, or cup, is still known amongst farmers as the parting glass taken on horseback before leaving their inn. Mr. Halliwell, in his useful *Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words*, helps us to the following apt quotation from the "Praise of Yorkshire Ale," published in 1697, p. 27:—

"Boy, lead our horses out when we get up,
We'll have with you a merry *stirrup-cupp*."

It should be borne in mind, that no tavern beyond the Northgate can possibly be of earlier date than 1643; for in that year all the houses in this locality were levelled to the ground, lest, in the siege that was then imminent, they should serve as covers to the advance of the enemy.

Again proceeding on our course, we meet with nothing apposite to our subject until we come, on the left hand, to the DUBLIN CASTLE, a respectable tavern, even in our own day, but one which, a century ago, enjoyed a far higher *status* than it now pretends to. Then, as now, the "first and last" tavern on the once great highway between Chester and Dublin, it owed its name to the seat of vice-royalty in the sister land; while at its portal many a traveller stopped to have "another cup,—and then," warm inside as well as out, set forth to brave the elements on his cheerless journey between Chester and Parkgate. Those days, also, are past,—the "road" has here, as elsewhere, given way to the "rail," and the current of life which once flowed so glibly in this direction is, like the current of our old River Dec, well nigh

extinguished ! Parkgate ceased to be a port of embarkation for Ireland about the close of the last century.

Crossing the street at the point where the May-pole, one of the last remaining tokens of old England's merriest and happiest days, till recently stood,—a few steps along the Liverpool Road will bring us to the **GEORGE AND DRAGON**. This tavern stands on ground once consecrated to God and St. Thomas (A'Becket), and almost on the site originally occupied by the Chapel of that saint, to which the numerous tenants of the Abbey owed suit and service. The *George and Dragon* is the most popular public-house sign in England : Cary mentions 104 posting-houses bearing that emblem ; and in Chester alone there were in the last century three taverns, all dedicated to our patron saint,—he of whom Shakespeare writes :—

“ St. George, who swung the dragon, and e'er since
Sits on his horseback at mine hostess' door.”

Having thus reached the extremity of the city northward, we will now retrace our steps, and resume, it may be, upon some future occasion, our antiquarian visits to the remainder of the “ **INNS AND TAVERNS OF CHESTER.**”

A Brief Abstract of the Proceedings of the Society,

FROM JANUARY 1, 1856, TO JULY 1, 1857.

1856.

THE first ordinary meeting of this Society since the death of the Rev. W. H. Massie, its Clerical Secretary, was held on Thursday evening, March 27, 1856, at the City Library.

On the motion of the Rev. J. WATSON, Major Egerton Leigh, of the First Royal Cheshire Militia, was called to the chair.

After some feeling remarks on the loss sustained by the Society in the death of Mr. Massie, the gallant CHAIRMAN introduced to the meeting the Rev. ROBERT TEMPLE, who had been charged by the Council with a special resolution on that melancholy subject. The resolution was to the following effect:—

“ The Members of the Council, in discharging the melancholy duty of recording the death of the Ecclesiastical Secretary, the Rev. W. H. Massie, take occasion to express their sincere sorrow on the mournful event, which has deprived them of the important services of a friend who was mainly instrumental in founding the Society and promoting its interests, by his extensive knowledge of historical and antiquarian subjects, and the remarkably intelligent and pleasing manner in which he communicated the results of his researches. The Council feel assured that all the Members of the Society will deeply sympathise with this testimony of respect for the memory of the late Mr. Massie, who was endeared to all with whom he was associated; and the loss of whose zeal and talent in the pursuits of archæology must be generally admitted.”

With an earnestness worthy of the occasion, Mr. TEMPLE descanted upon the many admirable traits in the character of their departed friend, on his urbanity and courtesy, his devotion to his flock, his amiable simplicity, his care for the poor, his abnegation of self, his intelligent zeal, his extraordinary mental and physical exertions, and last, not least, his services to this Society,—and then, with the general sympathy and approbation of the meeting, formally proposed that the resolution be adopted.

The Rev. J. WATSON seconded the motion, which was put from the chair, and carried unanimously. The CHAIRMAN now called on

The Rev. WILLIAM E. DICKSON, the immediate successor of Mr. Massie at the village cure of Goostrey, to deliver his promised lecture on "The History of Organs." The Rev. gentleman, in a remarkably easy and fluent style, then addressed himself to his subject, tracing the invention of the instrument to the earliest times, dimly foreshadowed, it might be, in Jubal, the father of music. The Pandæan pipes were, perhaps, the first recognisable type of the organ; and these were to be met with in the primitive history of almost every country, the South Sea Islands not excepted. Virgil, Vitruvius, and Tertullian,—all spoke of an instrument analagous to the present organ. The lecturer exhibited several drawings of ancient organs, taken from sculptures preserved in the museum at Arles; and alluded particularly to one known as the Hydraulic Organ, then (1150) existing at Rheims; which appeared, by the following quotation from William of Malmesbury, "*aquæ calefactæ violentiâ ventus emergens*," &c., to have been played with the help of *steam*! A Saxon writer of eminence mentions organs with gilt pipes as being common in English churches in his day. The Byzantine Emperor, in 757, sent an organ as a present to the French Church of St. Compiegne. William of Malmesbury and Wolstan the deacon tell us of two great organs of their acquaintance,—one at Glastonbury, and the other at Winchester. Mr. Dickson exhibited the sketch of an organ from the Psalter of Eadwine, preserved in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. In the 11th century, Theophilus, a monk, describes an organ, which appears, however, to have been destitute of keys. The first notice of the instrument having a key-board complete was towards the latter part of that century, when we hear of one at Magdeburg, the scale of which ascended from the right hand to the left of the player, or just the reverse of the organ of our day. In the 14th century pedals were added. From a MS. Psalter of the 15th century, Mr. Dickson was enabled to afford a good general notion of the instruments prevalent at that period. The organ at Exeter Cathedral, by Loosemoore, was of the 17th century, and was still a rich and noble instrument. Handel, on first visiting England, was agreeably struck with the rich tone of English-made organs. The old organ of Chester Cathedral was built by Father Schmidt, and some of the pipes, &c. still remained, it was said, within the walls of the Cathedral. The "echo," which was the precursor of the "swell," was invented by Jordan, in 1712. The lecturer then proceeded to decry the wretched instruments constructed in England in the early part of the present century, a disgrace which the last few years, thanks to such men as Dr. Gauntlett and Mr. Hill, had considerably modified; and, after complimenting the builder of the organ lately erected in the Chester Music Hall, made some pertinent remarks on the true character



FROM A COIN OF NERO, A.D. 54.



FROM A MEDAL OF VALENTINIAN, A.D. 364.

FROM AN OBELISK ERECTED AT CONSTANTINOPLE BY THEODOSIUS, A.D. 379-395.

FROM A PSALTER OF THE 15TH CENT.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF ANCIENT ORGANS.

H. J. De la Harpe del.

of an organ, and the position it should rightly occupy in a Christian church. Mr. Dickson afterwards read a series of rules for the building and management of these pieces of ecclesiastical furniture; and so concluded a lecture which was listened to throughout with marked attention, and which afforded evident pleasure and instruction to a select audience.

An illustrated chronological chart, shewing the gradual development of the instrument, was exhibited by the lecturer; and to this reliable document the Society is indebted for the accompanying plate.

A short discussion ensued, in the course of which Mr. Hughes stated that the old Cathedral organ was removed thence to Madeira, having been purchased by the late Queen Adelaide, for use in the new English Chapel erected by her Majesty in that island. He further observed, that in the parish books of St. Mary's, Chester, mention was made of an organ existing in that church as early as the year 1530. The entry referred to ran thus:—

“Item, we gedderd for y^e mendynge of y^e organ.....vj^s. vij^d.”

Other entries also occurred about the same period relative to the salary of the organist, &c.*

On the motion of Major LEIGH, the thanks of the Society were voted by acclamation to the lecturer, and the meeting separated.—Mr. Dickson has recently been appointed to the Precentorship of Ely Cathedral.

The usual monthly meeting was held at the City Library on Monday, May 10, the Rev. George Salt, M.A., Rector of St. Bridget's, in the chair. The attendance of Members was more numerous than usual, in anticipation of the memoir on “Cheshire Words and Proverbs,” which had been kindly promised by Major Egerton Leigh, of the First Royal Cheshire Militia. Owing, however, to the death of his aunt, Miss Egerton Leigh, the gallant Major was, at the last moment, reluctantly compelled to postpone his lecture unto a future day. To supply the gap thus unavoidably and suddenly occasioned,

Mr. T. HUGHES volunteered a short Paper on the “Ancient British Corslet,” discovered in 1833 in the vicinity of Mold, on the high road to Chester. This splendid ornament, which was of pure gold, was found beneath a cairn, or artificial mound of stones, known in that

* “In Great Budworth Church,” says Sir Peter Leycester, at p. 227 of his *Antiquities of Bucklow Hundred, Cheshire*, “is yet the case of a fair Organ, having the coats of arms of Warburton of Arley, Leycester of Tabley, and Merbury of Merbury, carved thereon. These organs (as tradition hath it) came from Norton, bought after the Dissolution of that Priory, and were in good order, till the pipes thereof were taken out and spoiled by the Parliament Soldiers in the late War, 1647, which some Scotchmen among them called—*Whistles in a box*.”

locality as Bryn-yr-Ellyllon, or the Goblin's Hill. The noble wearer of the corslet, apparelled as in life, had been laid in a rude sort of cist-vaen on the natural soil, and upon this an immense cairn of stones had been religiously piled by his faithful followers. The corslet was comparatively entire when first discovered, but the workmen, either from rapacity or ignorance, had broken off certain portions and got rid of them to strangers, ere its real value was ascertained. The relic is now in the British Museum; and Mr. Edward Hawkins, Keeper of the Antiquities in that establishment, having learned that a small fragment had found its way to Chester, requested Mr. Hughes to purchase it for the Museum. This fragment, which had suggested the Paper of the evening, was exhibited to the meeting, and seemed to attract considerable interest. The precise date of the corslet could never be determined; though, from the character of the ornamentation, it had been generally assigned to a period not far from the commencement of the Christian era.

After the reading of the Paper, a discussion ensued, in which the Chairman, Messrs. Hicklin, Harrison, Hughes, and others, took part. Several drawings were exhibited, in further illustration of the subject, one being a *fac-simile* representation of the corslet of its full size.—(This Paper was printed *in extenso* in Vol. I. of the Society's *Journal*, pp. 365—373.)

Mr. HICKLIN read some Notes on the Excursion of the Society the previous summer to Hope, Caergwrle, Mold, and Hawarden; and incorporated with his own remarks the substance of two communications of local and historic interest, with which he had been favoured by Dr. Moffatt, of Hawarden, whose statements elicited observations from the Rev. James Harris, Mr. J. Williams (of the Old Bank), and other Members. Mr. Hicklin also exhibited the publications of the Anastatic Drawing Society, and explained its objects and constitution.

On Monday evening, June 2, there was a numerous attendance of Members and their friends at the monthly meeting, which was held in the News Room adjoining the City Library, the Rev. Canon Slade in the chair.

Major EGERTON LEIGH read a clever, interesting, and entertaining Paper on "Cheshire Words and Proverbs." The subject was treated with great ability, and evinced a patient spirit of intelligent research, as well as a comprehensive acquaintance with local traditions and general history. It is printed at large in the present Volume of this *Journal*, pp. 61—90.

At the close, the thanks of the meeting were gracefully expressed by the Rev. Chairman to Major Leigh; and an amusing discussion

arose, in which the Very Rev. the Dean of Bangor, Mr. Williams (of the Old Bank), the Revds. George Salt; R. Temple, Messrs. Wynne Ffoulkes, Hicklin, Ayrton, Hughes, the Rev. Canon Slade, and the gallant author of the Paper took part.

On Friday, August 1, the Members of the Chester Archæological Society proceeded on an excursion to Norton and Halton. In addition to the interest which is attached to the spot, on account of its having formerly been the scene of so many events celebrated in history, the exquisitely picturesque beauty of the neighbourhood formed another source of enjoyment. The day was delightfully fine, the sun shone forth gloriously, lighting up hill and dale with his summer splendour. On arriving at Norton Station (which was reached about ten o'clock), the party was joined by several ladies and gentlemen from Warrington. They then proceeded on foot along Norton Brook Lane, which was very pleasantly sheltered from the heat by the trees which grew on either side, to the wood in front of Norton Priory, where an old bower, said to have been erected by the late Lady Brooke, afforded a very welcome resting-place for a short time. The scene from this spot was very interesting; to the right could be seen, through an opening in the wood, Norton Priory, the seat of Sir Richard Brooke, Bart., and to the left the ruins of Halton Castle, with the Church of Halton, on the crest of Halton Hill. While seated in the bower, the conversation turned upon the habits and instincts of birds and animals, and, as a consequence, a variety of anecdotes were told. One related by the Rector of Warrington, who seemed to have at command an inexhaustible store of illustrations of natural history, was very striking. Once, while officiating in a village in Somersetshire, he discovered that a robin had built her nest between the Bible and Prayer Book: during the service he covered it with his surplice, and in a few days afterwards he had the pleasure of finding that it had hatched three eggs. After a short repose, the party again sallied forth, and ascending a few steps to the right, and passing under a low stone archway, found themselves in a secluded retreat of solemn beauty, formed by the embowering shades of majestic trees. In the centre of this sequestered spot stands a marble column, surmounted with an urn, after a design by Westmacott, and bearing this inscription:—

To the memory of
HARRIOTT,
on a spot where she passed many happy hours
in the bosom of her family,
This pillar is erected by a husband who
had loved her from childhood.

1825.

The monument is alike unworthy of the scene and the subject ; and we flatter ourselves that, in these days of improved taste, a more appropriate and suggestive memorial would be erected. Thence the party proceeded to the house of Dr. Wilson, Sir Richard Brooke's steward, catching sight on the way of Runcorn and Warrington, and the beautifully undulating vale between. After lingering a few minutes in the gardens of Dr. Wilson, the party returned, passed through the remainder of the wood, and across the bridge over the Duke of Bridgewater's Canal to the Witch Elm, a noble example of "the greenwood tree." They then proceeded through the lovely grounds and gardens of Sir Richard to the Priory. The first object of interest was a stone coffin, which was found in 1823, while digging a drain close by. The bottom of the coffin was in an excellent state of preservation, and had been hollowed out ; the lid was not found. Near the head was reared an old stone with a fine cross sculptured on it, supposed to have been cut about 1350. Several other stones or slabs, apparently of great age, were lying about, which had been dug up some years ago at Weston Point. While examining these, a singular discovery was made. Imprinted on the slabs, Mr. Rylands, of Warrington, traced the foot-prints of a small reptile, which he supposed to have been one of the Iguanodon tribe. The mark of the claws, and the course the animal had taken, were distinctly traced. The gardens were then inspected, their order and beauty, with the many interesting plants and flowers which they contain, being greatly admired. An "*antient gigantic*" figure of St. Christopher was then examined. It is a relic of the old Priory, and in a fine state of preservation. The legend of St. Christopher is admirably told in a lecture by our deceased friend, the Rev. W. H. Massie, on the "Ancient Paintings of Gawsworth Church," which was published a few years before his death.

Norton Priory (as Ormerod describes it) "is a spacious quadrangular building, situated in low ground near the Mersey, occupying the site of the former Priory ; the estuary of the river forms a fine object on the right, and to the left of the view in front are the Castle and rocks of Halton, which form a very striking feature in the prospect. Some of the ancient vaults of the Priory, and an ornamented doorway leading to them, are preserved in the present edifice. The arches of the doorway are semi-circular, resting on pillars with sculptured capitals, and enriched with chevronels, foliage, and other ornaments. The vaults are much altered and sub-divided, but consisted originally of groined arches springing from short octagonal columns with capitals."

The following list of the Priors and Abbots of Norton, which is more complete than any before published, was produced by Mr. Beaumont :—

1. *Henry*, Prior about 1159, was a witness to the foundation of Burscough, and also to a charter of Richard de Mora to John, Constable of Chester, respecting Stanlaw.

2. *Roger*, Prior, as Mr. Beamont believes, *tempore* Henry II.

3. *Egidius*, Prior, *tempore* Richard I. and John, was a witness to a charter of Warburton Priory.

4. *Ranulph*, Prior about 1210.

5. *John*, Prior at the time of the grants by Earl Randle and Henry III.

6. *Andrew*, Prior in 1223, 1227, 1230, 1233, and 1237, when Richard Phyton was Justice of Chester.

7. *Roger de Mamcestre*, Prior of Northton, occurs in a grant by Peter de Dutton to Adam Fitz-William Fitz-Hamund de Waleton, between 1249 and 1261.—(*Whalley Coucher Book*, p. 397.)

8. *Roger de Lincoln*, Prior in 1285.

9. *John de Olton*, Prior, occurs in a dispute respecting a lamp and a chaplain at Poosey, in 1315.

10. *Robert Bernard*, Prior, presents to Runcorn Church, in 1345.

11. *John de Wewirham*, Prior in 1350.

12. *Thomas*, Prior in 1368. (Mr. Ormerod seems to think there is a mistake about this person.)

13. *Richard*, Prior, was a witness to the grant of the Dutton chantry at Warrington, in 1379.

14. *Thomas Westbury*, Abbot of Norton. The Priory was raised to an Abbey between 1399 and 1433, as appears by the presentations to Budworth. Thomas Westbury occurs as Abbot in a record of 29th of August, 24th Henry IV., 1446.

15. *Roger Plemouth*, Abbot in 1453.

16. *Robert Leftwich*, Abbot, 13th August, 31st Henry VI., 1453.

17. *Richard Malborn*, Abbot, 1495.

18. *John*, Abbot, pleaded to a *quo warranto*, 14th Henry VII., 1498.

19. *Robert*, Abbot of Norton, was one of the overseers of Robert Reddish's will in 1503.

20. *Roger Hall*, Abbot of Norton. (Mr. Ormerod thinks this Abbot's place in the series is uncertain.)

21. *Thomas Barkett*, said to be the last Abbot, and to have surrendered the Abbey. The Abbey was dissolved with the lesser Monasteries in 1536, and the last Abbot was taken into custody and ordered to be hanged. But if Barkett was the last Abbot, he escaped the fate intended for him, and, after living through the troubles of the Reformation, died an old man.

By the kindness of Sir Richard Brooke, the vaults, or cloisters, were opened, and the whole party permitted to inspect them. It was

supposed that the date of them would be *circa* 1133—56, and the style Norman or Early English. These remains of ancient days were examined with lively interest, and suggested much discussion. In the finest of the vaults the visitors were kindly provided with refreshments. Luncheon over, they proceeded through another part of the grounds to Halton Castle, a distance of one mile. The principal portion of this walk lay through open fields, occasionally shaded with trees, whose boughs formed a welcome shelter from the noon-tide heat. At length the Castle was reached, and the "Castle Inn" proved a very acceptable retreat.

In the drawing-room of the Hotel, Mr. BEAMONT, of Warrington, read an excellent Paper on "The History of Halton Castle," which will be found at pp. 1—16 of our present Volume.

The interior of the Castle was then visited, and the buttresses, bastions, loop-holes, and arches, carefully examined. From the walls a remarkably fine prospect of the surrounding country is obtained; Helsby Hills to the right, dark and frowning as of yore; in front, the glittering waters of the Mersey and the town of Runcorn; while to the left stretch the remains of those magnificent forests which

"Have survived the Druid's faith,
And the Roman eagle's fall,
And the thrilling blast of the bugle's breath
From the Norman's knightly hall."

Many parts of the Castle have been built of late years; some portions of necessity to support the crumbling ruins, and others to supply a picture in the scene. Near the Castle stands the beautiful Church erected by the liberality of Sir Richard Brooke and his family, from a design by the eminent architect, Mr. Scott. The interior of the Church is admirably arranged and fitted up; it has a nave, aisles, and chancel; is built in the decorated style of architecture; and has several remarkably fine painted windows. The Church is one of Scott's best works—a beautiful and characteristic house of prayer, which every ecclesiologist will feel a delight in visiting. Near the Church stands a public library, founded in 1733 by Sir John Chesshyre, of Hallwood. The contents of the library amount to several hundred volumes; the original part, selected by the donor, consists of Rymer's *Fœdera*, the *Monasticon*, Walton's *Polyglot*, and a large body of ecclesiastical writers; the modern additions are of a more popular description. The Curate is perpetual librarian. Over the door of the library, which is a small detached building of stone near the Curate's house, is inscribed:—
"Hanc Bibliothecam, pro communi literatorum usu, sub cura curati capellæ de Halton proventibus ter feliciter argumentatæ, Johannes

Chesshyre miles serviens D' in regis ad legem. {D. D. D. Anno MDCCXXXIII."

The time had now arrived (three o'clock) for dinner; and, weary with the ramble, the party adjourned to the "Halton Castle Inn," where an excellent cold collation was provided by the worthy hostess. Mr. HICKLIN, of Chester, was requested to preside. Mr P. RYLANDS, of Warrington, officiated as vice-president; and amongst those present were:—The Rev. W. Queckett, Rector of Warrington, and Mrs. Queckett; the Rev. W. Pollock and Mrs. Pollock; the Rev. J. Whitley and Mrs. Whitley; the Rev. R. A. Mould; the Rev. John Watson, of Chester; Messrs. Beamont, Urmson, G. Rylands, J. F. Marsh, Robson, and Williams, of Warrington; Mr. Edgar Garston, of Liverpool; Messrs. Ayrton, C. Brown, James Harrison, J. B. Marsh, and others from Chester; and some ladies and gentlemen whose names we had not the pleasure of knowing, making a party of about 30 in number.

A few toasts, appropriate to the occasion, were introduced; and speeches delivered by the Chairman, the Vice-Chairman, the Rev. W. Queckett, Mr. Ayrton, Mr. Beamont, Mr. Marsh (of Warrington), the Rev. W. Pollock, and others. After two hours of social and intellectual recreation, the party descended the slopes of Halton Castle, and proceeded along a picturesque lane to Norton Station, where the Chester and Warrington parties separated for their respective homes, in a cordial spirit of fraternity, and with pleasant recollections of an instructive and most enjoyable meeting.

On Friday, September 5th, a deputation from the Council of the Society, consisting of Mr. Ayrton, Mr. Hicklin, Mr. James Harrison, and Dr. McEwen, took a pleasant excursion into Denbighshire.

The party proceeded by railway from Chester to Rhyl, and thence drove past Rhuddlan Castle and St. Asaph to the new Church at Trefnant, lately erected by the pious munificence of two sisters, Mrs. Mainwaring, of Oteley Park, and Mrs. Townshend Mainwaring, as a memorial of their parents. The church is an exceedingly beautiful structure, of the decorated style, and its interior is one of the finest examples of ecclesiastical architecture which the genius of Mr. Scott has produced; all the fittings and decorations are of the same handsome character, and harmonize in their details with the general effect of the building, which in every respect is most admirable. We advise those of our friends who take pleasure in examining such edifices to visit Trefnant Church; which we are glad to find is not merely attractive to passing strangers as an elegant work of human skill, but is answering the devout desires of its founders in gathering within its walls numerous congregations of worshippers, to benefit by its scriptural ministrations.

The Rev. D. Lewis, the respected Incumbent, and the Rev. H. P. Ffoulkes, late of Buckley, but now Rector of Llandyssil, Montgomeryshire, kindly explained to the excursionists every matter of local interest; and we were glad to observe that preparations were making for building a Parsonage and Schools near the Church.

From Trefnant the party proceeded by invitation to Galltfaenan, where they were entertained with most hospitable courtesy by Mr. and Mrs. Townshend Mainwaring. The interval before luncheon was spent in exploring the picturesque beauties of that charming residence, the pleasure grounds of which command a series of views of surpassing loveliness and majesty. The shady walk, which, leading along an avenue of trees, discloses glorious glimpses of the surrounding country, and opens through a verdant vista upon a really grand panorama of natural scenery, is one of the most delightful spots we ever visited, even in that romantic "land of the mountain and the flood,"—a beautiful combination of green vales, wooded glens, majestic hills, and tranquil streams; while the Cefn rocks, which have excited so much interest among geologists, lift their grey heads as memorials of an antedeluvian age, and form a sublime feature in the landscape. The interior of the mansion contains the usual indications of cultivated taste; and among the many pictures which elicited admiring observation, were two bold paintings by a young artist named Morris, whom Mr. Townshend Mainwaring is kindly assisting to struggle into fame; one representing Jonathan clothing David with the royal armour, immediately after his conquest of the Philistine giant; and the other, Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac; both of which gave evidence of rising genius, intellectual power, and skilful handling.

From Galltfaenan the party drove to Denbigh, and spent some time in examining the remarkable ruins of that extensive Castle, which once frowned in feudal grandeur on its rocky steeps over the subject vale below, which now lies stretched beneath the hill in all the glowing luxuriance of autumnal fertility. Mr. R. Williams, of Bron-y-parc, with a party, Mr. Harrison, of Denbigh, and others, there joined the archæological tourists, who were conducted through the mouldering remains of ancient pomp and power by Mr. Williams, the intelligent compiler and publisher of a work, entitled "Ancient and Modern Denbigh," which contains much valuable information. In exploring the ruins many discoveries of a singular character were made; and as the history of Denbigh Castle forms a record of national importance, further researches were ordered to be prosecuted under the direction of the Society.

From Denbigh the party drove by another route to Rhyl, beguiling the way with observations and discussions on the various natural and

historic objects which abound in that district; and returned to Chester with a pleasing recollection of a thoroughly enjoyable and improving excursion.

The winter session was opened on Monday, December 1, in a most auspicious and entertaining manner. The attendance of Members, both ladies and gentlemen, was numerous and influential, and it afforded us sincere pleasure to see so many old and valued friends of the Society present on the occasion. For greater convenience, the meeting was held in the City News Room, St. Peter's Church-yard, by the courteous permission of the committee of that institution. Shortly after seven o'clock, the Rev. CANON EATON was called to the chair, when

Mr. HICKLIN, the Society's Secretary, gave an interesting account of the visit paid by the Council, in September last, to Trefnant Church and Galltfaenan, already referred to. Mr. Hicklin descanted at some length on the various objects of historic interest between Chester and Rhyl,—Hawarden and Flint Castles, and the secluded Abbey of Basingwerk,—rapidly passing to that glorious relic of Edwardian glory, the ivy-clad ruins of Rhuddlan. Trefnant Church and Galltfaenan were, of course, duly honoured, and especially that frank and hospitable reception which awaited the Council at the hands of their kind hosts, Mr. and Mrs. Townshend Mainwaring. Thence the Council repaired to Denbigh, and at the gates of that fortress, which constitute the ancient glory of the county town, Mr. Hicklin concluded his observations by introducing to the meeting his friend and coadjutor in the affairs of the Society,

Mr. AYRTON, who had prepared a Paper on the majestic ruins and interesting history of Denbigh Castle. This interesting treatise will be found at length at pp. 49—60 of our present Volume, accompanied by a plan of the fortress, surveyed and laid down from existing remains, by the Society's Architectural Secretary, Mr. James Harrison, Chester.

Mr. WILLIAMS, the historian of Denbigh, who had come over from thence on purpose to be present, favoured the meeting with some curious and interesting matter, mainly called forth by the reading of Mr. Ayrton's Paper.

Mr. WYNNE FFOULKES, the newly-elected Historic Secretary of the Society, followed with a learned dissertation on the immediate locality and name of Denbigh; Messrs. E. G. Salisbury, M.P., Hicklin, Harrison, and others, taking part in the discussion.

A special vote of thanks to Mr. Ayrton, not only for his present Paper, but for his long and valuable services to the Society as Historic and Financial Secretary, both which offices he had lately resigned, was proposed by Mr. HICKLIN, and carried by acclamation.—A vote of

thanks to the Rev. Chairman then closed a meeting full of promise for the future success of the Society.

The Marquess of Westminster, who was then staying at Eaton, addressed a note the following day to Mr. Hicklin, stating that his Lordship had fully intended to be present at the meeting, and was only prevented by the inclemency of the weather.

1857.

The second monthly meeting for the session was held in the Commercial News Room, on Monday evening, the 5th of January. W. WYNNE FFOULKES, Esq. the Historic Secretary to the Society, occupied the chair, and introduced to the meeting Dr. Moffat, of Hawarden, who had provided a paper on the "Antiquity of the Arch."

Dr. MOFFAT commenced by stating that the merit of the discovery of the Arch was generally given to the Greeks or Romans, but he endeavoured to trace its use to far higher antiquity. With regard to the Roman claim, he stated that the arched dome originated in Etruria; which was at the height of its glory when Rome was only in building. The claim of the Greeks he disposed of in a similar manner; stating, on the authority of Niebuhr, that the Etruscans were in a high state of civilization when the Greeks were in a state of semi-barbarism; and that the arched dome was not observed in Greece, except on one building of very recent date; and further, that no trace of the Arch was to be found in that country until after the period of the Roman conquest. The lecturer next discussed the claim of the Tyrians to the discovery, stating that that people communicated all they knew to the Egyptians; who, in their turn taught the nations of Asia on the one side of the Mediterranean and Black Sea, and the Greeks on the other. It did not appear to the author, however, that they had taught the Egyptians the use of the Arch; for it was not only *not* found in any ruins in that country, but a form of masonry was employed in forming the galleries of the Pyramids, which proved that the Arch was quite unknown at the time of their erection. (A diagram of this form was exhibited and explained by Dr. Moffat.) He was of opinion, nevertheless, that the Tyrians knew the use of the Arch; and he believed that the massive vaults in the substructure of the Temple at Jerusalem were the work of "the skilful men of Tyre." These vaults might, by some, be attributed to the Romans; but by a careful train of reasoning, commencing with the date of Pompey's siege of Jerusalem, he made it clear that these vaults must have existed long before Jerusalem became subject to the Roman rule, during the reign of Herod. Not that he believed the Tyrians were the inventors of the Arch; on the contrary, the vaults

discovered at Jerusalem were by no means the first specimens of the arched style of architecture ; for, according to Strabo and Diodorus, the " hanging gardens of Babylon " were on terraces, supported by " vast arches ; " and the latter author stated that there was a vaulted tunnel from the Euphrates at Babylon, constructed by Semiramis, a queen of Assyria. The lecturer next referred to the excavations at Nineveh, where the Arch had been found, and representations of it detected on the bas-reliefs. In conclusion, it would appear that the Arch was known 700 years, at least, before Athens was founded ; 1500 years before Rome was thought of ; and that massive vaults existed in Jerusalem 950 years before the Romans set foot in Palestine. Some historians gave the Greeks the merit of the discovery, by suggesting that the Greek pediment gave the idea of the Arch, through showing that two bodies leaning against each other gave mutual support ; but the lecturer could not believe that this simple mechanical principle could have escaped the master minds who raised Shushan or Persepolis. He would very much rather say, that when man first issued from the primeval forest shades, and constructed a more durable habitation than he had before required, he observed that two rafters from opposite walls gave mutual support ; and that on forming a drain round his humble dwelling, he found that two flat stones not only gave mutual support, but formed also a durable bridge, at the same time giving to the drain a substantial covering. Drawings, showing how a complete arch might be thus formed, were exhibited by the lecturer, who then concluded a Paper listened to with no ordinary interest.

After a few remarks from the Chairman, Mr. Hicklin, and others, the thanks of the Society were cordially awarded to Dr. Moffat for his valuable Paper.

Mr. T. HUGHES volunteered some remarks on the Cowper Family of Overleigh ; and especially on those members of it connected with the siege of Chester. He exhibited an old portrait, in oil colour, of Alderman Thomas Cowper, Mayor of Chester in 1641, which had been recently presented by Mr. J. Edisbury, of Bersham, near Wrexham, to the Water Tower Museum, Chester. Mr. Cowper was Mayor of this city the very year in which a drum was beaten for the Parliament, at the instigation of Sir William Brereton ; and Mr. Hughes quoted the following passage from Hemingway's *History of Chester*, to show how boldly and bravely his Worship put down the first symptom of rebellion.

" Information of this treason having been given to the Mayor, Mr. Thomas Cowper, this intrepid magistrate immediately directed some constables to apprehend the leaders of the tumult, but the latter forcibly resisted, and compelled the constables to retire ; upon which the Mayor stepped forward in person to expostulate with them on their conduct,

and upon being disrespectfully treated, he boldly advanced up to one of the Parliamentarians, and seizing him by the collar, delivered him to the civil officers; at the same time wresting a broad sword from another of the party, with which he instantly cut the drum to pieces, securing the drummer and several others. This firm and manly demeanour, on the part of the Mayor, effectually put an end to the tumult, and finally repressed it. During this affray, the common bell was rung, the citizens lent their cheerful aid to the chief magistrate, and when they had seen him in a state of personal security, the city was restored to peace. Sir William Brereton, a gentleman of competent fortune in the county, and knight for the shire, and who was a strong partizan for the Parliament, was brought before the magistrates at the Pentice, to answer for the part he had taken in the above disturbance, though he owed his rescue from the popular fury to the personal interference of the Mayor; he was, however, discharged. It appears from the law documents in the Harleian Collection, that there were personal animosities between Sir William and the city, arising from the assessment of his estate (the Nunnery lands, supposed to be rate-free) for the contribution of ship-money. His subsequent severities are stated to have proceeded from his resentment on this occasion, and it has been a subject of regret to many of his political opponents, that the active interposition of the Mayor had rescued from the popular fury a man who afterwards proved to be so severe a scourge to the city." With the long siege that followed, all who know anything of the city's history are sufficiently acquainted. On the 27th of September, 1645, King Charles a second time entered the city, and after the disasters of that unfortunate day, "marched over Dee Bridge with 500 horse, and, not without some danger, passed into Wales, and arrived that evening at Denbigh Castle, attended by Sir Francis Gamull, Captain Thropp, and Alderman Cowper. They remained with the King two days, when these loyal citizens took a sad and final leave of their royal master, and so returned to Chester."

As before stated, the original picture is preserved in the Water Tower, and is one of the most interesting relics in that curious Museum. The Committee of the Chester Mechanics' Institution, who are the custodians of the Tower collection, having obligingly permitted a copy of it to be made, the Members of the Society are here presented with an authentic portrait of a man whom King Charles in his misfortunes delighted to honour, and of whom the city itself has every reason to feel proud. It is deserving of remark here, that this portrait, and that of Roger Wilbraham, at page 61, are the maiden productions of a young man named James Webster, a native of Chester, and at present an apprentice to Messrs. Evans and Gresty, of Eastgate Row.

It was this gentleman who, in company with Sir Francis Gamull and Charles Walley, the then Mayor, stood side by side with King Charles on the leads of the Phoenix Tower, and saw the Royalists defeated on Rowton Moor. Mr. Cowper was one of the six chief citizens who refused to sign the Articles of Surrender, when Chester capitulated to the Parliament in 1646. For his stedfast loyalty, his ill-fated Sovereign made him a special grant of a new coat of arms, in lieu of the coat he had inherited from his ancestors ; which new arms, with the expressive motto, "*Fide et fortitudine*," appear on the proper left of the picture. The loyal Alderman wears his official gown, carries an embroidered cap or bag, and bears upon his breast the Carolus medal, on which is a faithful profile of his unfortunate prince. On the third finger of his left hand is a ring, bearing the expressive emblem of a "death's head," the favourite Cavalier memorial of the martyr-King. An inscription to the right of the painting shews that he was 61 years of age when the portrait was taken, in 1657, and that he was consequently born in 1596.

Mr. HUGHES then drew attention to an ancient rapier and two cannon-balls, one of wrought iron and the other of stone, all found in the vicinity of Hawarden Castle. The relics were exhibited by Dr. Moffat ; and it is probable they were all used during the Civil War, while Hawarden Castle was besieged by the Royalist forces.

Mr. HICKLIN followed with some historic sketches relating to the foundation of "St. Werburgh's Abbey, at Chester," tracing it in detail from its Saxon origin to its re-edification by the Norman Earl, Hugh Lupus. Thence through the long line of distinguished Abbots, foremost among whom stood Simon of Whitchurch and Simon Ripley, he passed along to the dissolution of the Abbey by "bluff King Hal." He quoted freely from Mrs. Jameson and other writers, to show that despite the many and glaring evils of the conventual system as then existing, the monasteries of England were ever the source and centre of learning, as well as the scene where many an invention, which has proved a blessing to mankind, was first known and fostered. He announced his intention, at some future day, of favouring the Society with some more extended remarks on the monastic institutions of the twelfth and nineteenth centuries.

An old painting, on panel, was exhibited by Mr. Hughes, through the courtesy of its owner, Mr. W. Latham, of Sandbach. The painting represented an old hall of the period of Charles I., with a fine domestic chapel on its right side, and was taken by Mr. Latham from a house in Sandbach, which he had recently pulled down. A vague opinion seems to have prevailed in Sandbach, that the picture represented old Torbuck Hall, in Lancashire ; but in order if possible to establish its identity,

an engraving of the mansion accompanies this notice. Stereoscopic pictures of the house in which the painting was found, which was a noble specimen of a wood and plaster mansion of the 16th century, were handed round for inspection, having been kindly sent for that purpose by Dr. Gwynne, of Sandbach. To that gentleman, as also to Mr. Latham, and to the Officers of the Chester Mechanics' Institution, for the loan of the Cowper portrait, the thanks of the Society were cordially voted.

Mr. WYNNE FFOULKES, Historic Secretary, exhibited a few bronze remains of the Celtic period, taken from a funereal urn in Carnarvonshire, and explained their use to the meeting; after which a vote of thanks was accorded to him as Chairman, and the meeting separated.

The Society held its third monthly meeting for the session in the City News Room, St. Peter's Church-yard, on Monday evening, the 2nd of February. Despite the adverse raging of the elements,—for snow and sleet fell incessantly during the day, and indeed to the very hour of meeting,—there was still a goodly muster of the Members. The chair was occupied by C. T. W. PARRY, Esq., who, in short but fitting terms, introduced the lecturer of the evening, W. BEAMONT, Esq. of Warrington.

“Halton Castle and Rocksavage,” were the subjects chosen by Mr. Beamont, and these were of course treated in his usually free and comprehensive manner. Of the lecture itself,—which was, in effect, an enlargement of the highly interesting Paper read by that gentleman at the Society's Excursion to Halton in August, 1856,—it is unnecessary here to speak in detail, as Mr. Beamont has assented to its being printed at large in the present number of the *Journal*. Suffice it to say, that it omitted no one salient point of interest in the history of the Castle, from its first foundation by Nigel, Baron of Halton, during the earldom of Hugh Lupus, to the final dismantling of the fortress, at the close of the Civil War. Rocksavage, also, the once elegant seat of the Savages, Earls Rivers, came in for its fair share of attention at the hands of the lecturer; who, to show the rapid progress of decay in that luckless mansion, exhibited a photograph, recently taken, of a low ruined wall, the only relic now existing of a house in which King James was once right royally entertained.

The lecture was admirably composed, as might be expected from a gentleman of Mr. Beamont's antiquarian tastes, and was listened to with the most marked attention by a select and discriminating audience. The illustrations, which were upon an unusually large scale, embraced several views of Halton Castle, in different stages of its existence,

ANCIENT HALL AND DOMESTIC CHAPEL,
From a Painting on Panel found in an Old Mansion at
SANDBACH, CHESHIRE

together with the Hall of Rocksavage, Norton Priory, &c., and reflected great credit on the artists employed.

A handsomely-bound folio MS. volume, which he had recently picked up on a London book-stall, was exhibited by Mr. Hughes. It contained an elaborately tricked armorial pedigree of the Savages, of Rocksavage, deducing their descent from twenty common ancestors—"Cheshire's chief of men,"—and concluding with the then living representative in the reign of Charles I. Two original letters, one from Lady Eleanor Stanley, and the other from Sir William Stanley, of the Holt, to Piers Warburton, Keeper of Halton Castle, in the 15th century, were brought forward and read by Mr. Beamont, having been obligingly lent for that purpose by Rowland Eyles Egerton Warburton, Esq. of Arley. These letters excited great interest, and were carefully scrutinized, especially by the fairer portion of the audience.

Mr. J. PEACOCK exhibited a bronze *fibula*, or brooch, of Roman workmanship, dug up only a week or two previously, opposite the Blue Coat Hospital, some six feet beneath the surface. It presented a striking resemblance to the one engraved opposite page 424 of the first Volume of the *Journal*. This relic was broken into two parts, through the carelessness of the workmen, but is otherwise a very perfect specimen.

Mr. FREDERICK POTTS produced several most curious documents, one bearing a splendid seal of the Palatinate Earldom, and another referring to the Skinners or Wool-dressers of Chester, of the 16th century. Mr. Potts likewise exhibited a richly illuminated roll pedigree of the Bavand family, of Chester, consisting of twenty-one descents, fully and carefully emblazoned, and introducing the names of numerous citizens of worship and renown in by-gone days.

The thanks of the Society were then cordially voted to Mr. Beamont for his intelligent Paper, and to Mr. Parry for his courteous and able conduct in the chair, and the meeting separated.

The ordinary monthly meeting of this Society was held on Monday evening, April 6th, at the City News Room, the Right Rev. the LORD BISHOP in the chair.

The Ven. ARCHDEACON WOOD read a learned and curious Paper on the "Dialect of Cheshire," prefacing his subject with a few remarks on the nature and composition of the English language generally, tracing it from its several sources,—the Celtic, Anglo-Saxon, Danish, and Anglo-Norman tongues. The lecturer then, in an amusing strain, proceeded to treat the dialect peculiar to our own immediate county, explaining the derivation of many of the names given to our principal Cheshire towns and villages, and entering at some length into the original meaning of those words and phrases only to be met with in

the very heart of this county. The Paper itself will probably appear in a future number of the *Journal*.

Among the company present who, in addition to the Lord Bishop, took part in the proceedings, were the Most Noble the Marquess of Westminster, the Revds. Canon Hillyard, J. Watson, J. Harris, Dr. Davies, &c.

LORD WESTMINSTER, in moving the thanks of the Society to Archdeacon Wood for his able Paper, gave some happy illustrations of his own intimate acquaintance with the vernacular of the county, interspersing his remarks with many of the phrases alluded to by the lecturer. His Lordship jocosely observed, that he was glad to find the worthy Archdeacon in such "good fettle," and that he had "insensed" the meeting completely with his subject.

MR. ROBERT READY, of Shrewsbury, exhibited a large series of gutta percha casts from ancient ecclesiastical and corporate seals: among them we noticed several connected with the neighbouring county, Salop, all of which were examined with interest by the ladies and gentlemen present. The intelligent zeal displayed by Mr. Ready in the collection of these rare *fac-similes* of the engraver's art, and the beautiful sharpness of his casts, whether in sulphur or gutta percha, cannot be too highly spoken of. There is scarcely an early English seal, royal or baronial, monastic or private, that, if it exists at all, is not to be obtained from the stores of Mr. Ready.

A vote of thanks to the Lord Bishop, who, with Lord Westminster, had contributed largely to the interest and enjoyment of the meeting by several most amusing and apposite remarks, closed the proceedings of the evening.

It was intended here to have given a short summary of the Annual Meeting of the British Archæological Institute, which was held at Chester during the month of July, 1857:—it will be found at a future page of the current Volume.

EXTERIOR OF LADY CHAPEL - CHESTER CATHEDRAL 14

ON THE

Lady Chapel in Chester Cathedral.

BY THE REV. CANON BLOMFIELD.*

THE Lady Chapel of the Cathedral of Chester has long been known to antiquarian architects as an interesting and valuable specimen of the Early English style, but it has scarcely ever been examined in detail by them, and to the general observer has presented no features of special interest. The keen and accurate judgment of Rickman discovered the general beauty of its proportions ; but the destruction of all the original windows, and other disfigurements of the building, which took place when the side aisles were added in the 15th century, have served so far to obscure its beauties, that it has been supposed to possess little or nothing worthy of observation.

It is now undergoing restoration, as far as circumstances admit of it ; and the chromatic decoration of the interior has been entrusted to the care of Mr. Octavius Hudson, whose works at Salisbury and elsewhere have established him as an artist of the first rank in this special department. The beauty and high finish of his work have attracted general admiration, and awakened a new interest in the structure and composition of the Lady Chapel itself. On this account I am induced to think that some remarks upon the history of Lady Chapels in general, and of our own in particular, will not be inappropriate to the purposes of the Chester Archæological Society.

I think it fair to state in my own defence, if the information which I am able to give shall appear to be meagre and imperfect, that, when I entered upon the subject I had hoped to meet with some materials elucidating the origin, uses, and characteristics of Lady Chapels, which I have failed to discover. I have not been able to find that the subject has been specially investigated, or that the history of Lady Chapels, as separate from that of Cathedrals, has ever been traced up to its

* Read before the Society on Monday, February 1, 1858.

source. I believe it to be a yet unexplored mine of antiquarian lore, and one well worthy of the labour of the ecclesiastical archæologist. But, for myself, having neither leisure nor opportunity to explore it thoroughly, I must be content to give such few and simple elements of the history as I have been able to glean out of the few books within reach.

It is well known that all the European nations, from the earliest introduction of Christianity among them, have directed their most solemn worship towards the East,—a custom which we may clearly trace to the course which the progress of the Gospel took in its advance through Europe, arising from the East, and going on still towards the West, and thus realizing to each nation the Scriptural promise of the “rising of the Sun of Righteousness with healing on his wings.” The hope, also, of the re-appearing of the Saviour has always been directed towards the East; and as that hope was of a very vivid and energetic character in the earlier times of the Church, it gave further strength to the habit of addressing their devoutest aspirations in that direction. As soon as the acknowledgment of Christianity by the Empire admitted of the erection of public buildings for the celebration of divine worship, the system of Orientation was introduced into them. The altar was placed in or near the eastern extremity of every church: all the higher ceremonies of religion, and especially the administration of the Lord’s Supper, were celebrated there; and thither the eyes and thoughts of the congregation were directed as to the place of sacredness and honour. For a long period the eastern part of the churches was especially held sacred to the name and honour of Jesus Christ. But when the worship of the Virgin Mary began to assume the prominence which it has ever since held in the Romish Church, and to eclipse that of our Lord himself, it was usually celebrated in the eastern portion of the church; and, as if to give to it more special honour, the recess or chapel at the eastern extremity, adopted from the holy place of the Temple at Jerusalem, was appropriated to it. And a still further eastern end was frequently thrown out from the original structure, where the worship of the Virgin might be specially celebrated; where her statues, and shrines, and offerings might be placed; and to which not only the gaze of the people in the choir, but of the officiating priest himself as he stood before the high altar, might be constantly directed. Thus, according to the quaint remark of Fuller, a gradation of reverence was established—“The porch said to the church-yard, and the church said to the porch, and the chancel said to the church, and the Lady Chapel said to them all: ‘Stand further off, I am holier than thou.’”

It sometimes, indeed, happened in particular Cathedrals or churches that there was a Saint connected with the place who was locally held

in higher honour, on account of the miraculous powers attributed to his or her relics, than even the Virgin Mary, and in such cases the eastern chapel was devoted to the honour of that Saint : as that of Becket, at Canterbury ; St. Cuthbert, at Durham ; St. Ethelreda, at Ely ; St. Alban, at St. Albans ; and St. Edward, at Westminster Abbey. In such cases we find the Lady Chapel placed elsewhere, as at Canterbury in the north aisle of the nave ; at Durham, at the west end, where it is called the Galilee ; at Rochester, in the south transept ; at Oxford and Bristol, on the north side of the choir. In all the other Cathedrals the Lady Chapel is at the eastern extremity.

In the Cathedral of Chester it is most probable that the eastern extremity of the *Norman* choir was occupied by the chapel and shrine* of St. Werburgh, reaching as far as the eastern arch of the present choir ; and, if so, the chapel of the Virgin would be at the extremity of the south aisle of the choir. Although the present building is far more extensive than that of Norman times, we shall probably find the same principles of structure and arrangement still adhered to. We have a niche still remaining, indicating the existence of an image of the Virgin, and a piscina, implying an altar, at the eastern termination of this aisle ; and these are probably the vestiges of an earlier arrangement which had appropriated that part of the building to the worship of the Virgin, and they were merely repeated on the new and enlarged choir, though the altar of the Virgin was then removed to a more honourable place.

At the date of the erection of the present Lady Chapel, which I shall endeavour to fix about A.D. 1280, St. Werburgh had begun to decline somewhat in popular estimation ; no miracles were ever performed at her shrine, and the taste of the age was for some demonstration of the power of the saints. There happened also to be a burst of devotion at that period towards the Virgin Mary. And therefore, when the Norman Chapel of St. Werburgh was pulled down, and the choir extended, it was natural that a new and more sumptuous chapel should be given to the honour of the Virgin, occupying the same relative position, at the eastern extremity of the choir. The original position of the shrine of St. Werburgh was probably preserved under this new arrangement ; but instead of being in a separate chapel to the east of the Choir, it now

* Hanshall, in his *History of Cheshire*, 4to, 1817, page 221, states that the Shrine of St. Werburgh, and the pedestal on which it rested, "formerly stood in the Chapel of the Virgin at the east end of the Choir ; and that the pedestal was removed to its present position soon after the Reformation, and converted into the Episcopal Throne." History is silent as to the fate of the Shrine itself ; but being of great intrinsic value, it no doubt vanished at the Dissolution, along with other precious relics belonging to the Abbey.

fell within the Choir, which was lengthened so as to include it. In this position it is believed to have remained until the period of the Reformation, when the stone structure containing the shrine was removed and converted into a throne for the Bishop. Thus, without doing disrespect to the patron saint of the Church, the Virgin Mary was honoured with a new Chapel, to which special care and large expenditure of means were devoted.

The history of Lady Chapels, as they are found appended to all the larger Churches of Europe, and forming a part of the interior arrangement of the smaller ones, can hardly be investigated without some reference to the rise and progress of the Mariolatry of the Church of Rome. Such reference would hardly fall within the range of subjects usually treated of by this Society, and would lead us off into questions of theology and ecclesiastical history far too extensive to be dealt with in a brief and popular lecture. I shall therefore content myself with observing that the exaltation of the Virgin Mary as an object of worship took its rise in the fifth century, and advanced by gradual stages of growth until we find in the eleventh century, about the date of the Conquest, that a daily office was instituted in her honour, divine titles began to be ascribed to her, and every imaginable epithet, expressive of adoration and extravagant superstition, was lavished upon her in the writings of the time. It was at this period, just when the first Norman Earl re-founded the Monastery of St. Werburgh, and erected the building of which so many portions still remain, that Lady Chapels began to be added to churches in this kingdom. The worship of the Virgin, which had then assumed a very prominent and elaborate character, required a separate place for the celebration of it. And it is not uninteresting to remember that Anselm, Abbot of Bec and Archbishop of Canterbury, whom Hugh Lupus brought to Chester in order that he might re-model the conventual establishment, was a devoted worshipper of the Virgin Mary, and introduced into England a festival in honour of the Immaculate Conception. He would take care, therefore, that all honour was done to her, and all due provision made for the celebration of her worship in the new conventual church. We have no exact plan of that Norman structure, but from the vestiges of it which were discovered in 1841, it was apparent that there was an eastern apse or chapel, extending beyond the choir itself, which was intended probably as the chapel of the Virgin, though, as we have suggested, used as a site for the shrine of St. Werburgh. All this structure disappeared at the end of the 13th century, to make way for the present buildings, and just at this period the enthusiasm on the subject of the honour due to the Blessed Virgin was at its height.

We will endeavour now to fix, as nearly as we can, the date of the present Lady Chapel. Upon comparing it with the Chapter House, the earliest of our buildings of the Early English period, a marked difference appears in the composition of the mouldings, the form of the window jambs, the size and character of the bosses, bespeaking for the Lady Chapel a more advanced period of the style. We find here, externally, ponderous upright buttresses, chamfered at the angles, and with indications of clustered columns on those of the eastern part of the building. A rich and deep hollow cornice, with very large and massive single dog-tooth ornaments, placed above a foot apart, over-hangs the outer wall, but it is now concealed under the roof of the side aisles. We have, internally, multiplied round-and-hollow mouldings around the windows, interspersed with the dog-tooth mouldings; bold and massive ribs in the groined roof, with very rich and highly-wrought bosses of great size at the intersections of the main ribs. These indications of an advanced style lead us to fix the date of erection at the period of transition from the Early English to the Decorated Order, or about the close of the 13th century. This would bring us to the time when Simon de Albo Monasterio was Abbot of St. Werburgh. He was the most able of the Abbots of Chester, and the most magnificent in his architectural restorations. His accession to the Abbacy is dated as A.D. 1265, and he lived until 1289, in the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I. In the 12th year of Edward I. we have a record of a precept being granted to allow venison from the King's forests of Delamere and Wirral, for the support of the Monks of St. Werburgh who were engaged in the building of their church. It is clear that the first building on which they were then engaged was the present Lady Chapel, which bears evidence of the desire of the Abbot to make it worthy of her to whom it was dedicated, and of his own character for munificence. It is not improbable that this Chapel was all that was finished during the life-time of this Abbot, for there is an evident decline of architectural effort and means in the eastern portion of the choir, which was erected immediately after the Chapel. The great arch which unites the choir with the Chapel is remarked upon by Rickman, for the richness of its multiplied rounds and hollows, but this richness is not carried on to the westward. I may here remark, by the way, that this arch seems to have been formed out of the old Norman east window of the original Lady Chapel, as there are plain indications of Norman structure in the wall on each side of it. We venture then to fix the date of the erection at about 1280.

The Lady Chapel, as built by Simon de Albo Monasterio, was without aisles; the outer walls being buttressed and corniced as before described, and with a parapet, of which no portion now remains. There

were three triplet windows on each side, of which the jamb mouldings only remain. The tracery of four of them was entirely removed when the side aisles were built, and that of the other two replaced at the same period by coarse perpendicular tracery. The eastern window was probably of five lights. Traces of its mullions yet remain, running down on the external face of the eastern end. Sufficient vestiges of the composition of the exterior of the Chapel yet remain to admit of its being restored externally, as well as internally, to its original form.

It does not appear that there was any entrance to the Chapel, as it was first built, except through the eastern arch from the choir. We enter it now through the side aisles, one of the windows having been cut away on each side, down to the base of the wall, in order to open this passage. This was probably done at the same time that the high altar was erected in the choir and elevated upon a platform so lofty as wholly to obstruct the passage under the eastern arch. This platform, which buried the columns up to four feet above the base mouldings, was considerably lowered in 1841.

When we enter the Chapel, the first thing perhaps that strikes us is the lowness of the ceiling, being only 32 feet from the floor to the central rib, for it is one characteristic of the buildings of this date that they rise far above the height of the Norman vaulting, and give a great impression of loftiness and lightness. The causes of this defect, if it be one, in this building, seem to have been two:—In the first place, it was necessary to keep the roof at such an elevation as would not interfere with the light of the upper east window of the choir. In the second place, the floor of the Chapel has been raised above its original level, as will be apparent from the line of the stone bench which runs round the exterior; and from the position of the Sedilia at the east end. Of the eastern window, as well of the two which are near it, on the north and south, it is obvious to remark that the tracery is of a late Perpendicular character, while the jamb mouldings are of late Decorated. Thence arises one of the chief defects of the interior of the Chapel,—the want of harmony in its architectural details, striking the eye most forcibly in the east window, the plain perpendicular tracery of which is so manifestly incongruous with the pointed English character of the surrounding features of the building. The liberality of the citizens of Chester has indeed in some measure diminished the unpleasing effect of this contrast, by the introduction of a fine east window of painted glass, designed by Pugin, and executed by Wailes in his best manner. But it is impossible not to regret that the tracery itself was not restored to its proper character before the painted glass was introduced; nor is it unreasonable to hope that this may yet be done, and that the fine window of five lights may yet be reconstructed,

No 1.

BOSS FROM LADY CHAPEL
CHESTER CATHEDRAL

CORRESPONDING SUBJECT
FROM SEAL OF HOLY TRINITY PRIORY
YORK

in order to complete the restoration of the interior of this beautiful Chapel.

The next observable feature of the Chapel is the groined roof, marked especially by its singular and beautiful bosses at the three principal points of intersection of the ribs. These bosses are of unusually large size for so low a building, being of three feet diameter, and descending below the ceiling more than 18 inches. The weight of each boss is nearly two tons. They exhibit great care and skill in design and execution, and are finished with that attention to details which marks the works of that age, though it appears to be almost a waste of labour when employed on objects so far above the eye of the spectator.

The central boss bears a figure of the Virgin and Child,—the eastern one, a symbol of the Trinity,—and the western one a representation of the murder of Thomas à Becket.

It is not improbable that these three subjects, placed in this order from east to west, were designed to embody the three great features of the Christian Church of that age. We have in the first a figure of the Father, seated on His throne, holding between His knees a small crucifix, and the dove rests on the cross, in the attitude of whispering into the Saviour's ear. This was not an uncommon form of representing the Trinity in early times, and forcibly, though rudely, shadows out the elements of Christian truth,—the Father, who is in heaven, holding forth the Son, crucified for us; and the Holy Spirit concurring in the scheme of redemption, and ministering comfort to the Saviour to support Him in His last agony.*

We have in the second boss the representation of the worship of the Virgin Mary,—the prominent characteristic of the Romish Church. The Virgin is represented, according to invariable custom, as seated, and with the infant Saviour in her arms; *she*, and not the Saviour, being the main subject of the work. The Saviour was always thus

* Several examples of this Trinitarian device occur to us; but it will suffice to instance the beautiful contemporary seal of the Holy Trinity Priory at York, the general design of which very much resembles that upon the Lady Chapel boss, except in the position of the dove, which in the York seal appears to be in the act of descending from the Father upon the head of the crucified Saviour. Another and a later example, of the 16th century, is given in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Institute*, Vol. VIII., p. 317, from a silver medallion, the work of Heinrich Reitz, of Leipsic, who flourished from A.D. 1558—1586. It ought perhaps to be mentioned, that this curious boss was for more than two centuries hidden from view by an immense block of plaster moulded into the form of a Tudor rose; and that its real character was only discovered by mere accident, while preparing the groined ceiling for chromatic treatment, at the hands of Mr. Octavius Hudson.

represented, as an infant in His mother's arms, not only to mark her identity, but to embody the idea of her influence and authority over Him and His Church.

We then have in the third boss an indication both of the worship of the Saints and of the supremacy of the Pope, in the martyrdom of Thomas a Becket. And thus we have a complete series of symbolic representations of the doctrine of the Church of Rome.

This third boss deserves some special attention. It had long perplexed the judgment of curious observers, and defied the skill of archæological critics. Being beyond the reach of minute examination, and the arrangement of the figures being somewhat involved, it was not easy to interpret it. It passed with some for the Assumption of the Virgin; with others for the Resurrection of our Lord, because the figures of armed men were apparent in it; but no one guessed at the true subject, until a cast was taken of it and it could be examined upon the ground. There is no question now as to what it represents,—the murder of Thomas a Becket,—and that it gives a somewhat unusual version of that event. There are many representations of the murder—some almost contemporary with it—both in painted glass and in sculptured stone, especially in France and Italy. Not only was Becket himself one of the most distinguished and courageous defenders of the rights and authority of the Romish Church against regal aggression, but his death formed a great crisis in the history of the Papal power, and opened the way to a vast extension of it throughout Europe. On this account the memory of his martyrdom was perpetuated in every possible form. But singularly enough, for an event so notorious, and of which the details were recorded by nearly thirty contemporary writers, the actual representations of it differ very much from one another, and from the real facts of the story. In Mr. Stanley's *Memorials of Canterbury Cathedral*, a careful comparison of all the narratives of the martyrdom is instituted, and an accurate analysis given of the facts which may be deemed authentic. With these facts our boss agrees more closely than most other delineations of the same subject. We have in it, of course, the figures of the four memorable Knights who were the perpetrators of the deed: Reginald Fitzurse, Hugh de Morville, William de Tracy, and Richard de Brez. These are all represented as wearing chain armour, with the usual steel caps of the Crusaders, and bearing swords and shields. The figures are curiously interwoven, and turned backwards upon the stone, in order to bring them all into the limited space. The shields which they carry have all their several heraldic devices. This is exactly according to fact. The figure of Becket is represented, as usual, kneeling at an altar, with his head bent forward. Beside him stands the monk Grim, bearing

No 2.



No 3.

BONES RECENTLY DISCOVERED IN THE LADY CHAPEL.

CHESTER CATHEDRAL

the crozier or cross. Fitzurse, whose identity is marked by the bears on his shield, holds his sword with both hands, prepared to strike; but it seems to be Richard de Brez, who bears a boar's head on his shield, who strikes the blow, and the blow is represented as falling on the crown of Becket's head, so as to cut off the scalp. This is precisely in accordance with the best authenticated narratives. For though the first blow which was struck was from Tracy, the fatal one was given by Brez or Breton. "The stroke was aimed with such violence," says the narrative of the monk Grim, "that the scalp or crown of the head—which it was remarked was of unusual size—was severed from the skull, and the sword snapped in two on the marble pavement." This is the final act which is represented upon the boss,—the act which completed the martyrdom and set free the soul of Becket, as it was said, from its earthly prison, that it might go to receive its glory in heaven, as one of the chiefest Saints of Christ's Catholic Church.

It is not uninteresting to trace out a reason for the accurate delineation of the facts of this murder upon this boss. In the celebrated translation of the body of the canonized Saint from the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral, where it had been at first buried, to the newly-erected Shrine at the east end of the choir of the same church,—which translation was made by Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the presence of King Henry III. and all the Prelates of the realm, and cost, in pomp and ceremony, more than a coronation,—the Bishop of Chester of that day* was a principal actor. He was joined with Langton in the Royal Commission, which bears date A.D. 1220. The Bishop would most likely bring back with him from Canterbury to Chester a vivid impression of the solemnity of the scenes, and of the virtues of the martyr. He *did* bring back with him a very precious relic of the Saint, no less than the girdle which he wore at the time of his martyrdom. And this girdle he presented to the Abbey of St. Werburgh, where it was preserved with religious care until the time when all such relics acquired perhaps something less than their intrinsic value, and were destroyed at the Dissolution. With the relic, the Bishop would be likely to bring with him an accurate version of the details of the murder, and this version would be embodied on the sculptured stone of this boss.

I will venture, on taking leave of this subject, to add to my remarks the more valuable commentary of Mr. Stanley,† which will point the moral of my tale:—"We must all remember, that the wretched super-

* William de Cornhill, Bishop of Chester, Lichfield, and Coventry, from 1216 to 1223.

† *Memorials of Canterbury*, p. 110.

stitutions which gathered round the Shrine (and name) of Thomas of Canterbury, ended by completely alienating the affections of thinking men from his memory, and rendering the name of Becket a by-word of reproach, as little proportioned to his real deserts as had been the reckless veneration paid to it by his worshippers in the middle ages."

I pass now from the architectural character of this Lady Chapel to its history. Would that I could say that any materials exist from which I might construct a narrative of the events which have occurred within its walls during the six centuries of its existence. If we were able to look back into the dark period of its early history, and discover the secrets of monastic life which have been transacted here, we might tell some tales which would interest and astonish hearers of these more enlightened times. But it is as well, perhaps, that curiosity cannot be satisfied with the discovery of facts which we should be very likely to misunderstand and misjudge. And we must be content to pass the whole period from the building of the Chapel in or about 1280 to the dissolution of the Monastery, in 1541, as a blank on which no light of history or of records, or even of tradition, has been thrown. The only fact of that period which bears the slightest interest, is the burial of John de Salghall, one of the later Abbots, who died in the year 1452, temp. Henry VI. His burial place is described as being "between two pillars on the south side of the Chapel, under an alabaster stone;" on which we may observe that, as the spot so marked out is in the opening made by the cutting away the wall under the south window to gain an opening into the south aisle, that aisle must have been built previously; and yet it is commonly *said* to have been built in the reign of Henry VII.*

The stone under which the Abbot was buried still remains,—not of alabaster, but Purbeck marble,—and bears the traces of a very rich brass, which must have nearly covered the whole stone. About thirty years ago this stone was removed, and the Abbot's coffin was found under it, in a tolerably perfect state. His body was enveloped in folds of cerecloth; and an illegible writing on parchment lay upon his breast. His gold ring of office, containing a large sapphire, was on the forefinger of his right hand. This was not interred again with the rest of the contents of the coffin, but is now preserved amongst the treasures of the Chapter.

* This southern aisle of the Lady Chapel is said to have been anciently called the *Chapel of St. Erasmus*. Close to the spot above indicated, if not indeed in the same grave, were deposited, according to Webb (*Vale Royal*, Vol. II. p. 26,) the remains of the good Bishop Bridgman, about the year 1656. Other accounts give Kinnersley Church, Shropshire, as the place of his burial.

MARTYRDOM OF ST THOMAS OF CANTERBURY, A PAINTING DISCOVERED AT ST JOHN'S CH WINDCHESTER, AUG 4th 1853.

From the Archaeological Transactions Journal Vol. X

I may observe that, at the period of the Reformation, when the worship of the Virgin was repudiated by the Church of England, it seems to have been an object with the Reformers to desecrate all the Lady Chapels, with a view to extinguish the yet lingering prejudice in favour of the places where the interest and intercession of the Blessed Virgin had been sought for during so many centuries. They were, for the most part, converted to some secular uses, and employed as schools, or vestries, or consistorial courts. To this latter use the Lady Chapel of our Cathedral was appropriated; and there it was that Bishop Cotes, in the reign of Queen Mary, (A.D. 1555) held the trial of George Marsh for heresy, and condemned him to be burned at the stake,—a sentence which was shortly afterwards carried into execution at Boughton on April 24, 1555.*

We know not how soon after this the Consistory Court was removed from the Lady Chapel to its present position in the south-western tower, but probably at the period of the Restoration. From that date the Chapel has been restored to more befitting uses, and the early Morning Prayers, or Matins, have been always read there.

In Webb's *Itinerary*,† speaking of the Lady Chapel as it appeared in his day (A.D. 1640), he says that it was "adorned with a fair window to the east, of very curious workmanship in glass, where hath been the story of the Blessed Virgin, her descent from the loins of Jesse, in the line of David; though now, through injury of time and weather, the same story is much blemished."

Forty years after that, the mischief which had been commenced "by time and weather," was completed by a tumultuous mob of the citizens of Chester, instigated, as it was supposed, by James Duke of Monmouth, who was at that time in Chester, courting popularity. They broke into the Cathedral, and amongst other outrages committed upon the contents of the sacred building, wholly destroyed the painted glass of the east window of the Lady Chapel. It has been the work of the citizens in a later age, and under a better feeling, to repair the injury done by their forefathers, and once more adorn the east window with "very curious workmanship in glass,"—an example which has been followed by many private individuals, so that we have now all the windows of the Chapel so decorated, at a cost of not less than £1,500.

Permit me to say a few words in conclusion, as to the purpose and character of the works which are now going on in this Chapel. I shall not venture to name the person by whose suggestion they were entered

* A full account of the trial and execution of George Marsh will be found in Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, Vol. I. p. 1481.

† *Vale Royal of England*, Vol. II. p. 33.

upon, and at whose cost the decorative part is to be executed, as it is her desire to be kept in the back ground, and to let all be done to the glory of God. But I may state that the object is to restore the interior of the Chapel to the same state in which we may believe it to have been left by its first builders. From a close and careful examination of the bosses, ribs, window mouldings, and capitals, it is apparent that they had received the decorative colouring usual in buildings of that date ; and the remains of it, found under accumulated coats of whitewash, were sufficient to indicate precisely the several tones of colour, so as to enable the artist who examined them to restore exactly the original design. Mr. Octavius Hudson, who has made this branch of ancient art his special study, and has shewn his skill and knowledge of the subject in his admirable chromatic works at Salisbury, has had the restoration of this Chapel entrusted to his care.

I believe that there are some persons who look with no little suspicion upon these attempts to revive the mediæval character of our sacred buildings ; thinking it to be symptomatic of Romanizing tendencies ; or, at least, likely to foster them ; and apprehending that, if we begin by introducing mediæval ornament, we may perhaps end by bringing in mediæval ceremonies.

It is quite true that whitewash has long been the symbol of true Protestantism. Successive coats of it have been laid over the ancient mural decorations of our Churches, in order, as it were, to perpetuate the abhorrence of Popish superstition by washing out the stain of it from the very walls. Everything that would serve to please the eye, and indulge the sentiment ; everything that even tended to express a desire to glorify the House of God, and to impress the worshippers in it with reverential feelings, has been excluded, as if it were idolatrous. We have all been educated in an atmosphere of ecclesiastical whitewash. People's eyes have been so habituated to it, as the one established Church pigment, that they are with difficulty brought to think anything else orthodox or appropriate.

But, as to the *principle* of colouring, as a means of giving a pleasing and reverent character to the interior of our Churches, surely we need not confound the idea of simplicity in *the worship* of God, with that of plainness in *the building*. To the former we are happily restricted, as well by our established Ritual, as by our common sense of what is true and edifying. To the latter we are not limited by any rule, legal or Scriptural. Admitting that when we introduce fanciful varieties of costume, and gesture, and embellishment into the offices of Divine worship, we are lowering the spirit and the meaning of it, it by no means follows that the same objection applies to the rich and chromatic ornamentation of the edifice itself. In that we are obviously doing

honour to Him whose name it bears, and shewing a desire to give Him the best we have. "The King's daughter is all glorious within," may be no less applicable, though in a secondary sense, to the *material* than to the *spiritual* Church of Christ. All natural products are to be employed "to beautify the place of my sanctuary," under the Christian dispensation no less than under the Jewish; "and I will make the place of my feet glorious," (Isaiah lx. 13). We do not in these days question the propriety of reviving the highly elaborate ecclesiastical architecture of the middle ages, in order to give a rich and grand effect to our Houses of God. I do not see the difference between doing that, and enriching them with appropriate colouring, to relieve the monotony of effect. One is as much calculated as the other to give a richer and more impressive tone to what presents itself to the senses of the worshipper. There is no more symbolism in one than in the other; no more symptom of a return to mediæval superstition.

Viewing the question simply in an artistic or archæological point of view, it may be very well doubted whether we can form a correct estimate of the real beauty and effect of mediæval architecture without restoring the colouring which originally formed a part of it. *We* do not see it as they who built the Churches saw it. If we trust to them for a correct taste in structural arrangement, why not trust them also in the point of colour? What would those mediæval artists feel, if brought back to see the now colourless walls and ceilings of their richly ornamented structures? What would Simon de Albo Monasterio say to the state of our Lady Chapel? What would Michael Angelo, or any person of taste, say if he could see the interior of St. Peter's all covered with whitewash?

Whatever caution may be required in the revival of this ancient style of decoration,—and, beyond all question, great judgment and skill are needed to revive the ancient tone of colouring, so that it may serve to please the eye without offending the sense of propriety,—yet I think the advancing intelligence and taste of the age will be found to sanction the attempt. The few experiments which have lately been made in this art in Ely Cathedral and Salisbury Chapter House, have been eminently successful, and have brought out effects in the building unobserved before. It is probable that this will be also the effect here. And I will venture to add the expression of a hope that the day will come when the same style of decoration may be extended, in some measure, to the groined roof of the Choir. That monotonous mass of wood and plaster would be awakened into some life and beauty by a few touches of gold and colour, and it would be relieved from the reproach, now sometimes cast upon it, of being but a very poor attempt to represent stone.

To revert for a moment to the Lady Chapel. I have already complained of the incongruous character of the tracery of the east window, as disturbing the harmonious effect of the interior. A project is now on foot for replacing it by a five-light Early English window, from a design by Mr. Scott. It were much to be wished that the benevolence of individuals, interested in Church restoration, could be applied to assist the Dean and Chapter in restoring the *exterior* of this Chapel. It is now in a dilapidated, if not a dangerous condition; and as it is the first part of the building which presents itself to the eye of an observer on the City Walls, it might be made as rich and pleasing in architectural effect, as it is now poor and offensive. The spirit of the citizens and of the county has been once called forth to aid the work of restoration. May it be again awakened to promote the honour of Almighty God, by beautifying this place of His sanctuary!*

* While these pages are passing through the press (November, 1859,) the alterations and improvements suggested in the above concluding paragraph are being actually carried out, under the auspices of the Dean and Chapter. The late east window of stained glass has, with the tracery, been carefully removed, and will be placed in one of the north windows of the Lady Chapel, while a new east window of five lights has been erected in its stead, and will in due time be adorned with another subject in stained glass.

On the Peculiarities of Cheshire.

BY MAJOR EGERTON LEIGH.

IT is a curious and an almost unaccountable thing that, in a country like Great Britain, where we have never been fretted by an internal system of passports; where the utmost freedom of locomotion has prevailed, and increasingly prevails; where the population is constantly shifting; the country running to the towns (as surely as the cold air rushes to the vacuum left by the rising hot blast of the furnace) and the towns escaping to the country; where no hamlet can be discovered, however remote and solitary, that does not contain men who, as soldiers, sailors, travellers, or adventurers, (impelled by duty, science, business, or pleasure) have visited all parts of the globe, and in which there is not some family of which a seedling has taken root in other parts of England, if not in another region of the earth; where there so few *Sept* marriages, like those among the Chaddagh fishermen in Galway, who always intermarry with their own clan, and are the exception that proves the rule, (for in spite of our county proverb to the contrary, we in Cheshire as often marry "over the moor" as "over the mixon.") It is, I say, very curious that it is possible, in the face of what I have just mentioned, that any peculiar distinction of dress, language, customs, or agriculture, should exist amongst the different counties of Great Britain, to say nothing of the countries. Any one ignorant of the facts and using only his common sense, would imagine that they must long since have been incorporated and identified, like the sand on the sea shore, which is thoroughly mixed and amalgamated as it is churned by every succeeding tide.

But the *vrai* and the *vraisemblable* are influenced by very different rules, and the fact is that, in spite of emigration, immigration, and railways (which have now been in operation for more than two-thirds of a generation), in the face of the Press, which seldom contains a provincialism, we have in Great Britain distinct languages and also an endless variety of provincialisms, which, though they may not put the

seal of Babel on inter-communication, still render the peasants of Devonshire and Cheshire, of Kent and Northumberland, of Cornwall and Norfolk, distinctive clans.

What Cæsar says of the inhabitants of Gaul in his time, "*Hi omnes linguâ institutis Legibus inter se differunt*," will even at this day partially apply to our own counties. Yet all their different inhabitants, like the different parties in politics, are alike ready to unite in a firm and invincible phalanx, if the liberty or honour of their common country should be threatened. Great Britain *then* beats but with one pulse.

Our present enquiry is confined to the peculiarities of *one* county,—our own Cheshire. Has it any peculiarities, and what are they? We shall, I think, answer this question by proving that it has many distinctive peculiarities, and some again which it shares with a few other counties only. There are many counties which from their inland situation, or from their shape, can have little individuality: for instance, the inhabitants of almost every part of Gloucestershire and Northamptonshire must have as much to do with those of the adjoining counties as with those of their own. Others, like Rutland, are too small for a distinctive individuality, being like some German Principalities, not remarkable for their extent. I remember hearing of some Englishman bringing this in a very offensive way before some German grandee, who ordered him to leave his dominions (for some misdemeanour) in twenty-four hours. "I shall not require half-an-hour!" was the saucy reply.

Cheshire is one of our largest counties, ranking about eleventh in population, including the metropolitan counties, and from its position, and long sea and river boundary, is, what the Scotch call a house which is not let in flats, *self-contained*; and where not bounded by water, it is towards Derbyshire, Lancashire, and Shropshire, fringed by hills. Its shape has been compared by some to an axe, by others to the wing of an eagle; but it much more resembles a chicken, with its head in Featherbed Moss, Macclesfield in its crop, and the tail formed by the Wirral.*

Its name is peculiar. We may consider the county named from the city, and though that again is evidently derived (like most towns with a Chester termination) from having been the site of a Roman camp—"Castra,"—it is curious that it coincides in sound with its principal agricultural product—the Shire of Cheese.

The capital of our county gives a title (and that the first title) to the eldest son of the Sovereign, who is *born* Earl of Chester, but only gains the title of Prince of Wales by creation. Our capital is, I believe,

* Others, again, have compared it to an immense shoulder of mutton,—the knuckle answering to the Hundred of Wirral.

unique. It is the only city or town in England surrounded by walls which may be walked round; though remnants of a wall exist in a more or less perfect (or I should rather say imperfect) state in many other towns. But in what other part of England, or of the world, can we find our curious anti-umbrella-makers, the "Rows," which have never been satisfactorily explained or accounted for? Nottingham, it is true, has its "Rows," but they are only a covered way taken out of the frontage of the ground floor, and shaded by the projection of the second floor, supported on pillars; and something on the Nottingham plan exists at Berne, in Switzerland, and at Totness, in Devonshire, called "The Walk," and in Dartmouth, in the same county, called "The Butter Walk." But nowhere, save at Chester, will you find eighteen feet (more or less) of the *second* floor frontage scooped out, as it were, and the pedestrians, with the prescriptive right sanctioned by the traffic of centuries, trampling over the heads of the ground-floor inhabitants, and protected from the weather by the overhanging bed-rooms of the third floor! There are evident marks, (now fast disappearing, to the manifest convenience and beauty of the shops, yet not without detracting from the curious character of the city,) for affirming that in former days the centre of the second floor was made into a thoroughfare, with shops on both sides *throughout*, like Old London Bridge, and some of the foreign bridges existing even in the present day. The sides of these galleries towards the street have now very generally been thrown open. I hope some of the few remaining cases, where the shops still exist on both sides, will be suffered to remain in their present condition, that future generations may see what was the ancient character of these Chester "Rows."

Fuller, alluding to this gallery system, says:—"Here is a property of building peculiar to the city, called 'The Rows,' being galleries wherein passengers go dry without coming into the streets, having shops on both sides and underneath, the fashion whereof is somewhat hard to conceive: it is therefore worth their pains, who have money and leisure, to make their own eyes the expounders of the manner thereof, the like being said not to be seen in all England, no nor in all Europe again." So much for old Fuller's account *

I really think it would improve the quaint look of the city if the projection of the second floor, supported on pillars (either of wood, brick, or stone) over the foot pavement, were (under certain necessary regulations and restrictions) encouraged on the Boughton, Northgate, and Handbridge approaches to Chester. There are several picturesque

* Mr. Pennant gives the Rows a Roman origin. Plautus, in the third act of his *Mostella*, thus describes the appearance of the Roman vestibules:—

"Viden' vestibulum ante sedes et ambulacrum ejusmodi?"

examples of this style remaining in the suburbs, and they are a curious and characteristic introduction to the Rows within the walls of the old city.

Any beauty, fault, or quaint device, is generally catching. If you see one beautiful church, say in Northamptonshire, the chances are its beauties are repeated by others in the neighbourhood ; and the ugliness of the churches in the Lake district seems to be most fatally catching. But the peculiar system of Rows seems to have begun and been perfected at Chester, and scarcely to have extended further, or yet to have found imitators elsewhere.* The system of the Rows would at the present day be still more complete in Chester if the rights of the public had, in former days, been as jealously guarded as they are now, for in many parts of the Rows a *cul de sac* stops the road where there are evident traces of a former thoroughfare.

I endeavoured some time since to discover what was the oldest date *extant* in the city, and I found one ostensibly of 1003 on one of the beams of an old black and white timber house in Lower Bridge Street, adjoining the Albion Hotel, and opposite Mr. Newell's equally curious and picturesque old house. But although the date of the introduction of our present Arabic numerals is one of the many points on which antiquaries disagree,—and in spite of the testimony of an old inhabitant (since dead) who lived nearly opposite the house in question (who told me that he once had the curiosity to mount a ladder to examine the figures closely, and that he could trace no symptoms of tails to the 0's),—I am still afraid we must conclude that, by alterations or the process of time, the original tops of the *sizes* have disappeared, leaving the 0's behind ! It is supposed that some of the recorded instances of remarkable longevity on tombstones have originated in the chisel of some joking stone-cutter introducing a 1 before 30, 40, or 50 years, originally recorded as the limit of the existence of the individual who sleeps beneath.

In speaking of Chester we must not omit the river, which, in addition to the slightly elevated rock on which the city stands, first caused the erection of a town in this place. A navigable river, a castle, a mountain pass, the sea coast, or the intersection of roads, are severally the sources to which most old towns trace their origin. Within the last thirty years towns spring up, like Crewe, at the confluence of the great Stephenson's iron streams. We are wandering, however, from the Dee, or Deva, with its many ingenious derivations ; but which, from its extremely winding and tortuous course, *I* should read as a contraction

* A street in Bridgenorth, Salop, had, until within a comparatively recent period, a somewhat similar arrangement, the Row there extending along a great portion of the street.

of the Latin word *Devia*, at the risk of being tried by the water ordeal in its stream at the instigation of a jury of antiquaries, who may think (and justly so) that the river derives its name from its colour, or from having its origin in two streams. Oxford and Cambridge have no such river for boating purposes: it has the great advantage of being almost unchurned by the seething and long following wave of the noisy paddle steamer, and undisturbed by the more silent and apparently causeless progress of its less bustling brother, the screw; and, without aspiring to prophecy, we may affirm that the stream above the bridges will always remain devoted to pleasure and undisturbed by traffic, owing to the winding course we have previously noticed. What will happen below the bridges we know not. An horizon of Chester becoming a second Liverpool on a certain Act of Parliament being rigidly carried out in its details, is before the eyes of many people; but an horizon is a difficult thing to reach. One of the last suggestions I have heard was one to make the Dee fall into the Mersey, taking very much the same line by which it is supposed that the Mersey may, in former days, have fallen into the Dee.

“Non nostrum inter vos tantas componere lites.”

Can we mention the Dee without speaking of the noble Bridge which spans it by a single stone arch of 200 feet, the largest in the world when built;* and I do not know that it has been surpassed since its birth by any of those gigantic railway works which have rushed into existence,—crossing rivers, piercing mountains, leaping vallies, and trampling upon impossibilities, as some Minister did when he stood upright on his gouty feet in answer to some one who used the term “impossible!” to one of his propositions. We pay for our whistle in this case. The old bridge, so long as it was the only one, was *free*; but when the new bridge was built, it not only levied a toll itself, but compelled its aged brother to the like atrocity. A bridge toll has a kind of fatality about it, which clings to a bridge like its key-stone; it is always going to be reduced or to be taken off entirely; but, like the Income Tax, or Care sitting behind the rider, it never can be unhorsed. I was reading an account of a bridge (I think it was in Scotland), and the writer mentioned, as its most remarkable feature, that it was the only bridge he had ever heard of, which could boast a *removed* toll-gate!

Another peculiar, but we cannot say picturesque, Cheshire town is Northwich, which seems by degrees to be completing its destiny,—that of being swallowed up by the waters, or wrecked by an earthquake of man’s contrivance. Any inhabitant of South America would (on seeing its cracked walls, parting window casements, gaping fissures, and the

* The Grosvenor Bridge at Chester is still (1860) without a rival in the magnificent span of its single stone arch.

variety and ubiquity of stays, supports, strengthening rods, &c.) fancy himself at home, where he must be always prepared, at a moment's notice, to catch his wife up under one arm and his babies under the other, and rush out of the house as soon as the subterranean rumble (so well known and so dreaded by man and beast) gives him warning. The subsidence of the hollow crust on which Northwich stands, or which, we should rather say, yawns under Northwich, produces the same results and appearances as earthquakes present in those parts of the globe where that scourge prevails. In the memory of living men, roads have disappeared, hills have become vallies, and vallies hills, and former fields have become a roadstead for vessels. The most bitter satire I ever heard against Northwich was an enquiry where the best part of the town was, as the enquirer had never seen any part of it but a mean *suburb*. The fact is, Northwich (speaking of its architectural beauties) reminds me of the old story of the negro coming to a clergyman, who had married him some time before, for the purpose of being unmarried. "How can I do this?" says the clergyman, "you have taken your wife for better and for worse." "But she all worse, no better, massa," was the negro's mournful rejoinder. And so we may say of the architecture of Northwich. It is not to be expected much capital will be expended on a house which may any day be rent from top to bottom, or subside into some unknown subterraneous gulf. There is a French saying—"Le *dernier* coup du marteau est le commencement de destruction;" but destruction *may* overwhelm a Northwich house before it is half finished.

We cannot speak of Northwich without referring to its salt mines, of which it is the head quarters, which constitute its wealth, and which create the cancer to which it may eventually succumb. Salt is one of the most valuable commodities to mankind in general, and our county in particular; for, fortunately for us, the breed of men like the *Sieur Michel Jourant* (who died in France some 120 years since, at the age of 98, without ever having suffered from the infirmities of age, and who never used salt,) is uncommon, if not extinct. This most necessary product is, I believe, only found in quantities in one other English county—Worcestershire; for it is scarcely worth while mentioning, except in a cursory manner, the salt works existing in Durham, Staffordshire, and Lancashire, as the works in these three counties, compared with those in Cheshire, were in 1852 only as 5 to 73. For the presence of salt in our own county there are many theories, more or less ingenious and possible, but all we know for certain is the existence of salt in great abundance. The actual area of the Cheshire salt field can scarcely be said to be defined, or to have been ascertained with any accuracy, as in addition to new works being constantly opened, it is

difficult to say from what distance the brine may come ; and, indeed, brine springs, though with too small a per centage of salt to allow of their being worked with any profit, exist in many parts of the county besides the Wyches. This Wych has been often observed upon as a curious generic termination of towns in a salt district,—Northwich, Middlewich. Nantwich, and (in Worcestershire) Droitwich. There are many other towns throughout England which, although they have a similar termination, have *nothing* to do with salt, like Norwich, Ipswich, Greenwich, &c. ; but in these and similar cases the *wich* is derived evidently from the Latin *Vicus*, thus Norwich is merely Northtown or Norton. But our Cheshire towns and Droitwich adopt as their final the old Saxon word for salt, a word which has not died out with us, but is embalmed in the old proverb—

“To scold like a Wych waller,”

i. e. a boiler of salt. The Wallers were formerly women, and their tempers, like a cook's, were supposed to be a good deal influenced and to have sympathised with the high temperature their occupation compelled them to endure. I understand the present head Wych Waller is a man, but whether there is now less scolding than under a female *regime*, deponent saith not. A ball was once given in one of our salt mines, which we may at any rate say was a ball-room quite peculiar to our county.

A visit to a Cheshire salt mine will probably disappoint any one who may dream of crystal caves, snowy whiteness, and effects which *would* be produced by the dazzle and flash upon a white sparkling surface. The rock salt in our mines is very much the colour of sugar candy, and requires a prodigious number of caudles to produce a small effect. The salt trade was the origin of one of our laws which indirectly protected the brute creation long before the existence of Martin was dreamt of. At Middlewich, any one overloading his cart with salt so as to break the axle of his cart or his horse's back within a mile of the brine springs, was fined two shillings. On Ascension Day, a custom formerly prevailed called “The Blessing of the Brine,” when a hymn of thanksgiving was sung ; the mine called “The Old Biat,” at Nantwich, was adorned with flowers and ribbons, and the young people, of course, had a merry-making.—

“The village pair that simply sought renown,
By holding out to tire each other down.”

At Tissington, in an adjoining county, they have an annual merry-making, which is called “Dressing the Wells,” when the wells and spring-heads are ornamented in the most elaborate and lavish manner with flowers, and parties go the round singing hymns.

Having mentioned Chester for its curiosity, and Northwich for its

absence of any external feature which can interest the passer-by, there is not much to be said of any of our other towns on the score of peculiarity. We may perhaps except Birkenhead, which has sprung up with American rapidity and English solidity, and which, to all appearances, before the century has passed, will become our most populous as it is our last born town. The only wonder is, that the natural advantages of Birkenhead were not earlier appreciated; as some engineer observed on seeing the two towns, "that Liverpool had been built on the wrong side of the river." Before the adaptation of steam to land and water transit, this river must, however, have formed an insuperable bar to Birkenhead becoming what it now is—a suburb of Liverpool. As a proof of this, in a late number of the *Chester Courant* I saw an anecdote told by Mr. Hodgson at a dinner at Liverpool, to the effect that there was a letter still preserved in his family, written by his grandfather, and dated from Chester, whither he had gone to be married. The object of the letter was to request his friends in Liverpool to send a pilot across the river on his wedding day to convey him safely over the Mersey. Birkenhead Park is a proof of the victory of taste and money over every possible disadvantage of soil and situation. Paxton found there a brick-field, and left a paradise.

There are interesting remnants of former days at Sandbach, Nantwich, and Macclesfield. Knutsford considers that it traces its origin to the time of Canute. In a very old map of Cheshire in the Chetham Library, at Manchester, dated 1577, the name of the town is written Knottesforth. Instead of being the ford of Canute, or Canutesford, I should give it the same prosaic origin as Oxford. Nowt is an old word for cattle. In Domesday Book the name of the town is Cunetesford. This is still more favourable to my version, as there is an old word Cun, for cattle, from which kine is obviously derived. There is a bird of the *Tringa* (or plover) species found in Lincolnshire, called the Knot. Camden says it derives its name from King Canute (or, as he was commonly called, Knute or Knout,) and that the bird was called after the king, being a favourite dish of that monarch. I allude to this to shew what authority there may be for the royal derivation of Knutsford; and, I should add, that a talented local antiquary (the Rev. H. Green) rejects every origin for the town's name but a royal one. There is one custom of the town which I believe is quite peculiar to it. We hear amongst the Romans a fortunate or happy day is called "*creti notanda dies*,"—a day to be marked with chalk, in contra-distinction to one marked "*carbone*," or with charcoal,—the sign of ill-luck and misfortune. But in Knutsford, on the marriage of any of the inhabitants, or of any one of note in the immediate neighbourhood, they sprinkle the fronts of their houses and the streets with white sand or "greet," as it is there called, with which

they write mottoes and devices. This is said to have been first used as a vent to the joyous feelings of the inhabitants before they had a peal of bells. It is, however, one of those peculiarities which exist without an authentically traceable root. As the wedding parties in that town return from the church, it is usual to throw coppers (the *largesse* of modern days) amongst the boys, who of course are in attendance; if this propitiation is omitted, they are followed by the sarcastic cry of "Buttermilk Wedding!"

There is a wedding custom general in Cheshire, but not exclusively peculiar to the county. A bridal party, on their return from church, find their road home barred by a rope stretched across the street, which is only lowered after the exaction of a fine. It is called "*Roping*." In some parts of England the money so demanded was called "Ball Money," as it originally went to the football fund of the township.

Knutsford Moor used to be celebrated as the only known habitation of the plant called *Saxifraga Hirculus*, or Marsh Saxifrage; but I believe botanical "greed" has been fatal to this genus, as it has to many another rare plant, and that not a root of it now exists, but has, like the Mohicans, passed away. Mr. Green informs us that Charles X., when Count d'Artois, was bogged whilst in pursuit of this flower on Knutsford Moor, and was with difficulty extricated.

We have in Cheshire no Ely Cathedral, no Beverley Minster, no church like that of St. Mary Redclyffe, at Bristol; but interesting and curious specimens, and examples of different dates and ecclesiastical styles, may be found at our Cathedral and St. John's Church, Chester, at Macclesfield, Nantwich, Astbury, and other places. I understand the peculiarity of the old church at Wallasey (burnt down a short time since) is that of having its title deeds at the Vatican, in the keeping of Pio Nono, the church and glebe having been originally granted by a Wharton, of Wallasey, towards the patrimony of St. Peter!

The soft sand-stone used almost universally in Chester may favour the picturesque, but does not tend to durability; so unlike the magnesian limestone of which Southwell Minster is built, the angles and masonry of which are almost as perfect now, after the lapse of centuries, as when the edifice was first erected. The Romans, they say, were quite aware of the perishable nature of the Cheshire sand-stone, inasmuch as it has not been traced in any of the remains of masonry existing in Chester, attributed by antiquaries to that far-seeing, wonderful nation. This soft nature of the stone has caused the insertion of a hard white marble on the flags (serving as gravestones in the Cathedral and other churches) on which the name, &c. of the deceased are cut, producing all the effect of luggage labels, though we are so accustomed to them that few of us, perhaps, have ever noticed it.

We have still several specimens remaining of the timber church, to which the late Rev. W. H. Massie drew our attention, in his own peculiarly attractive style, in a Paper published in the first volume of our Society's *Journal*. He alludes particularly to those of Marton, Lower Peover, and Siddington. The timber style of architecture naturally recedes before advancing civilization, decreasing forests, and the tables of Fire Insurance Companies. In *Norway* a *stone* church is the exception, of which, I think, they only possess two.

Cheshire is still very rich in timber houses. Old Moreton Hall is a beautiful specimen, but we can hardly call it habitable, although it is inhabited ; and we have other fine examples, like Bramhall and Carden Halls, in a good state of repair. Many old halls, farm-houses, and cottages, are dispersed through the county, presenting curious, intricate, and picturesque patterns of the old oak frame-work filled up with brick, rubble, or plaster. At the period of their construction, there was no inducement presented by the price of bark to cut down the oak in the spring when full of sap. The bark still found adhering to many of the beams proves that they were made of winter felled trees, and also bears testimony to the almost indestructible nature of oak under these circumstances. I have seen some of these beams employed for the third time (which had evidently been used in the building of two previous houses), and which did not shew the least appearance of decay. When, as a boy, I used to come on a visit to Cheshire from the limestone cottages of Gloucestershire, covered with the grey, white, and orange lichen, I thought those of Cheshire had a melancholy appearance, as if they were all in half-mourning ; but I have quite survived my prejudice against them, and, am sorry to say, have also survived many of the houses. Some of the old halls are still entirely or partially moated, and are approached, as at Holford Hall, by curious bridges.

Perhaps the Meres are among the most peculiar features of Cheshire. Most of them are natural, and many, like Taru Mere and Ridley Pool, have been drained. This pool, once called "The fairest Mere in Cheshire," is now, according to Nixon's prophecy, "mown and sown." There are still some twenty left, of which Combermere is the largest. These small lakes decidedly add very much to the beauty of the county. I instance Mere Mere and Rostherne Mere, particularly the latter, with Rostherne Church in the distance ; it is also the deepest of the Meres, and had at one time the reputation of being unfathomable, but the lines of the late Bishop Stanley and Captain Cotton found a bottom at

"Some twenty fathom deep."

This Mere is sometimes affected by a high tide, the river running back into the lake instead of out of it, and, under these circumstances,

sparlings have been caught in it. There is a tradition that one of the bells of Rostherne Church, having been displaced, rolled down the hill towards the Mere, but with some difficulty was restored to its position ; but one of the labourers beginning to swear at it, the bell a second time rushed down the crag, and disappeared in the depths !

The Mere,

“ Of neighbours Blackmere named,
Of strangers Brereton's lake,”

(also called Bagmere) was supposed to foretell the death of the head of the Brereton family, by floating timber appearing on its surface :—

“ For near before his death, who's owner of the land,
She sends up stocks of trees that on the top do float,
By which the world her just did for a wonder note.”

So sang old Drayton. Fuller, evidently more than half believing this, makes the following remark upon it :—“ God grant us that grey hairs, dimness of sight, dullness of other senses, decay in general of strength, death of our nearest relations (especially when far younger than ourselves) before our eyes, may serve us instead of swimming logs, and be sanctified unto us for sufficient and effectual monitors of our mortality.” This is one of the Meres which is now almost, if not entirely drained.

We have in one of our Meres—*Redesmere*—a floating island. It is a mass of peat moss, about two statute acres in extent ; its outer edge carries a belt of alder and birch trees (some twenty yards wide), some of the trees being twenty feet high and a foot in diameter. The interior is formed of a mass of long grass, cranberry, bog myrtle, and heather, all matted together. It requires a flood and wind from a particular point to move it from its usual position ; but occasionally, when retained in deep water till the flood subsides, a very slight wind is sufficient to make it shift its position, and it has done so, the Rev. R. Heptinstall informs me, three times in one day. It has now been stationary about two years, and it requires some seven feet of water to enable it to float. There is only sufficient depth of water in the Mere to allow it to move say a distance of one-third by a quarter of a mile. It is quite possible that it may never shift again, and may by degrees fill up Redesmere, and make it a moss, which will at first have to go through that unswimmable, unwalkable state mentioned by Ovid as one of the concomitants of chaos :—

“ Sic erat instabilis tellus innabilis unda.”

The mosses in this county have most of them yielded, or are fast yielding, to advancing agriculture and the enhanced value of land ; and the only remaining large mosses, Carrington and Dane's Moss, will soon be amongst the things that were. The snipe will be the only

sufferers ; for it has long since been found, even in Ireland, that peat fuel is more expensive in the end than coal, although the right of turbarry used to be considered, and indeed formerly was, very valuable in England.

In Gloucestershire, in former days, they used another sort of fuel. A farmer would always take care, before he took a farm, to assure himself that there were plenty of ash pollards, which are cut in rotation, and upon which he depended for fuel. But *now* the abundance of ashes on a farm would be very much against the chance of its letting, the superficial and exhausting roots of that tree frequently extending 100 feet in every direction. Railways, and the consequent cheapness of coal, have been fatal to the ash pollards in Gloucestershire.

Under most mosses, and widely diffused through the county, at a short depth, marl is found, which being spread over a reclaimed moss, fertilizes it, and indeed improves all land except, I understand, that intended for potatoes. We have a county adage—

“He who marls sand may buy the land.”

This brings us to another distinctive peculiarity of the county, *Marling* and marl pits. Any one standing on the heights of Beeston or Peckforton, or any other spot whence an extended view of the plain of Cheshire can be obtained, will have an infinite variety of these baby meres or marl pits presented to the eye, giving to the country all the appearance of a subsiding inundation. These are now most essential as watering places for cattle, and date their origin from a clause in most old leases, by which tenants were bound to marl a certain part of their farm annually. Bones have now, to a great degree, taken the place of marl, to the detriment, some say (but not, I think, on sufficient grounds) of the cheese. Marl, to the uninitiated, looks very much like clay, but it has a peculiar distinguishing greasy feel. Marl digging, or, as it is called, *getting*, or *youing*, (the latter word an evident corruption of *hewing*) has a nomenclature and customs of its own. The *gang* consists of five or seven men ; taking off the surface of the ground till the substratum of marl is reached, is *faying* ; the entrance of the pit is the *space end* ; the deepest part, the *head end* ; the bank on each side entering the space end, is called the *shoulders* ; the bank left between two marl pits, is the *midfeather* ; unloading a marl cart, is *setting* ; the head of a gang, is the *lord of the marl pit* ; *shutting* is finishing the pit, when the employer gives a supper and unlimited drink to the men, whose daily allowance during the progress of marling is a quart of ale per head. 'To *poss*, is a punishment instituted by the marlers themselves, as a punishment for any one of the gang who may come late to his work. The delinquent is held by the others across a horse, whilst

he is *passed* by the lord of the pit, i. e. struck with the back of a spade on the spot where he can be insured most pain with least permanent injury. Should any one give a shilling to the men, it is formally announced by the lord "That So-and-so has bestowed to my lord and his men a part of *five hundred* pounds; if half-a-crown or upwards, the gift is announced as part of *five thousand* pounds, and they then begin *shouting*, as it is called; the first marler cries out "*Lorgess*," (evidently a corruption of *Largesse*, the old cry from the mob to the successful knight of former days). They then cry out three times, and twice over, Who-whoop! Who-whoop! Who-o-o-o-o-o-o!

At the end of the week, when the Marlers meet to spend their earnings, they stand in a ring in front of the public house and shout out the names of the givers of "*Largess*," followed by the peculiar cry and *shout*. Ormerod, I think, mentions the cry as *Oyez*, or as we pronounce it in our courts of law, O yes! O yes! O yes! *our* corruption of the French word *oyer*, to listen. My information, however, comes from a practised Marler.* Marl, it is said, was known and valued abroad formerly, as *Britannica*. In one of the letters written to the Bishop of Chichester by his Steward in 1222, there is a report of *Marling* being carried on actively on his estates.

I have already mentioned the Dee; but we must not pass by the Weaver, or as she is called when her health is drunk, "*Miss Weaver*," and there are few ladies the state of whose health is so generally interesting to us. The river Weaver rises in Cheshire, and never leaves the county; for, as the poet quaintly informs us,

"His fountain and his fall both Chester's rightly borne."

In Drayton's time we see Miss Weaver was a gentleman. In the present day Miss Weaver builds our bridges, tries our prisoners, erects our gaols and public buildings, in short, makes herself generally useful; and though last, not least, defends herself from the piratical attacks of the buccaneers and fortune hunters, to which, like most ladies of large fortunes, she is subject. No other county has property that brings in the income that she does to us. Like other ladies, she is sometimes subject to a *sinking*, particularly as she passes through Northwich. Long may she flourish, for she is truly *our* "*Abounding River*," the Rhine of our Cheshire fatherland! Long may she be saved from the plots of those to whom we may apply the words of the old song:

"Tis they would get all by the scramble;

"Tis they who have nothing to lose.

Whilst on the subject of water communication, I should not omit

* These marlers' customs probably varied in different parts of the country, and no doubt the form of mock proclamation varied also.

some mention of that important work, the first great Canal of England, the "Bridgewater," more generally known as the "Duke's" Canal, which passes through Cheshire during the greater part of its course. It may be called the parent of the magnificent network of Canals, (the arteries of trade,) cut through the length and breadth of England—and was to the Canals, what the Liverpool and Manchester Railway was to the Railways of the world. What Stephenson has been to Railways, Brindley* was to Canals. We cannot quite claim him as a Cheshire man, for he was born in a neighbouring county (Derbyshire), but he passed some years of his early life as an apprentice to a millwright at Macclesfield. Most people go to bed to rest; but it is said, that whenever Brindley had a problem of more than ordinary difficulty to solve, he went to bed, and there remained (sometimes for days) till he had mastered his difficulty, whatever it might be. An old Peer (who hated the idea of canals as much as many of us at first hated the idea of railways, for the unanswerable reason that we had gone on very well without them from the Creation), peevishly asked Brindley, who was under examination before the House on some Canal Bill, "What he thought rivers were made for?" and received the prompt answer from Brindley, "To feed navigable canals." The Duke of Bridgewater is said to have observed prophetically, that the only enemy he feared for his Canal was the *Tramway*. It is also said, that one of the first trials of steam as applied to the propulsion of vessels was made on this Canal.

Cheshire is generally accused of flatness, and we cannot deny that this is the prevailing feature, or rather want of feature, in many parts of the county. But even where most unlike Devonshire, we have a grander notion of mountain scenery, than an inhabitant of the fens near Ely, who seriously asked some stranger whom he was accompanying, snipe shooting, "whether what he had heard stated by some one (whom doubtless he considered a Major Longbow) could be true, namely, that in some parts of the world there were mountains higher than even *Ely Cathedral*!" In the flattest part of Cheshire, either the Lancashire Hills, Alderley Edge, Shetland Low, Cloud End, Mowcop, the isolated masses of Beeston or Halton, Frodsham, Peckforton, or the Welsh mountains, form a picturesque horizon. Towards the north and north-west, our scenery, were it in *any* country, would be admired. Alderley, Henbury, Gawsworth, and the country generally round Macclesfield in every direction is striking, from the great variety of ground. The same may be said of the country about Cholmondeley Castle and the Peckforton Hills; and the panorama presented during a walk round Carden Cliff, is beautiful.

* The Engineer of the Duke of Bridgewater's Canal.

With the exception of the Royal Forest, (Delamere) we are almost destitute of large woods. No keeper in Cheshire carries a compass in his pocket to avoid being lost, a plan I have heard is sometimes adopted in Scotland. Our woods, or rather spinnies, are generally either ornamental, or occupy dingles and ground where nothing else would grow. There is, however, a great deal of hedge-row timber; which, added to the small size of many of the fields, give a sort of forest effect to some parts of the county, when looked down upon from an eminence. Dunham park and other places contain fine trees, but few are found remarkable for great or unusual dimensions. Perhaps they have suffered from the immediate vicinity of great timber markets; and may have too often realized that definition of timber: "An excrescence intended by nature for the relief of landowners in difficulties." The tree of the county is the oak; as the elm is that of Berkshire and Devonshire. The alder, or as we call it the ouler, was at one time very generally used for fences; and when of timber size is still extensively used for clogs. Perhaps one of the finest oaks in the county is to be found on Mere, upon the left of, and abutting on, the road between Mere town and Tabley; and in old Mere park is the ruin of an enormous oak, possibly coeval with the Druids. The Marton oak, at five feet from the ground, is forty-two feet in girth.

Few parks in England contain a greater extent than that of Tatton; but considering the size of many of the landed properties, there are fewer deer parks than might have been expected, and many of those we read of in former days have been disparked; amongst these may be instanced, Kermincham, and Norbury Booths. With regard to the latter place, we find that about the middle of the 16th century, Sir Robert Leycester, on the reconciliation of some quarrel, arranged that he might kill one fat buck in summer, and a doe in winter, out of the park at Booths, during the minority of John Legh. There is, apropos to deer, an anecdote related by Leycester (in his *History of the Bucklow Hundred*), of Robert Leycester of Toft, and John Legh of Booths, in the reign of Henry 6th, committing an assault by night, on Denys Holland, servant to Sir Geoffrey Massey, of Tatton, and chasing and destroying his deer, for which they had to pay £20 each. Cheshire was not the only county where members belonging to the higher orders disturbed their neighbours vert and venison. In 1265, Sir Henry de Pomeroy was forced to make compensation and amend to Bishop Branscombe, for having, with a large party of friends from his Castle of Berry Pomeroy, scaled the fences of the Bishop's deer park, at Paignton (in Devonshire), and hunted down his deer. I heard of some Scotchman or other once giving an account of Cheshire, and assuming, amongst other things, that every Cheshire Esquire had 10,000 a-year,

and a square brick house. Our Esquires would, I think, be delighted to make him prove the first part of his proposition, and we may dispute the sweeping generalism of the second. Owing to the sparseness of building stone in many parts of the county, we have our share, and perhaps more than a share, of brick as a building material. But though the soft sand-stone, which exists in such abundance, is manifestly unfit for architectural purposes, very good building stone is found at Manley, Alderley, and other places. In brick we can shew some of the most beautiful specimens remaining in England of that picturesque style (commonly called Elizabethan), and I instance Crewe, Arley, and Capesthorpe, amongst the many distributed through the county. Marbury Hall, which contains so fine a collection of objects of art, pictures, statues, china, &c., is built more in the style of the old French chateau. Moreton Hall, lately rebuilt, is a good specimen of what is termed castellated Gothic.

We may shew Eaton and Lyme Halls, the former especially, as our county palaces. Peckforton* is perhaps the best specimen that all England can produce of a *modern* castle, where the comforts and luxuries of the present age are so happily blended with the stern grandeur and solidity of the old feudal times. The architect, Salvin, deserves great credit for having so successfully worked out this very difficult problem. Vale Royal, again, is another mansion, most interesting on its own account, as well as for its contents, for the various changes it has undergone, its traditions, its romances, its mysteries, its having been in former days one of the places where Ecclesiastical tyranny was most sturdily resisted, and where the Ecclesiastics fought most desperately for their possessions. At a feast given at Vale Royal by the fifth Abbot, Peter, about 1330, we find that a certain Richard Russell of Chester, sent as his subscription to the banquet, two salmon valued at 6s.; in the same bill of fare twelve pullets, the gift of another man, are valued at sixpence, and sheep at about one shilling each. This I think proves that the traditional period must have been very remote, when the Chester 'prentices bargained not to be obliged to eat salmon more than a certain number of days in the week; a distressing period we hope to see return in our days, through the exertions of one of our own members, (Mr. Ayrton), in breeding and preserving that most valuable fish.

The very cattle at Vale Royal (although not wild like those at Lyme Park) have their story, and are said to be descended from a certain white cow which broke away from Cromwell's soldiers and returned home, preferring the fat Abbey lands to the Republican slaughter knife. Many of the manor houses have chapels attached to them or in the

* The seat of John Tollemache, Esq., M.P. for South Cheshire.

grounds, as at Arley, Tabley, Capesthorpe, Somerford Park, &c. At High Leigh there are two chapels within one hundred yards of each other, belonging respectively to the East and West Halls. The West Hall Chapel which preceded the present one was built in 1404, and constructed, as was the custom of the time, of timber. The belfry was a curious one; the bell being suspended from the branch of an enormous sycamore tree which shaded the chapel door.

The original chapel of the East Hall still exists: the date (1581) and the name of the founder are on the east window.* The interior is fitted up with oak carving, of which some is coeval with the building, and the rest has been brought from Belgium. Ivy, with an almost tree stem, covers the outside, and the whole has a most pleasing and picturesque effect. It has lately been very well restored.

The grouse and the black cock still crow in the county; and at Warburton Church horns of the roe deer were used as hat pegs, but we cannot now include the roe amongst our game. At the same church there used formerly to be a stand for an hour glass, though the hour glass had disappeared. I attended the services one Sunday at two different churches in Berkshire; at the first I saw the stand for the hour glass, at the other one the stand and the hour glass, but I believe they are as uncommon now as the Bible chained to the reading desk. I heard of a very peculiar day's sport a short time since—a bag of 40 peacocks killed in the plantations of Somerford Park.

Any one who has travelled abroad must have been struck by the prevalence of local costumes. You remark some wonderful bonnet as at Schweinfurth; some curious cap as at Coblenz; some head ornament as at Munich: you leave these towns, and never see the dress again. In one village every stocking will be blood red; in the very next a roc's egg would be easier found than a red stocking. But in England we have very little costume properly so called. Civilization and commerce introduce milliners. Costume is fatal to the milliners' success; and by degrees costume fades and dies before the milliners' arts. It is true our navvies, our costermongers, our butchers, and our colliers (particularly those of former days) have some peculiarity of dress which defines their employment; but though we may have some trade, we have few *district* costumes, and those, like the smock-frock of Gloucestershire or Northamptonshire, are generally confined to the male sex. In Cheshire, however, we have a distinctive dress generally worn by the peasant women; the short jacket (or bed-gown as it is called) and the bright red striped linsey petticoat; and the factory girls have an elegant way of substituting a shawl for a bonnet, to say nothing of the necklace universally worn by them.

* Now removed to the west window, 1859.

The height and breadth of shoulder of the population of Cheshire and Lancashire—

“Our natural sister Scyre, and linkt unto us so
That Lancashire along with Cheshire still doth go”

is superior to that in many, I may say in most, other counties. The plenty and cheapness of coal has been given as one reason for the size of the inhabitants. There is an anecdote told in corroboration of this:—The Cheshire Militia (about the Waterloo epoch) were present at some grand field day with several other regiments, the space arranged for them was the Regulation, calculated at so many inches for the front of each man ; but to the great disgust of the authorities, and to the unutterable surprise of Routine, it was found that the breadth of “The Cheshire,” considerably exceeding the Regulation, interfered with the symmetry of the opening scene of the field day. We have always been more or less a warlike race, and were celebrated as archers. In Hollingshed's *Chronicles*, A.D. 1397, we find the following:—“In the mean time the King (Richard II), fearing what might be attempted against him by those that favoured these noblemen that were in durance, sent for a power of Cheshire men, that might day and night keep watch and warr about his person. They were about 2000 archers, paid weeklie, as by the annales of Britain it appeareth.”

In Grafton's *Chronicle*, 1569, we have an account of these archers, which is not very favourable to them. The *Chronicle* says—“And against the tyme of the said Parliament (held in Westminster), the King Richard 2nd received unto him a gard of Archers of Cheshyre like as he should have gone in battaile against his enemies. And those Cheshyre men were very rude and beastly people, and fell into such pryde of the King's favour that they accompted the King to be their felowe, and they set the Lords at nought, yet few or none of them were gentlemen, being taken from the plough and cart and other craftes. And after these rustical people had a while Courted (i.e. been at Court), they entered into so great a boldnesse that they would not let neyther within the Court nor without, to beat and stave the King's good subjects, and to take from them their victuals, and to pay for them little or nothing at their pleasure, and to ravish their wives and their daughters, and if any man fortun'd to complayne of them unto the King, he was soon rid out of the way, no man knewe how or by whom, so that in effect they dyd what them lusted.”

No county militia regiment in England gave more recruits to the regular army during the Peninsular campaign than the Cheshire, and during the Crimean war the county, both from its militia regiments and otherwise, contributed a large body of recruits to the line. No doubt the very women of Cheshire would, like those of Carthage, or their

Cestrian ancestors of yore,* be ready to fight in a good cause, if required so to do. But the 120 women taken prisoners, in 1643, at Acton Church, near Nantwich, "many whereof," according to a pamphlet in my possession, "were armed with long knives, and belonged to a female regiment," were not our countrywomen, but strangers; which I am glad of, as the account goes on to say "that when these degenerate into cruelty, there are none more bloody."

Except during harvest, it is very seldom indeed that women with us are ever seen at work in the open fields. In many other agricultural counties, at nine o'clock in the morning the villages will be found to be deserted, except by the old, the sick, and infants. The children are at school, the men and women in the fields, most of the houses locked, and any old woman past work superintends detachments of infants too young to toddle to school. Not so with us, which probably arises from the detached arrangement of our villages. It is quite the exception in this county to see a village, *i.e.*, a conglomeration of cottages and farms in close juxtaposition. Our farm-houses are for the most part solitary, and in the centre of the land belonging to them, and the cottages are dotted about singly, or by twos and threes, and consequently could not be left unprotected with safety to property and young children. High Leigh is an example of this, although one of the most populous of the purely agricultural townships of Cheshire. There is nothing to make a casual passer by imagine that it contains a fourth of its real population, which is more than 1000 souls.

Cheshire is not generally favourable for riding exercise; we have few field roads or grass lanes, although in some districts there is no lack of sandy lanes. The late Lord Leicester, better known as Coke of Norfolk, used to say that the only agricultural improvement he had seen in Cheshire, was a general onslaught on, and inclosure of the sides of the roads. Since his time our agricultural improvement has advanced with great strides; and it is not too much to say that within 20 years the production of the county has increased at least one fourth. But we get no grass rides. When the judges were in Chester last year (1857), one of them, who always made a practice of taking a morning ride before the fatigues of the day began, asked me where was the best place near Chester for a canter on the grass? Instead of being able to give him a choice, I could not tell him of such a place, and arrangements had to be made, by which the legal representative of Royalty was allowed by the Mayor to take his morning's canter on the old Roodeye.

* See Hemingway's *History of Chester*, Vol. I. pp. 188-9, for an account of the behaviour of the Chester Amazons during the celebrated Siege of Chester in 1645.

The *old* Cheshire road is generally either a deep sand, or a bad pavement full of *chock holes* (to use a provincialism), and equally unfit for walking, riding, or driving. The pebbles employed are generally those found in the fields, turned up in the course of cultivation, or collected from watercourses, and in general belong to a species of rocks non-existent, or not known to exist in the county: these vary in size from a few ounces to many tons. The easiest way of accounting for their importation is what is called the "glacial theory," namely, that a *vast* (to use another Cheshire word) of rocks and pebbles have been, in the first place, incrustated and imbedded in icebergs, and have been deposited wherever the mass to which they were attached returned to water.

With regard to our turnpike roads, we procure the stone from Penmaenmawr, the best road material in the world; and although by the time it is laid down and broken, it costs more per ton than coal, our tolls are very much less than in Wales and Scotland, where the material is close at hand. One effect of the perfection of our turnpike roads, and the great improvement of the main parish roads throughout the county, is the general substitution of two horses, or even one, for the old team of four; without which latter number, at a comparatively recent period, no carriage could progress at all, and progress even then at a slow and cautious pace. The hammer cloth in those days covered the tool box, where the hammer and other implements (for the repair of any breakages by the way, always expected, and very frequently occurring,) were kept. In short, the glory of the 16 or 20 four-in-hands at the Knutsford races of former days was really merely a proof of the extreme badness of the roads at that period.

We are blessed with abundance of coal, already known to be widely distributed, and also supposed to exist in many parts of the county where it has hitherto not been worked. Lead and copper have been found in unprofitable quantities at Alderley; and gypsum near the Dane and in other localities. In Lymm stone quarry, numerous prints of the tracks of the *Cheirotherium* (literally the beast with hands) are, and have been, frequently met with. I received a letter from the late Professor Buckland, in answer to a sketch I sent him of one of these stones with the prints of the *Cheirotherium* upon it. In it he says—"Its bones have been found near Leamington, and also at Stuttgard. Professor Owen has shewn it to have been a *Batrachian*, that is, a creature of the Salamander family, allied to the toad, and to have been about the size of a small ox. Pleasant fellows to have met with hopping about in all directions! The animal's name is now changed to *Labyrinthodon*, from the enamel of the tooth, when a thin slice is cut off, shewing that it is arranged labyrinth fashion. It may be seen at the

Crystal Palace, in the group of colossal extinct animals." Professor Buckland's son (in his very amusing work, "*The Curiosities of Natural History*,") suggests that the dragons we hear of, as existing in different parts of the world and of England in former days, may owe their origin in some degree to these now extinct monsters. Cheshire has its own dragon : the family of Venables have for their crest "a dragon transfixed with an arrow and devouring a child," in memory of an ancestor having killed a terrible dragon, that devastated the lordship of Moston in this county, as he was in the act of breakfasting on a child.

There is a petrifying spring at Lymm, curious inasmuch as there is no limestone in its vicinity, and it is supposed to derive its carbonate of lime from the marl banks through which it percolates.

Some months since, it was imagined that Cheshire had discovered a more ready road to wealth than by her yellow cheese, viz., by the discovery at Budworth of yellow gold ! It created quite a *furor* for a few weeks, till it occurred to some one really to inquire the value of the heavy stone with yellow specks in it that they were digging up. Another proof was soon added of the truth of the old adage that "all that glitters is not gold," by the discovery that the treasure was merely the yellow mica of decomposed granite, of which I have frequently found large lumps in a gravel pit at High Leigh.

I cannot leave the stones of Cheshire without mentioning the love of rockeries which seems to be prevalent amongst all classes, from the oyster shell, cracked China, and pebble arrangement of the smallest cottage, to that curious and gigantic rockery at Hoole, arranged, nay composed we may say, by the late Lady Broughton, as a miniature model of a Swiss valley.

To speak of the Peculiarities of Cheshire, and to omit its Cheese, is like acting *Hamlet* and omitting the principal character. It is our great agricultural feature. Strabo, as one of his arguments by which he wishes to prove the Britons ignorant barbarians, asserts that they were not acquainted with the art of cheese-making before the arrival of the Romans. How refined, then, this county should be deemed, since we owe our cheese-making abilities to the glorious 20th Legion, so long quartered in Chester ; a startling fact which has never perhaps entered the head of one of our dairymaids ! What occasions the peculiarity of our cheese I cannot say ; it has been attributed to our moist climate, to the herbage, to salt, to marl, but there seems some mystery about the subject, as yet unravelled ;* for we hear of a Cheshire farmer, with a Cheshire wife, and Cheshire cows, taking a farm in Warwickshire,

* In a work called *Britannia Baconica*, 1661, we find the following under the head of Cheshire :—"The air of this Shire is so healthful that the inhabitants generally live very long ; and the warm vapours rising from the Irish Seas do sooner melt the snows and ice in this county than in places further off. The

yet failing in the production of Cheshire cheese ! Several different plans are employed in our county in feeding the cows, process of cheese making, &c., as appears by the answers to some 25 questions, embracing an infinite variety of details, issued to competitors for the large cheese prizes given at the Royal Agricultural Society's Meeting, held at Chester in 1858 ; and these questions evidently pre-suppose great difference to exist in all the accessories of cheese-making. I have heard it said that the cheese of the present day is not comparable to that made in former days ; to these grumblers I will say, in the words of the Preacher, " Say not thou, what is the cause that the former days were better than these ? for thou dost not enquire wisely concerning this." It stands to reason (*cæteris paribus*) if only from the improved cheese-presses, that our cheese, instead of having deteriorated, must have improved. The Cheshire farms, as a rule, are generally small ; very small in comparison with those in Lincolnshire, where I have heard of a turnip field of 300 acres.

A Cheshire acre, by the bye, is another of our peculiarities, and one which I venture to hope will soon cease to exist : 9 Cheshire acres are equal to 19 statute.

We grow a great many early potatoes for the Lancashire market. Manchester likes her potatoes ready washed,—Liverpool prefers them unwashed ; but, luckily for our agriculturists, all love potatoes ; unlike the epicurean notion of a foreign gentleman to whom I offered potatoes at dinner, but he energetically refused them, exclaiming—" O non, mon capitaine, de *vegetable* is de loss of de good room."

Professor Earle, in an interesting paper read at the meeting of the Archæological Institute, under the presidency of Lord Talbot, in this city, in 1857, commented on many of our Cheshire names. Amongst others, he mentioned the hill called Shetland Low, and gave a curious derivation on the *lucus a non lucendo* principle, that the contrary of high, namely low, occurs to one in speaking of a hill. But I find, on the authority of an old map of Cheshire in the Chetham Library (date 1577), which I have before alluded to, that the old name of this hill was Shutlingslaw, and *law* is a common synonym in the north, and many other counties, for a hill.

The provincialisms* I shall scarcely touch upon ; but in speaking of the peculiarities of the county it would not be correct to pass them by soil is very rich, yet observed to be more kindly and natural for cheese than corn ; and it is thought, that it is the soil, and not the skill of the dairy-woman that makes the cheese so excellent ;—the best in Europe. Both men and women here have a general commendation for beauty and handsome proportions."

* A Paper on the " Words, Proverbs, and Sayings of Cheshire," by the author of the foregoing lecture, appeared at pages 61-90 of the present volume of the Chester Archæological Journal.

entirely unnoticed. We all know of the extensive but still imperfect *Glossary of Cheshire Words*. We pronounce our "i" and "y" as an "e," as *neet* for night; "i" is also sometimes "oi," as *loine* for line; the "u" as double "o," *toob* and *moog*, for tub and mug. We are never wet or dull in Cheshire, though we are frequently *weest*, and may occasionally be *dool*. The Cheshire pronunciation is not absolutely incorrect, though clearly wrong in *waiter* for water. Most common flowers, weeds, and birds have their peculiar Cheshire synonyms, and, as may be expected, there is no larger list of Cheshire provincialisms than that presented by agriculture. Many other provincialisms, particularly those not referring to the every-day transactions of life, have died off and become obsolete. Occasionally we resuscitate one, like the word *trouse*, unearthed by Mr. Beaumont in a deed of 1637, which proved, on enquiry, to be a still existing Cheshire word, meaning brushwood or dead wood, used for stopping gaps, possibly derived from the French word *trou*, a hole.

Fuller, who wrote about Cheshire some 200 years since, proves, amongst other things, how times change, and the necessity there is for occasionally re-writing a county history; for, after remarking on the millstones which, as he expresses it, "are digged up at Mowcop Hill," he writes, "Manufactures considerable, I meet with *none* in this county, and therefore proceed!" Were he now to pass over the Stockport Viaduct, and to see the army of long chimneys darkening the heavens,—could he see the hills of oak loppings near the Railway Station of this city, piled up for the purpose of being used in the manufacture of white lead—could he witness the everlasting shower of lead pouring down from the Shot Tower,—could he view the long stalks of Runcorn (the Round Towers of modern days),—could he hear the Hundredth Psalm sung in a Congleton silk factory by a chorus of young girls' voices, to the not inharmonious accompaniment of the factory wheels,—could he see the coal bill of the Macclesfield mill owners, or the account of the annual tons of salt carried down the Weaver, or pay a visit to the hives of industry so busily engaged where our county touches on Lancashire,—he would soon change his mind as to the non-existence of any manufactory except Mowcop millstones in Cheshire!

The same author alludes, in his farewell, to the hospitality of the county, and wishes that some of it "might be planted south, that it might bring fruit therein;" and adds, "In exchange, I would desire that some of our southern delicacies might prosperously grow in the (Cheshire) gardens, and quinces particularly, being not more pleasant to the palate than restorative of the health, as accounted a great cordial, the rather because a native of this county, in his description thereof, could not remember that he ever saw a quince growing therein."

Even this *bitter* failing and short-coming cannot *now* be brought against us. Were the old gentleman now alive, I could please his palate and restore his health with some of the refection he seems so much to delight in,—quince marmalade grown in the county palatine.

In concluding my remarks on the “*Peculiarities of Cheshire*,” I may observe that there is no county, the history of which, collectively and individually, has been so completely written and re-written as that of Cheshire. Beginning with the 268 volumes of *County Materials* collected by the Randal Holmes (now in the British Museum;) Ormerod, Leycester, Webb, the brothers Lysons, Hanshall, Mortimer, &c., have written works exclusively devoted to the history of our county, and have already performed what, in some other counties, is being slowly worked out by their respective Archæological Societies. In addition to those authors, there are others who, like Fuller, Pennant, Leigh, Camden, Barlow, and many others, have written articles or notices more or less extensive on the same subject. Besides these, we have interesting Hand-books on Chester, and other towns in the county, some of the more complete and recent ones contributed by members of our own Society. The Chetham Society, and the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire,—to say nothing of the one I am now addressing,—are always on the watch for any materials of interest which may elucidate our past history, and blow away the cobwebs of antiquity that may conceal any unrevealed point, and thus generalize information heretofore only (if at all) in possession of the few.

In a book written by George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury (who died 1633) entitled “*A Briefe Description of the Whole World*,” he sums up the commodities and pleasures of England in one line:—

“*Anglia, Pons, Nons, Fons, Ecclesia, Fœmina, Lana,*”

which he renders thus in English:—

“*England is stored with Bridges, Hills, and Wooll,
With Churches, Wels, and Women Beautifull.*”

I will, also, in imitation of the Archbishop, end my attempt at describing the “*Peculiarities of Cheshire*” with a verse:—

“*Her Witches Lancashire may boast, so ours do we,
Cheshire, besides, has Wyches, of which none hath she,
And we may proudly boast that Cheshire the true place is
For cheese, coal, meres, salt, marl, silk, and fair ladies' faces.*”

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4

T.N.H

1, Chester Cathedral . 2, 3, 4, St John's Church .

ON
Gothic Arches and their Mouldings.

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BEFORE entering upon the immediate subject of my lecture, a few words may perhaps be allowed in explanation of the plan I have adopted. Had I attempted to crowd the whole cycle of Gothic Architecture into the compass of one, or even two lectures, the result would have been comparatively worthless, as the shortness of the time would have rendered a very superficial treatment of the subject absolutely necessary.

I propose, therefore, at this time, to take only *two* essential elements of Gothic Architecture, and trace their progress and development through each subsequent period: and as the pointed arch is unquestionably one of the most striking features of the style, I have not hesitated to take the arch, generally, as the foundation of my lecture.

To treat of the arch, however, as a mere geometrical form, independently of the mouldings cut upon its edges, would be to give a dry dissertation upon geometry alone,—and hence the union of the two elements—"arches and their mouldings."

In addressing an Architectural Society, some apology is perhaps necessary for commencing with the very alphabet of my subject. As, however, there may be some among us to whom the study is new, I will give, very briefly, the leading distinctions of the styles, and the periods of their duration.

Following the well-known arrangement of Mr. Rickman, Gothic Architecture may be divided into four principal styles—Norman, Early English, Decorated, and Perpendicular.

In the accompanying diagram, I have represented the duration of each, to a scale of fifty years to an inch: so that a glance at it will

* Read before the Chester Archæological Society, May 3rd, 1858.

shew the comparative lengths of the periods during which the several styles prevailed, and the reigns of the contemporary sovereigns.*

Thus, "black" represents the night of the *Norman* period, becoming less intense towards the close of the style. "Grey" is the dawn of the *Transition* between Norman and Early English. "Yellow" denotes the sunrise, which took place when the *Early English* was completely introduced—deeper tints of yellow denote the advance of the style, and "orange" signifies the Transition between Early English and Decorated. I have used "vermilion" for the full blaze of the most glorious period of English Architecture—the *Decorated*;—deepening into "crimson," and subsequently "purple," for the *Perpendicular* style.

I might, without impropriety, have terminated the whole with *black*, to denote the darkness that again shrouded our national architecture after the close of the 16th century.

The Norman style, then, commenced with the Conquest, and lasted till towards the close of the 12th century. It is distinguished by the almost constant use of round arches—by the massive character of the piers, and the plainness and simplicity of the mouldings.

About the middle of the 12th century, a greater degree of ornament was introduced; and the capitals and arches, especially those of doorways, were often highly enriched with elaborate, but somewhat rude and grotesque sculpture.

During the last quarter of the century, the pointed arch was frequently used, and the mouldings and decorations generally became lighter and more elegant. The style of this period is usually spoken of as the *Transition* from Norman to Early English: it is sometimes called the "Semi-Norman."

The change of style was probably complete somewhat before the close of the 12th century; but it is usual to reckon the Early English from the commencement of the 13th century, till the accession of the 1st Edward, in 1272.

Nothing could be more striking than the change from Norman to Early English. The two styles were the complete opposites of each other. The round arch was replaced by the pointed,—often by the acute lancet; the massive piers, by graceful clustered shafts,—the grotesque and rudely sculptured capitals, by foliage of the most exquisite character; and the heavy cylindrical mouldings by bands of deeply undercut members.

Before the close of the long reign of Henry III. a change had

* The drawings and diagrams in the lecture were each marked with the colour belonging to the style of the example.

CHRONOLOGICAL CHART OF GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE.

William I	1066	NORMAN
William II	1087	
Henry I	1100	
Stephen	1135	
Henry II	1154	
Richard I	1189	TRANSITION.
John	1199	
Henry III	1216	
		ENGLISH

begun to take place in many architectural features. The windows, that in the commencement of his reign had been either simple lancets, or two or three combined under a single arch, were now greatly increased in width—the heads or upper parts became filled with geometrical tracery, while the lower parts were divided into several lights by mullions. The foliage of capitals and bosses, that had hitherto been of a somewhat conventional form, was now frequently an exact imitation of nature. During the reign of Edward I., these and other changes were fully developed, and the third, or Decorated style was introduced. Gothic Architecture may be said to have reached the zenith of its glory at this time; for although ornamentation was carried to a far greater extent in the following style, nothing has ever exceeded the pure and chaste magnificence of many of the Decorated buildings erected in the reigns of the first two Edwards.

During the reign of Edward III., the Decorated style still prevailed, but the forms of the leading lines in tracery became less geometrical and more wave-like or flowing.*

Towards the close of this reign, a gradual tendency to verticality in window tracery and panelling was exhibited, which became more and more marked during the reign of Richard II., and ultimately led to the adoption of the last of the four styles—the Perpendicular.

The name sufficiently indicates the striking feature of this style—the perpendicular character of the principal lines in window tracery and panelling. At the same time the arch became more and more depressed, the mouldings lost their depth and boldness, and the indiscriminate use of ornament and panelling often destroyed all unity and grandeur of design. In the reign of Henry VIII., the style became much debased, and Gothic and Italian details formed a strange medley. Beyond this period, Gothic Architecture cannot be said to extend.

I will now proceed to the more immediate subject of my lecture, and endeavour to trace the progress and development of Arches and their Mouldings through the four styles. I have only to observe that I have confined myself exclusively to examples taken from the Cathedral and St. John's Church, Chester; as, upon examination, I found in them a complete series of illustrations for every variety of style.

* This distinction is so important that it is usual to divide the Decorated style into two sub-divisions—Geometrical Decorated—and Flowing Decorated. In the first, or earlier style, the tracery in the heads of windows consists exclusively of purely geometrical forms, such as circles, triangles, &c. In the second, the design is made up of waving lines, forming a series of figures that appear to flow into and out of each other.

The arches built by the first Norman architects, were more or less of a semi-circular form, and of a very plain description. When the wall, in which they were constructed, was only of a moderate thickness, they generally consisted of a single course of stones or "voussoirs," the edges of which were left square. We find examples of such simple arches in the Triforium Arcade in the North Transept of the Cathedral—probably the most ancient of the Norman portions of the edifice.

One of these arches is shewn in fig. 1. It would be described architecturally as a semi-circular arch of a single order, with square edges; the term "order" having reference to the course of stones or voussoirs of which the arch is composed.

The walls, however, of Norman buildings were generally of great thickness; and when this was the case, two or three courses of voussoirs were employed, each course receding a little beyond the face of the adjoining one. The pier-arches of the Nave of St. John's (fig. 2.) and those originally supporting the great central tower are of this description. Fig. 3 represents the spring of the tower arches, shewing the construction of the masonry. There are three courses of voussoirs forming three receding faces: these arches would be described as of three orders with square edges—or simply, as triple recessed arches with square edges.*

The first step towards the introduction of Mouldings, appears to have arisen from the desire to do away with the somewhat rude appearance of the square edges in the recessed arches. Of course, the simplest way of doing this would be by removing or *chamfering* the square edge. An arch of two orders with chamfered edges is represented in fig. 4, taken from the ruins at the east end of St. John's.

It is remarkable, however, that simple as this method is, it does not appear to have been the first resorted to. The arch in question is of late date for Norman work, if indeed it be not of Transition character.

It is also remarkable, that this way of removing the square edges of an arch of two or three orders continued in use during all the subsequent styles of Gothic Architecture.

Nothing is more common than to find Country Churches of Early English, Decorated, or Perpendicular date, with pier-arches consisting of two orders with plain chamfered edges. The earliest attempts at removing these obnoxious edges, consisted in simply rounding them off—thus giving the appearance of a heavy semi-cylindrical ring. The first of the three orders, or the "sub-arch," as it would be correctly called,

* This simple species of arch is generally, though not always indicative of very early Norman work. The pier-arches of St. John's were probably erected soon after the Conquest—at least between the years 1067 and 1095.

is frequently found rounded off in this way. There is a good example in an arch in the south Aisle of the Choir of St. John's ; the section of which is shewn in fig. 5. A more effective way, however, was generally followed. Instead of simply rounding off the edge, a portion of the stone on either side was cut away ; thus leaving the cylindrical roll clearly defined, and affording a more decided effect of light and shade.

A very instructive example occurs in an arch in the west Cloister of the Cathedral, formerly leading to the Abbot's apartments. This is shewn in fig. 6 ; and it will be observed, that two of the orders are left with the square edges, the first, or sub-arch, only having the moulding to which I refer. The mediæval name of this moulding is the " bow-tell," though it is more generally spoken of as the Norman " edge-roll."

It is found in Norman work of all dates, and even in Transition and Early English ; the hollows on either side of the roll being of various widths, from the simple nick in fig. 6, to the wider hollow in fig. 14, a Transition moulding from an archway in the north wall of the ruins, at St. John's—and fig. 16, the arch-mould of the windows in the Aisles of the same Church.

The roll moulding with side hollows, appears to have been the only attempt at this species of decoration in use among the earlier Norman architects. They confined their ingenuity to ornamenting the flat surfaces of their arches with rude sculpture ; and arches of two or more orders are constantly found, in which the entire surfaces are covered with this description of shallow carving. Fig. 10 is the doorway to the Priory, St. John's, but formerly one of the windows of the Choir. It is a fine example of this kind of decoration :—there are no *mouldings*, but the surface of the arch stones is elaborately carved with the favourite ornament of the period, the chevron or zig-zag, and the lozenge with pellets or wafers.

Although, as I have observed, the single edge-roll is most commonly found in place of the square edge of the very early arches, there are few varieties to be met with.

Sometimes the square edge is worked into two roll-mouldings instead of the single round and side hollows. An instance of this occurs in the second order of the pier-arches of the Choir at St. John's :—fig. 7 shews the arch on the south side, and fig. 8 is a section of the mouldings. This arch has been interfered with by the erection of the present east wall of the Church. It enables us, however, to see very clearly its triple recessed character, as it presents the appearance of an actual section of the mouldings. Another form frequently met with occurs in the first and third orders of the same arches, and also in the arch in the south Aisle of the Choir (fig. 5).

This consists of an edge-roll set on a kind of shoulder or neck, with

a wide hollow on at least *one* side. The effect of such a combination is far superior to that of the simple edge-roll. The lines of light and shade are well and clearly defined, and the breadth of the side hollows necessarily leaves but little of the plain surface of each order. The centre arch of the ruins at St. John's is a very fine example of this compound moulding: fig. 9 is a section of it. A still further refinement is observable in this example. A slight but sharp indentation is carried round two of the hollows; thus giving an additional line of shade, and marking the commencement of the side hollows more distinctly.

But whatever varieties of mouldings may be met with in Norman arches, one law appears to pervade them all. They are invariably arranged on rectangular faces; so that two lines at right angles would exactly touch the front face and under portion of each order of mouldings. This law became less and less strictly observed in the subsequent periods of Gothic Architecture. In the Transition between Norman and Early English, it is an unfailing characteristic. In very Early English it is equally so; but it became more and more infringed upon as the style advanced. In Decorated work, especially during the reign of the First Edward, the rectangular form is still frequently found. The mouldings of one or two orders are often arranged on the square, while the remainder are cut on the sloping or chamfer plane: but with the Perpendicular style, the rectangular faces appear to have entirely vanished, and the mouldings are almost invariably arranged on the chamfer-plane. I shall be able to point out instances of each of these cases as I proceed.

We have thus far assumed the arches of the Norman period to be semi-circular.

Although this is true generally, it is not so universally. A form is frequently found, in which the spring of the arch does not take place immediately from the *abacus*, or upper member of the capital, but at some distance above it: an arch of this kind is said to be stilted. (See Diagram of Arches, Plate xii.) We have instances in the arches of the Choir, and the north and south arches of the central tower of St. John's (figs. 7 and 3).

There can be no doubt that this form of arch was not so much a matter of mere arbitrary caprice, as of convenience, if not necessity. The north and south arches of the central tower of St. John's have their openings somewhat narrower than those looking east and west, (a fact very frequently observed in the tower-arches of Norman Churches), and hence they were stilted, to raise them to the same height as the other two, which are semi-circular.

The arches in the Choir are also of less width than those of the

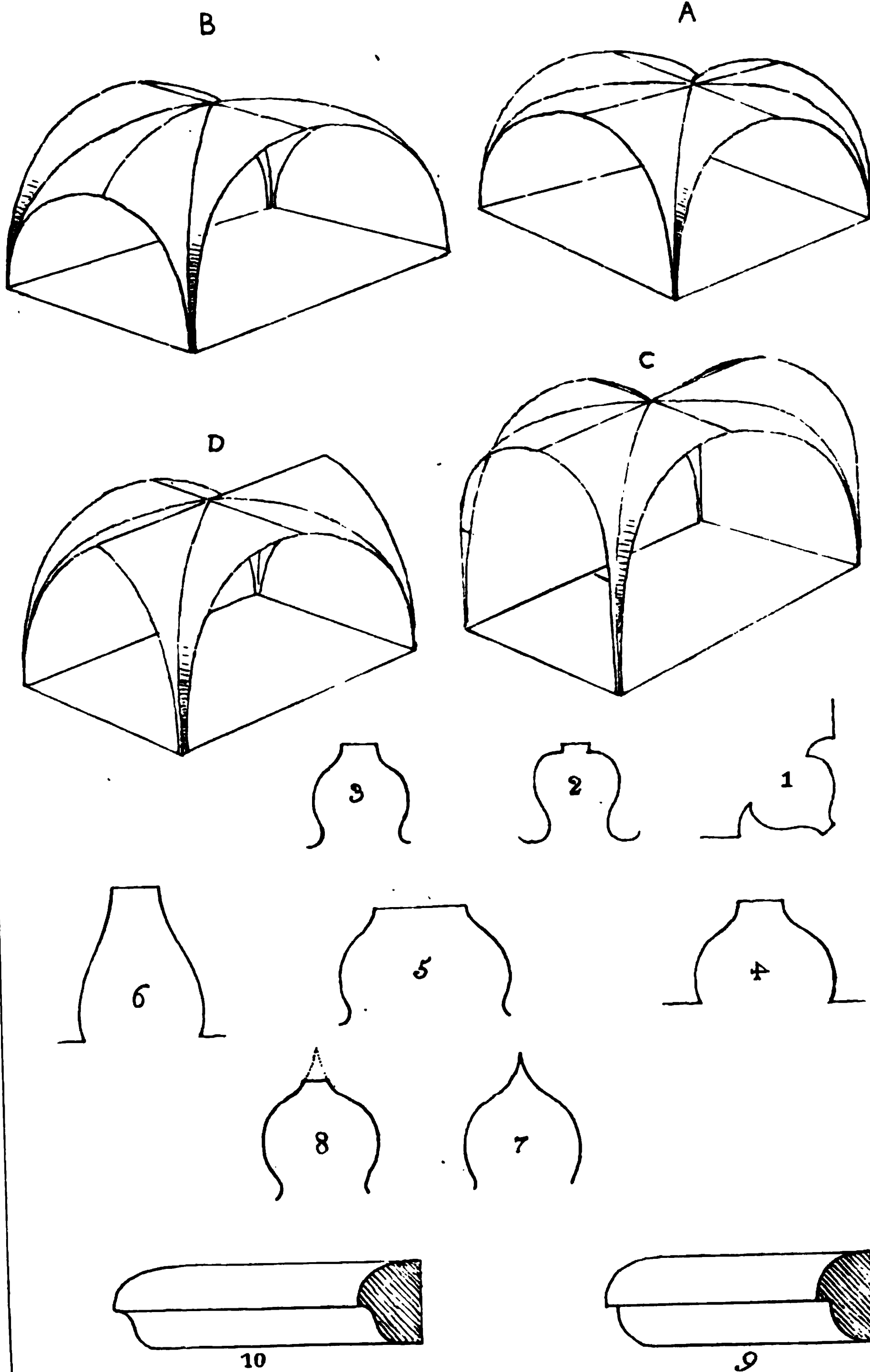
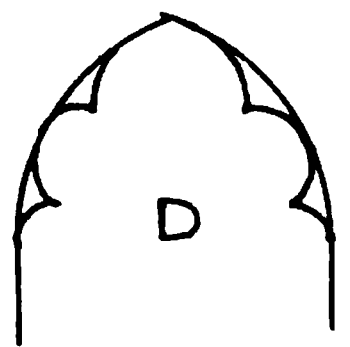
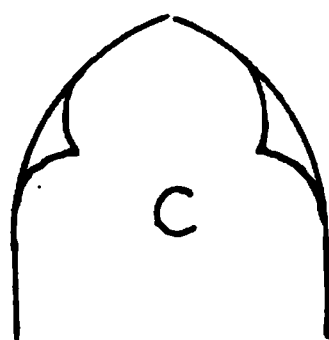
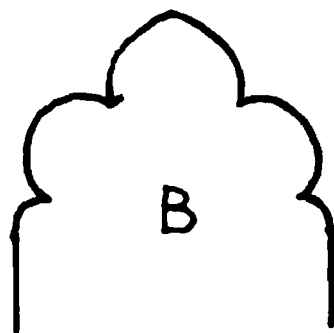
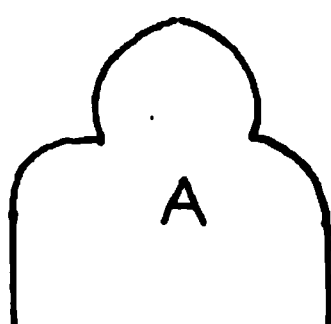
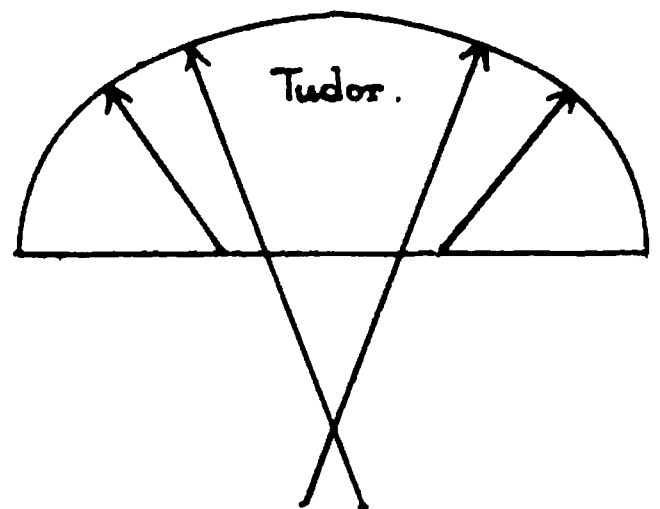
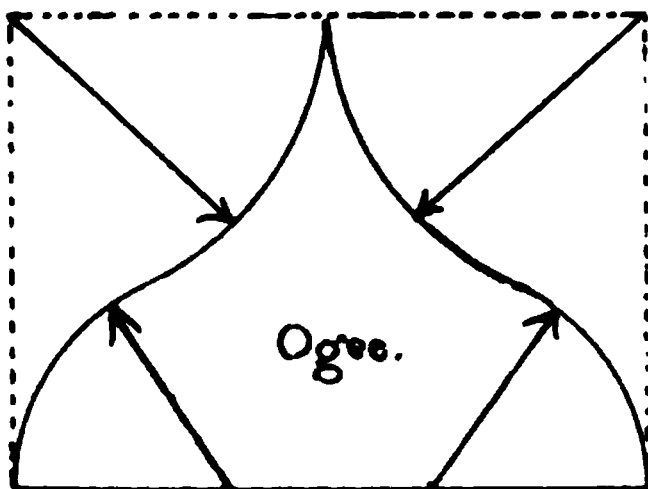
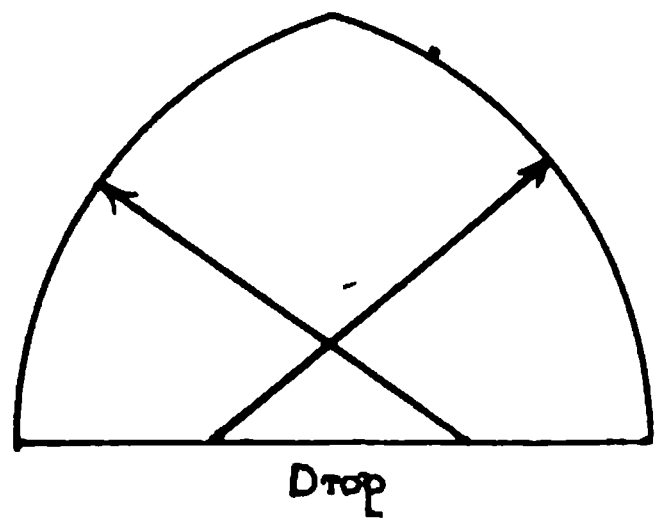
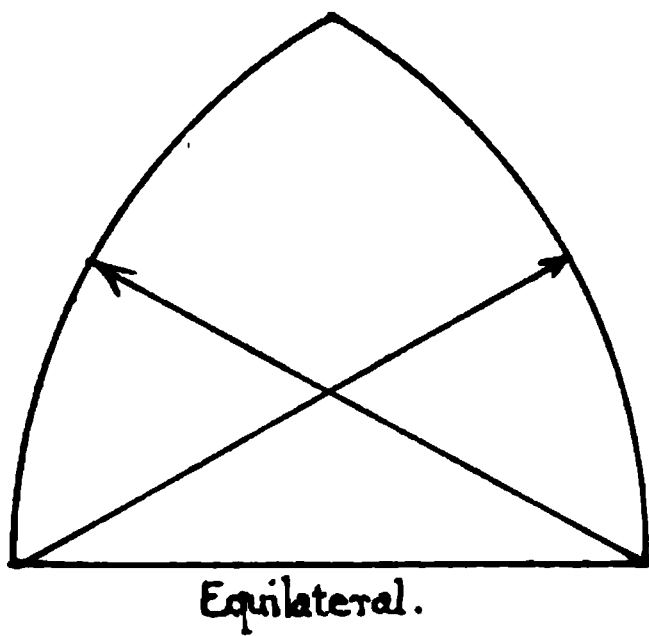
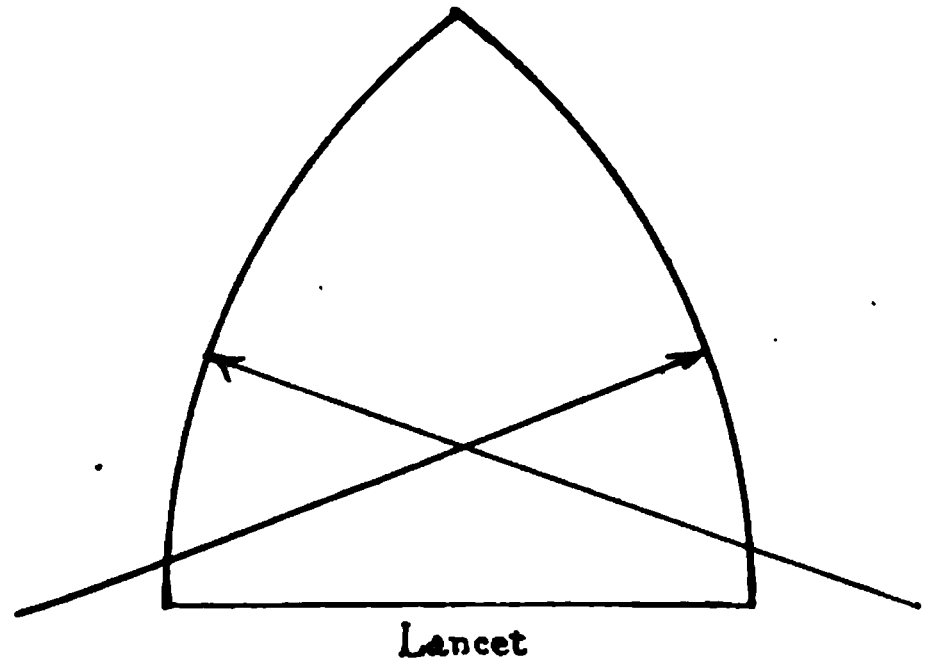
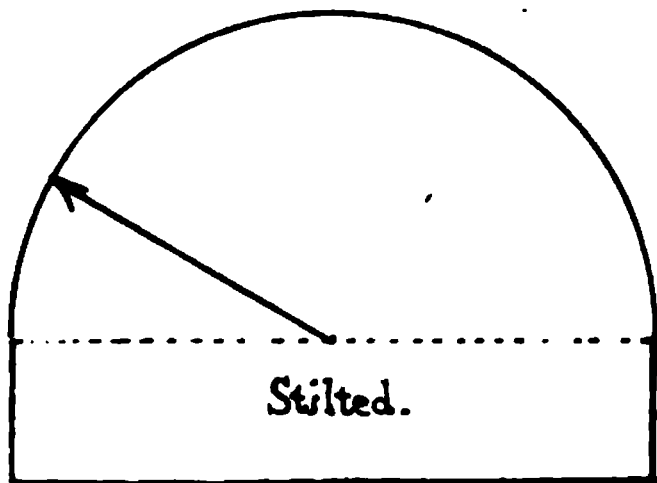
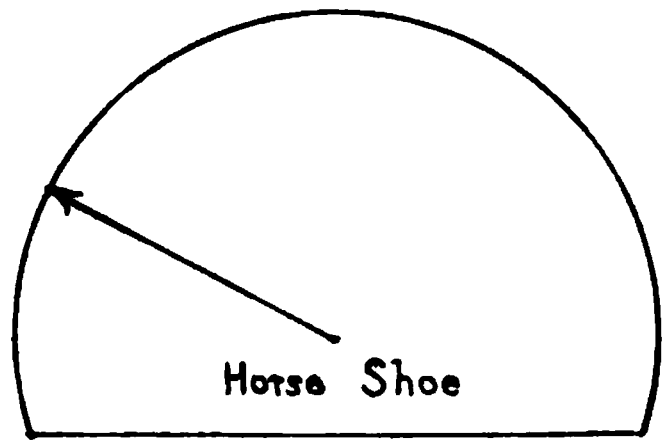
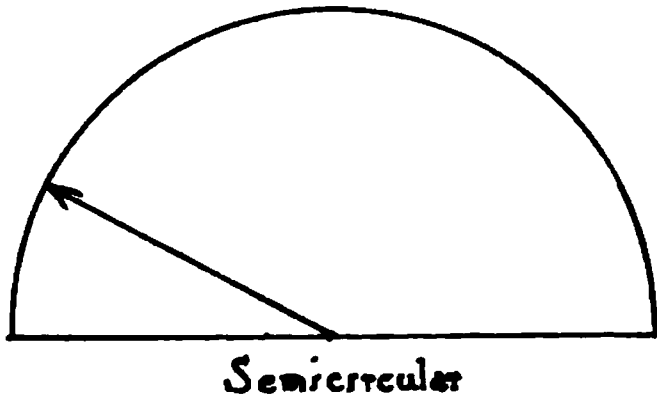


DIAGRAM OF ARCHES



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Aisles ; and it is evident that they were stilted to admit of constructing the vaulted roof according to the simple method then known,—one essential feature of which required the four arches of the vault to be of the same height. In the bay on the south side, the commencement of the vaulting still remains ; and although the compartment itself is square, yet in consequence of the smaller width of the arch opening into the Choir, it would manifestly need stilting to raise its crown to the same height as the arches in the Aisles.

Stilted arches sometimes approach the horse-shoe form, (see Diagram of Arches, Plate xii. ;) and instances occur in many Norman buildings.

This, however, is probably seldom intentional, but rather the result of imperfect construction.*

The assumed necessity for having the four arches of a vaulted compartment of precisely the same height, was certainly closely connected with the introduction of the pointed arch into this country, if not the actual cause of it. Without entering into all the difficulties of the subject, I will endeavour, very briefly, to explain my meaning.†

Suppose the space to be vaulted over to be an exact square, as in Plate xi., fig. A. If semi-circular arches be erected upon the four sides, they will, of course, be of equal height, and there will be no difficulty in constructing a simple cross-vault over such a space. Indeed, such vaults were extensively used even by the Romans. If, however, the compartment be oblong as at B, so that its sides are unequal, it is manifest that the semi-circular arches upon the narrow sides will have their crowns lower than those on the other two, and a constructive difficulty in the formation of the vault at once arises. The difficulty appears to have been met, in the first instance, by stilting the smaller arches, as at C. But this was a very awkward expedient, and produced a twist in the intersection of the vaulting surfaces, that had a most unpleasing effect,—it was in fact only a partial solution of the problem. The complete solution was found in the adoption of the pointed arch.

It is at once manifest, that whatever be the span of the wider opening, a pointed arch may be thrown across the narrower one, that shall have its vertex on the same level with the crown of the semi-circular arch. This is shewn in fig. D. If all the four arches be pointed, they may have their vertices on the same level, and at any height above the spring. This theory, it is true, does not account for the *invention* of

* The arch in the south side of the Choir, St. John's, might almost be said to be of the horse-shoe form.

† A few models of vaulted roofs were exhibited at the lecture.

the pointed arch—for that we must go back to still earlier times—it only gives a *reason* for its introduction and gradual adoption, by shewing that it perfectly supplied a want when other contrivances failed.

It is true in the abstract that other methods were known by the builders of the Romanesque Churches of Germany and Italy, in which the necessity for having the four arches of equal altitude was not acknowledged; but as far as this country is concerned, it appears tolerably certain that the difficulty was only removed by the mixture of pointed with round arches, and ultimately by the adoption of the pointed arch alone.

There are several instances of this mixture in our Cathedrals and Abbeys. The compartments of the Nave were usually narrower than the width of the Aisle—and thus we find *round* arches thrown across the Aisle, but pointed ones along the Nave. This is the case at Canterbury Cathedral and Fountains Abbey, and in other buildings erected before the close of the 12th century.*

This part of my subject brings me to speak of the modifications that arches and their mouldings underwent during the period of Transition from Norman to Early English, that is, from about 1175 to 1200.

I have already said, that pointed arches were introduced during the latter part of the 12th century. Before its close, they were used in many varieties of form, from the barely pointed, or low “drop” arch, (see diagram) to the acute “lancet.” Fig. 11 represents a single arch of the magnificent Triforium Arcade of St. John’s—the date of which Mr. Parker assigns to about the year 1190.

Here the drop arch is used: the Transition character is stamped at once by the square abacus of the capital, an almost unfailing criterion of the style. Fig. 13 is a Transition doorway in the north wall of the ruins at St. John’s;† and fig. 15, a window in the south aisle; all these are probably of nearly the same date, as each has the square abacus. The arch, however, was not the only feature that underwent a change at this period—a simultaneous change took place in the system of mouldings.

The rectangular character of the several orders was still retained, but the mouldings cut upon them became more varied and numerous,

* This view is by no means a new one. It was first put forth by Mr. Saunders, in 1811; by Mr. Ware, in 1812; and adopted by Dr. Whewell in his work on German Churches.

† This doorway formed no part of the original structure of St. John’s. It was removed from the site of St. Mary’s Nunnery, now better known as “The Nuns’ Gardens,” near St. Bride’s Church, to its present position a few years ago; but as it is unquestionably of early date, it serves my purpose as an illustration.

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and several new forms were introduced. Fig. 14 is a section of the arch-mould of the doorway in the north wall of the ruins, at St. John's, just referred to. The first order is plain with the square edge; the second has the simple Norman edge-roll; but the third is of a more complicated character: the edge-roll has *two* hollows on each side, and the second has the sharp indented line carried round it, similar to that previously noticed in the middle arch of the ruins (fig. 9).

The most important form, however, introduced during this period of Transition, was the "roll and fillet," a moulding which continued to hold a leading place in the combinations of all the succeeding styles. It may be described as a narrow band or fillet, set flat upon the face of the common cylindrical roll or bowtell. In the earlier examples, it is mostly set square upon the round member, as in Plate xi. fig. 2, though it is often found with the joining edges rounded off, so that the fillet dies away into the roll, as in figs. 1, 3, &c.

As this moulding occupies so conspicuous a feature in the subsequent styles, it may be well to point out the principal modifications it underwent in each.

In Transition work, it is constantly found with side hollows, as in Plate xi. fig. 1—just taking the place of the Norman edge-roll. In Early English, as at fig. 2, with deep undercuttings. In later Early English, and Early Decorated, as at fig. 3. In Decorated as at figs. 4 and 5, the breadth of the fillet being often considerable, and the side hollows but slight, or entirely wanting. In this and the previous style, two or three fillets are frequently found on the same moulding. The roll and fillet, properly so called, can hardly be said to exist in the Perpendicular style. A debased form, however, similar to fig. 6. is sometimes used.

As an example of this moulding in Transition work, I may point to Plate iii., fig. 12, the arch-mould of the Triforium Arcade of St. John's, and again to fig. 16, the arch mould of the windows in the Aisles.

In Early English, we have it with the fillet set square, as in fig. 25 the jambs of the side windows in the Lady Chapel of the Cathedral—and also with two fillets, in the same example: it occurs also in fig. 29, the pier arch-mould of the Choir.

In Decorated, there are fine examples in the pier arch-moulds of the Nave and St. Oswald's, figs. 31 and 33, and fig. 39, an arch in the north Aisle of the Choir. There is another moulding often found in Transition work, though I have not been able to meet with an early example of it in Chester. This is the *pointed bowtell*—it is merely a later form of the Norman edge-roll, obtained by pointing it, or bringing it to a sharp edge or keel, as shewn in Plate xi. fig. 7.

Later examples occur, however, in the jambs of the Early English windows in the Refectory of the Abbey, (fig. 23) and also in the pier-arches of the Choir, (fig. 29.)

It is possible that the roll and fillet originated from the pointed bowtell, on account of the practical difficulty of keeping the edge or keel sharp and well defined.

A pointed bowtell, with the sharp edge removed, would become at once a roll and fillet. (Plate xi. fig. 8.)

I have already remarked, that towards the close of the 12th century, the round arch was gradually giving way to the pointed. With the commencement of the 13th century, its superiority appears to have been generally acknowledged, and from that time we date the commencement of a new era in architecture—the light and beautiful Early English.

It has been usual to connect the acutely pointed or lancet arch with this style, as its peculiar and characteristic feature.

Mr. Rickman, however, has shewn that this is far from being the case; and that while every form of arch, with one exception, is found in Early English work, so the lancet arch is found in both the succeeding styles. The single exception referred to is the four-centred or Tudor arch, which is the peculiar property of the Perpendicular.

It is true, that the lancet arch is the form that most commonly occurs in the windows of this period, and almost every Early English building presents examples of either single, double, or triple lancets.

Fig. 20 is a triple lancet window in the Canons' Vestry, in the Cathedral—the earliest of the Early English portions of the building. Fig. 24 is one of the two beautiful windows in the Lady Chapel that have recently been restored. The outer arch is obtuse or "drop," and the same form was used in the windows of the Refectory, (fig. 23)

But, however frequently the lancet may have been chosen as the favourite arch for *windows*, it is certain that a much wider range was allowed in the forms of doorways, pier arches, and arcades.

It is not uncommon, even, to meet with instances of the semi-circular arch in doorways of undoubted Early English date.

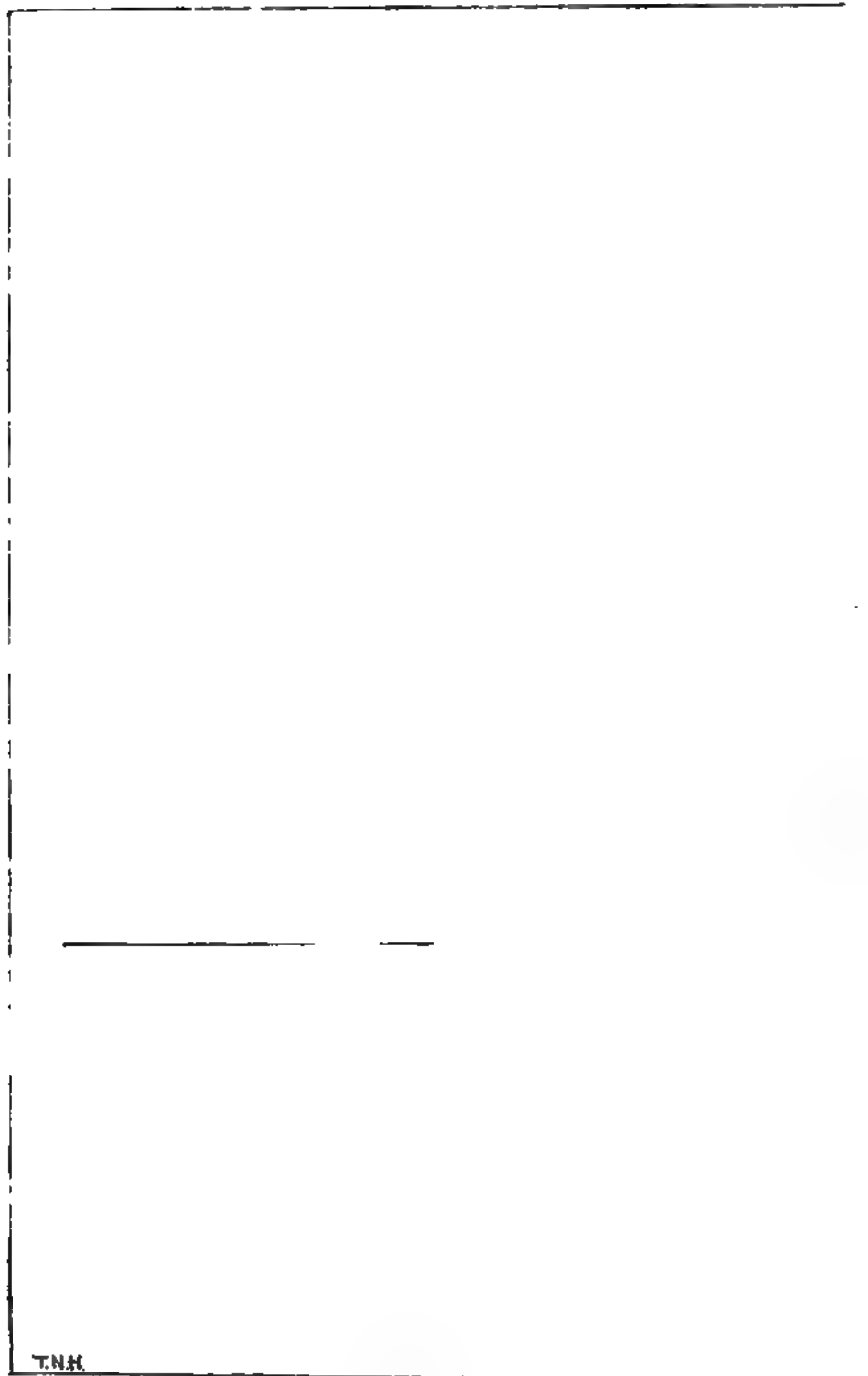
There is a curious instance in the doorway, formerly leading from the north cloister of the Abbey into the Refectory. This is shewn in fig. 18. It has been sadly mutilated by subsequent alterations, but the mouldings, capitals, bases, and foliation, are all of pure Early English character.

Fig. 17 is the inner doorway to the north porch of St. John's. It is a fine example of very Early English work. The arch is of the drop form, and the jambs have the great depth for which this style is remarkable. The shafts in the jambs are completely isolated, or disengaged,



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and the alternate ones are set a few inches back, thus producing a more pleasing effect to the eye by arranging them in groups when seen sideways.

Fig. 21 is the beautiful entrance doorway to the Chapter House. This is of rather later date than the Early English work at St. John's, though earlier than the Refectory and Lady Chapel.

The arch is of three orders, with the mouldings arranged on successive squares—fig. 22 is a section. The mouldings are of a very simple character, consisting of alternate rounds and hollows, not deeply cut, but producing a good general effect. There are disengaged or isolated shafts in the jambs, and the capitals, which have been restored, have the “stiff stalk” foliage, so characteristic of this style.

It is instructive to compare this archway with the Transition specimen in fig. 13 from St. John's: The one is so evidently nothing more than the perfect development of the other.

The rectangular character of the orders is the same in both, but in the earlier example, the first is left square, the second has the plain Norman edge-roll, and the third alone is entirely moulded; while in the latter, all the orders are gracefully moulded.

It only remained to change the square abacus into the round, to give greater elegance to the capitals, to isolate the shafts in the jambs, to add the “hood-moulding” or drip-stone, and the transformation to the perfect Early English arch was complete.

This is perhaps the place to say a few words on another class of arches, the introduction of which is generally referred to the Early English period,—I mean “foiled” and “foliated” arches.

A foiled arch is one formed by uniting three or more small arches together, each springing from the adjacent ones, the result being called a trefoiled, cinquefoiled arch, &c., according as three, five, or more arches are so united in its formation. Thus, figs. A and B in Plate xii. are foiled arches, A being a trefoiled, and B a cinquefoiled arch.

A “*foliated* arch” is a foiled arch placed beneath a simple arch, as at C and D. The arch at C is said to be trefoliated, and D cinquefoliated.

This distinction was first pointed out by Professor Willis: it is of considerable importance, since it appears that the foiled arch was introduced at an earlier period than the foliated; the latter being a fuller development of the former, and ultimately taking its place.

Foiled arches of a very rude description are sometimes found even in late Norman work, and appear to have been introduced simultaneously with the pointed arch. On the continent, this introduction took place somewhat earlier, but in our own country we have few instances of foiled arches before the commencement of the 13th century.

Fig. 27 is one of the arches of the triforium of the Choir. It is a

very fine example of a trefoiled arcade. The whole suite of mouldings runs completely round the trefoil, producing an exceedingly rich effect.

Of foliated arches we possess several very interesting early examples. I have already pointed out the semi-circular Early English arch leading to the Refectory (fig. 18). This is foliated with nine foils. Another fine example is shewn in fig. 19, the entrance from the east Cloister to the staircase leading to the ancient dormitories of the Abbey.

Both of these illustrate an important distinction between Early and Late foliated arches. The foliating arch was at first treated as an independent construction: it was formed of a separate course of voussoirs, and had its own sub-shafts to support them. This is the case in both the examples referred to. In each, the entire foliation might be removed without affecting the arch enclosing it. This independence of the arch and its foliations became less and less frequent as the style advanced—and ultimately the foliations were reduced to mere excrescences growing as it were out of the enclosing arch. It is in this form alone that they are found in the Decorated and Perpendicular styles.

The arch in fig. 36, a niche in what was formerly the pedestal for the shrine of St. Werburgh, now the Bishop's Throne, is foliated in this manner: A foliated arch is frequently said to be "feathered."

We have thus far spoken chiefly of the forms of *arches* in use in the Early English style—let us now turn our attention to the mouldings.

We have seen that the plain square edges of the Norman arches were at first either simply rounded off, or chamfered. They were then cut into edge-rolls or "bowtells" with side hollows—the side hollows were then widened, and the edge-roll set forward on a small neck or shoulder. In the Transition period, the pointed bowtell and the roll and fillet were introduced, and the mouldings generally became lighter and more numerous: but with the Early English, a new principle sprang up in the character of mouldings: this was the idea of obtaining effective combinations of light and shade by deep *undercuttings*.

To such an extravagant extent was this carried during the earlier part of the 13th century, that the projecting members of a group of mouldings are often found only united to the arch by a mere neck or thread of stone. Such a combination of projecting rounds and deep hollows would present to the eye the appearance of a series of alternate bands of light and shade—the depth of the hollows often causing them to appear absolutely black. This arrangement would be tame and ineffective, were it not for its combination with the rectangular receding faces, upon which Early English mouldings were generally cut. By this means a breadth of light and shade was introduced, and the uniformity of the alternating bands of light and shade prevented.

The pier-arches of the north-east side of the Choir of the Cathedral present an excellent example of a suite of Early English mouldings,

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Chester Cathedral.

although not so deeply undercut as is usual in very early work. Fig. 28 is the second arch from the east end on the north side : and fig. 29 is a section of the arch mould. The straight lines shew the division of the three orders of which the arches are composed, and point out the deviation of the mouldings from the strict rectangular form. This is, however, sufficiently preserved to greatly enhance the effect of light and shade.

The several members of a group of Early English mouldings are generally of nearly equal size, and consist mostly of alternate rounds and hollows of various forms—amongst these the roll and fillet and the pointed bowtell are of constant occurrence, as in fig. 29.

Although, as I have already stated, Early English mouldings are constantly found arranged on rectangular receding faces, especially when early in the style, (as in fig. 22, the arch-mould of the entrance to the Chapter House,) yet in later work they are often found cut on a sloping or chamfer plane. The mouldings of the jambs of the two side windows in the Lady Chapel are so cut. Figs. 25 and 26 are sections of the jambs and arch-moulds. The mouldings are chiefly filleted rounds with deep hollows—one of the rounds having two fillets upon it.

A new form was introduced about this time, that was afterwards so extensively used in the Decorated style, as to become a characteristic feature. This was the scroll-moulding represented in two varieties, by figs. 9 and 10, Plate xi. It consists of an ordinary roll, with a portion of its under surface withdrawn, so as to leave an overhanging lip or edge—somewhat similar to the appearance of a loose scroll of thick paper.

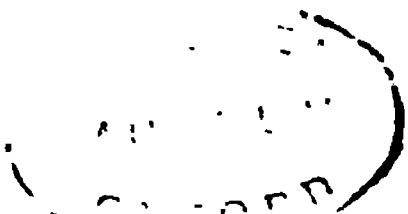
In the arch-mould of the Lady Chapel windows, fig. 26, this moulding occurs in a somewhat extravagant form, with the under edge considerably depressed ; but in the arch-mould of the choir (fig. 29), it assumes the form in which it generally occurs in the next style.

The transition from Early English to Decorated which took place before the close of the 13th century, was gradual and almost imperceptible, though it may be traced in many ways. Our Cathedral presents a most instructive series of examples. We have very Early English in the Canons' Vestry, and some portions adjoining the Cloisters,—next in date come the Chapter House and its vestibule,—then the Refectory, and then, probably the Lady Chapel.

The Choir is of several dates, the north eastern portion being the earliest, and exhibiting Early English features of decided character.

The other parts shew a gradual tendency to Decorated, and in the south Transept and Nave we find the completion of that style.

There is no very novel feature in the arches of the Decorated period. The equilateral is, perhaps, upon the whole most used, at least in early work ; but the drop-arch is also constantly met with, and lancet, and even small semi-circular arches are found in window tracery, arcades and niches. There is, however, one form that may be



considered as characteristic of the style—that is the ogee arch. (See diagram of arches, Plate xii.)

Though introduced into Gothic Architecture at a much earlier period, it first came into general use in this country in the 14th century. From its constructive defects, it is principally confined to the smaller class of work, such as arcades, niches, and the compartments of window tracery. It is also much used as a canopy above an equilateral or drop arch. Fig. 36 is an ogee arch so used from a niche in the lower part of the Bishop's Throne—it is cingfoliated, and has crockets and finials of very rich and beautiful character.

One difference between the arches of this and the previous style consists in the mouldings frequently running continuously down the piers, without being stopped by a capital. This is the case in the two pier-arches of the Nave adjoining the central Tower: one of these is shewn in fig. 34. In the next style these continuous arch-moulds became still more common.

The pier arches of the Nave and St. Oswald's are fine examples of the larger class of Decorated arches. Fig. 30 is one of the pier arches of the Nave—it may be regarded as a perfect type of its class. The arch is of the drop kind, and of three orders: the section of the arch-mould is shewn in fig. 31. Fig. 32 is the spring of one of the pier-arches of St. Oswald's: and fig. 33 a section of the arch-mould.

A comparison of either of these sections with that of the pier-arch of the Choir, will shew at once some of the leading distinctions between Early English and Decorated mouldings. Speaking generally, Decorated mouldings are larger and bolder than Early English, and arranged with a more studied regard to broad effects of light and shade.

The somewhat monotonous similarity of numerous small members is no longer found, and the eye is at once arrested by two or three prominent forms, whose broad shadows produce the leading lines in a suite of mouldings.

Thus, in the pier-arch of the Choir (fig. 29), the individual mouldings are of very similar character, and nearly equal size—while in the pier-arch of St. Oswald's, (fig. 33.) there is one prominent member in each order—a fine roll and fillet in the first, another, differently set, in the second, and a bold round and hollow in the third. So also in the pier-arch of the Nave (fig. 31), we have a remarkably bold roll and fillet in the second, and a round and hollow in the third. The effect of both these arrangements is very striking when viewed in full sunlight.

Fig. 37 is a beautiful arch in the North Aisle of the Choir, opening into the Transept. It is of rather later character; but the profile of the base-moulding, and the occurrence of the well-known four leaved flower in the capitals, prove it, I believe, to be of Decorated date. Fig. 38 is the section of the pier, and fig. 39 the arch-mould. There is a



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moulding in this example which is of constant occurrence in Decorated work ; this is the wave moulding or swelled chamfer. It is little more than an ordinary chamfered edge, with a slightly sunk channel on each side, thus raising the middle portion into a curved or swelled form,—hence its name. The presence of this moulding alone, in the absence of any other criterion, is nearly sufficient to stamp the example in which it occurs, as Decorated. The arch in fig. 34 affords an excellent example of this moulding. It is of three orders, each chamfered with the wave moulding. Fig. 35 is a section.

We find another form in fig. 39, which is more commonly met with in Perpendicular work, though occasionally used in Decorated. This is the double ogee, or “brace moulding,” as it has been called by Professor Willis, from its resemblance to a printer's brace or bracket. Its mediæval name is the “double ressaunt.”

It is worth remarking that, in Decorated mouldings, the forms are generally speaking strictly geometrical, and drawn with the rule and compasses. The curves are portions of circles ; the hollows exactly half rounds, or quarter rounds. In the Early English, on the other hand, they are often exceedingly irregular ; the two sides of the same member being of dissimilar proportions, and the whole having the appearance of greater freedom and neglect of rules.

We come now to the last of the four styles, the Perpendicular, and with it may be traced the commencement of the gradual decline of pointed architecture in England. The arch becomes more and more depressed, the mouldings shallow and ineffective. If the semicircular arch may be considered as characteristic of the Norman, the lancet of the Early English, and the ogee of the Decorated, the four-centred or Tudor arch may with still greater certainty be regarded as the peculiar badge of the Perpendicular. (See diagram of arches, plate xii.) It occurs in every variety of form of which it is possible. As a general rule, the centres of the upper portions of the arch lie immediately below those of the lower, but this is by no means universal. Sometimes both the lower portions are struck from the same centre (as at Winchester Cathedral nave), in which case it of course becomes a three centred arch. Towards the close of the style, the curvature of the upper portions is often found so slight that they can hardly be distinguished from straight lines, and in many instances they are actually straight.

When the Tudor arch was not chosen, we generally find a low *drop* arch in its place. Other forms certainly were used, such as round, equilateral, and even lancet ; but they are mostly of small size, in combinations in window tracery and panelling.

The western portion of the Cathedral presents some excellent examples of Perpendicular work. Fig. 40 is the outer doorway of the south-west porch. The arch is four-centered, enclosed in the square

head with a label, as is so universally the case with the doorways of this style. The spandrels are filled with good panelling. Fig. 43 is the arch leading from the south aisle into the Bishop's Court. The mouldings are continuous, and the soffit, or under face of the arch, panelled—both characteristic features of Perpendicular arches.

While, however, we occasionally meet with *arches* in Perpendicular work that are common in Early English and Decorated, such is not the case with the *mouldings*. They are essentially different, and have a peculiar character of their own. As a general rule, they are cut on a sloping or chamfer plane, and the groups of mouldings are separated by a shallow, oval-shaped hollow, entirely different from anything in the previous styles.

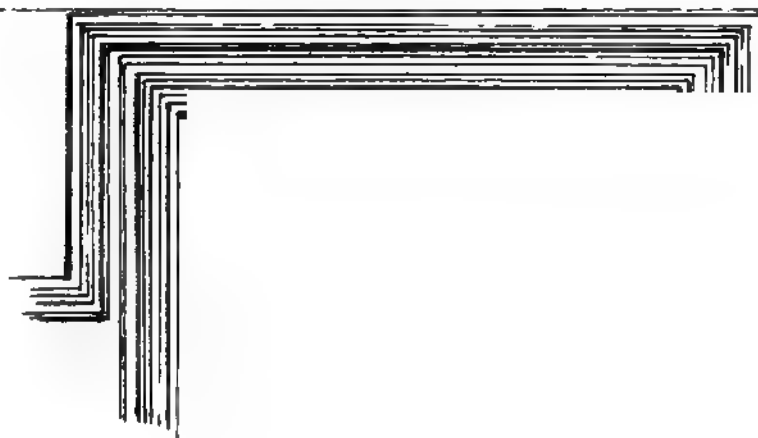
Fig. 42 is the arch mould of the outer doorway of the south-west porch, fig. 41 that of the inner, and fig. 44 that of the arch leading into the Bishop's Court. In each the shallow elliptical hollow is very conspicuous. The edges of this hollow were frequently rounded off into two small shafts, or bowtells, furnished with capitals, as in fig. 42. The double ogee or brace moulding is of constant occurrence in Perpendicular work. (See figs. 41, 42, 44.)

The arches and mouldings of Perpendicular work present very little variety. The former are generally more or less depressed, the four-centered or Tudor arch enclosed in a square head, being the characteristic form for doorways; and the pier arches, having their mouldings frequently carried continuously from the vertex to the base, without being stopped by capitals.

The shallow oval hollow, with or without shafts or beads at the edges, the double ogee or brace moulding, and the single ogee with a bowtell, are the forms that most frequently strike the eye in Perpendicular mouldings.

Were we to carry our researches still further, we should see how debased and Italian detail became more and more mixed with the true gothic forms, to the ultimate exclusion of the latter: how the pointed arch gradually gave way to the straight-sided Tudor, and ultimately almost entirely disappeared: and how the revival of the so-called classical styles at length became predominant throughout the country.

But with all this we have nothing to do. We have traced the changes that arches and their mouldings underwent in each of the four styles of Gothic architecture; and as it would be impossible to dwell with pleasure upon the degradation to which they were reduced in a subsequent period, it will be well to bring our present investigations to a close.



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On Marriage Contracts,

WITH REMARKS ON

AN EGERTON MARRIAGE SETTLEMENT, dated 10. HENRY VI.

BY MR. WILLIAM BEAMONT.

NO relation of human life can be compared in importance to that of Marriage,—the social institution which doubles our happiness and divides our cares, and from which—

Founded in reason, loyal, just and pure,—

Relations dear, and all the charities

Of father, son, and brother, first were known.

—*Par. L. iv. 750.*

When Abraham's eldest servant, that Eliezer of Damascus, born in his house,—and who upon that account had at one time had the prospect of being his heir,—was sent by the patriarch to fetch a wife for his son, and had met Rebecca at the well, he gave her first a golden ear-ring of half a shekel weight, and two bracelets of gold of two shekels weight; and afterwards he gave her jewels of silver and jewels of gold, and raiment, and precious things to her mother and brother. These seem, however, to have been neither a dowry to the intended wife, nor a price to be paid for her purchase from her kindred and friends, but merely in the nature of presents; for when Eliezer was minded to return home, it was to her that he appealed to manage their departure, and her voice alone sufficed to determine the time. In the next generation, however, when Jacob, Rebecca's son, came on a similar errand to the same place to seek the hand of Rachel, her father, Laban, exacted from him seven years' labour and service as the price to be paid for her; and ultimately, when she had become his wife, we find her and her sister uniting in loud complaints that their father had "counted them strangers, and had devoured also their money," (Gen. xxxi. 16.) Upon the marriage of Rebecca her inclinations seem to have been consulted; but Rachel, on the contrary, after a regular treaty of bargain and sale, was disposed of by her father without regard to her consent or opinion, at a price which would be accounted extreme if anything could be too great or too much in return for a good wife. We shall be wrong however, I think,

if we ascribe the difference in the relation of these two early marriages to anything peculiar in the personal character of Laban. His conduct on the occasion is but the first recorded instance of that lower estimate of woman which has so long prevailed in the East ; where she is regarded as, in some measure, the property of her father and friends, and neither allowed to be the mistress of her own choice, nor entitled to be consulted in the matter above all others of most consequence to her, the disposal of herself in marriage. In that part of the world in old times, wives were disposed of for a price, to be paid to the father, and for his benefit, or were given without their own consent by those who assumed the dominion over them. Pharaoh thus gave Asenath to Joseph ; and in conformity with Laban's practice, it early became a law of the Jews that the husband should pay a sum of money to her father for his wife, but should in no case receive a dowry with her. "Ask me never so much dowry and gift, and I will give as ye shall say unto me," was Shechem's passionate exclamation ; but it was not to Dinah he appealed, nor was it to her, but to her father and brothers that his dowry and gifts would have been given. And so in like manner the dowry which Saul required from David for Michal was to be rendered not to her but to her father ; and so in very early times it was also among other nations of the East. In consideration of his extraordinary merit, Agamemnon was willing to allow Achilles to select any one of his daughters for a wife without requiring of him any price in return—

Three daughters in my court are bred,
And each well worthy of a royal bed ;
Laodice and Iphigenia fair,
And bright Chrysothemis with golden hair ;
Her let him choose whom most his eyes approve,
I ask no presents, no reward for love.

—*Iliad B. IX.*

And Danaus offered to forego the usual purchase money to any husbands who durst undertake "those cursed Kates," his daughters. But these were exceptional cases, for the *Iliad* abounds with instances of the sale of wives by their fathers ; and in one case the price paid to the wife's father is four oxen,—a very different equivalent to that exacted from Jacob in return for Rachel. Afterwards, though, the rule must have been somewhat relaxed in Greece ; for there is a law of Solon which forbids portions to be given with daughters unless they were orphans, evidently implying, that before that time, portions had been given.

That which was the law in Judea, in the west of Asia, prevailed also in India, its centre, and in China, its extreme east. In neither of those countries did the wife bring her husband either dowry or

presents, unless, perhaps, among princes and persons of noble birth; when, as we learn from that delicate satire, the story of the two owls, a princess was sometimes endowed with a hundred villages laid waste, and a country destroyed by war. They had at Rome, in very early times, a marriage, probably derived from the east, called the marriage *perces et libram*, which implies, in its very name, that wives were to be valued and paid for in money; much, perhaps, after the same sort as they were once in ancient Assyria, and as they were, even within living memory, in Georgia and Circassia, where all the young women were periodically disposed of, not to the best husbands, but to the best bidders. In Egypt and some other Mahometan countries, even at the present day, in all but the middle and higher classes, the father receives and retains all the dowry, and when he gives his daughter to her husband he gives him nothing besides. In these and other kindred customs of different nations, there is a family likeness which is suggestive of a common origin. Laban told Jacob it was not lawful to marry the younger daughter before the elder; and an Egyptian parent would say the same thing now. In China, where they shadow woman's inferiority by a proverb, which says that "she is always dependent, before marriage, on her father; after marriage, on her husband; and in widowhood, on her son:" they admit, in some cases, besides the Ttsy who is the true wife, an inferior wife called the Ttsie, who stands in the same relation to the true wife, that Hagar stood to Sarah. The earliest history of any profane people must be sought in their legends, and from China, in the remote east, let us turn for a few moments to a scene which occurred in the far west; the wooing and wedding of Hiawatha, which a living poet has given us from an old tradition, in notes as wild as they are new and strange. After a preface, in which his old nurse Nokomis would fain persuade the hero to wed neither a stranger nor an idle maiden, but one of his own people, for

Like a fire upon the hearthstone
Is a neighbour's homely daughter,—
Like the starlight or the moonlight
Is the handsomest of strangers;

—and after her efforts have met with the usual fate of every attempt to set an engaged fancy free,—the hero sets out for the ancient arrow-maker's in the country of the Dacotahs, and

With his mocassins of magic .
At each stride a mile he measured.

And in due time, with a roebuck across his shoulders, which his bow has brought down in his way through the woodlands, he stands before the door of the tent, where the father and daughter are engaged at their employments and somewhat startled at the suddenness of his appearance:—

Straight the ancient arrow-maker
 Looked up gravely from his labour,
 Laid aside the unfinished arrow,
 Bade him enter at the doorway,
 Saying, as he rose to meet him,
 "Hiawatha, you are welcome!"
 At the feet of Laughing Water
 Hiawatha laid his burden,
 Threw the red deer from his shoulders;
 And the maiden looked up at him—
 Looked up from her mat of rushes,
 Said with gentle look and accent,
 "You are welcome, Hiawatha!"

The suitor having related to the old man the history of his childhood,
 and that, after years of warfare between the Dacotahs and his tribe, the
 Ozibways, they are at length at peace—to all which the maiden has
 listened, as once Desdemona listened to Othello—he proceeds

"That this peace may last for ever,
 And our hands be clasped more closely,
 And our hearts be more united,
 Give me as my wife this maiden,
 Minnehaha, Laughing Water,
 Loveliest of Dacotah women!"

'To which, after a pause, in which he looks fondly on his daughter, the
 old man answers—

"Yes, if Minnehaha wishes,—
 Let your heart speak, Minnehaha!"
 And the lovely Laughing Water
 Seemed more happy as she stood there,
 Neither willing nor reluctant,—
 As she went to Hiawatha,
 Softly took the seat beside him,
 While she said and blushed to say it,
 "I will follow you, my husband!"

This was Hiawatha's wooing!
 Thus it was he won the daughter
 Of the ancient arrow maker,
 In the land of the Dacotahs!

There was no settlement on the bride in this marriage, for the
 times were simple and primitive as those in which Eliezer fetched
 home Rebecca. But in another age and society, William Arrowsmith,
 of Warrington, a brother arrow maker by name, and possibly descended
 from one who feathered the shafts which proved so fatal at Agincourt,
 on the 13th July, 22 Edward IV., took a lease of a malt-kiln from the
 prior of Warrington, and settled it as a provision for himself, and his
 wife Agnes and their children.

From the new world let us come back to the old, and turn to a
 nation intermediate between the extremes of East and West, who, if

there is truth in the adage that excellence dwells with the golden mean, may be expected to repay an attention—I mean the ancient Germans. It has been their good fortune to have an historian able to discriminate national peculiarities, and from him we learn that in this people women occupied a position in strong contrast with that of their sisterhood in the East, both in ancient and modern times; and if it be true that in any country the position of woman is a test of its civilization, we may, perhaps, find that her low esteem in the East is one cause of man's inferiority in that quarter of the world to his fellow-man in the West.

Among the ancient Germans a wife brought her husband no dowry; but, on the contrary, he offered a dowry to her. At the marriage, the wife's friends and relations attended and approved of the gifts, and this approval, with the wife's acceptance of them, constituted the ceremony which made the parties man and wife. The gifts, which were neither ornaments of the future bride nor calculated to flatter her vanity, consisted of a caparisoned horse, a shield, a spear, a sword, and a few oxen. By these she was endowed, and in return, she presented her husband with some arms or weapons, to signify her readiness to share his fortunes, not in peace only, but in conflict, danger, and death.

This characteristic trait of the German people they did not leave behind them, though it underwent some modification when they afterwards migrated in such vast throngs to our shores: and, accordingly, amongst the earliest notices we have of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, we find traces of their high regard for woman; and of this the ceremonious circumstances and legal consequences of their marriages may suffice for an example. In their marriages, after the lady had been wooed and won, and her friends had given their approval, the bridegroom promised to keep her after the law of God, and as a man ought to keep his wife; and for this promise or betrothal, and to ensure its fulfilment, he produced a number of his friends as his pledges or sureties. Afterwards, when it was settled who should apply the portions of the children, and he had given pledges for this also, he signified what gift he would make her for accepting his addresses, and what portion of the property should be her's if she survived him, all which he again confirmed by producing his pledges. This practice of constantly giving and requiring pledges—an indication of their Anglo-Saxon strictness in requiring the observance of contracts—originated, probably, before writing was common among them; but the inveteracy of custom kept it alive long after the reason had ceased, and in form, at least, it subsisted among ourselves down to the year 1852. Its last shadow departed with the abolition of the old action of ejectment; and John Doe and Richard Roe, after having done duty in Westminster Hall as representative pledges

for centuries, were then removed to the precincts of the opposite Abbey, leaving it for the Westminster boys to erect their tomb, and make merry over their obsequies.

The marriage preliminaries being settled, the bride and her friends as her pledges promised, on her part, all faithfulness and duty, whereupon the priest gave his benediction, and the parties were united. But it was reserved for a later age to introduce banns, and the requirement of a marriage in the Church.

Parts of these marriage arrangements remind us of some of the forms of the marriage settlement still in use among ourselves. One portion of the property devolved to the surviving wife, like a modern jointure; and another, given before marriage, but confirmed the morning after, and thence called the *Morgen gift*, resembled the property which now goes to the settlor until the marriage, and afterwards passes to the uses of the settlement.

The *Morgen gift*, although absolutely in the wife's power, was still liable to be forfeited by incontinence. But an abstract of one of these Saxon settlements, made between the years 1016 and 1020, and preserved to us in the *Codex Diplomaticus Anglo-Saxonum*, the form of which bespeaks a simple age, will give us a better idea of their nature.

By it Godwine (the bridegroom) declares the agreement which he made with Byrhtic, when he wooed his daughter. First, he gave her a pound weight of gold when she was pleased to listen to his suit; and (secondly) he gave her the lands of Strete, and a hundred and fifty acres at Burward Marsh, with 30 oxen, 20 kine, 10 horses, and 10 born thralls, all which were to be the property of whichever of them lived the longest. The lady's guardians, witnesses, and pledges, are then enumerated, and the matter is declared to be publicly known to all the good men of Kent and Sussex, as well thanes as ceorles, and that there were three parts of the instrument, one of which was at Christ Church, another at Saint Augustine's, and the third was in Byrhtic's possession.

When Sir Toby Belch, in the spirit of his own time, professed himself ready to marry Maria, without asking any dowry but such another jest as fooling Malvolio, it was a special exception in her favour. Any other wife must bring him a dowry, and not expect one from him. But in this Anglo-Saxon marriage the dowry was given to, and not by the bride; and its value, indicative of the bridegroom's wealth and consequence, was very different from the wit which, under the circumstances, Sir Toby was willing to accept as a dowry with Maria. We almost smile incredulously, and can hardly realise the idea that amongst the settled property on Godwine's marriage there were ten of his fellow-creatures, men and women, of the class of which we have such a vivid

picture in "Ivanhoe," and who were hardly of more account than the beasts among which they are reckoned. But we may dismiss our incredulity, for men are the same in all ages. I have a will in my possession, made not long before negro emancipation, in which the testator, after a very pious exordium, gives the whole of his Jamaica properties, real and personal, with all his slaves thereon, and the issue of the female slaves thereof, unto his son Andrew and his heirs for ever; and then, stranger still, he directs his daughter Eliza to set free from all kind of bondage and slavery his slave Mary Cartwright and her daughter Lavinia, born in Liverpool, in the county of Lancaster, in England. This will bears date the 16th May, 1820.

Having seen how independent was the condition of woman in Anglo-Saxon times, let us now come to the period which succeeded it—the Norman invasion, an event which wrought changes in many of our institutions which were worse than the Conquest itself; changes which, but for the inherent vitality of habits once rooted in Anglo-Saxon soil, would have reduced female independence in England to something like an Oriental standard. If it had been possible, our Norman conquerors would have rooted out and destroyed the English language, and have substituted for it the new jargon which they had acquired since their settlement in France. But notwithstanding French was the language of the Court, and lawyers and ecclesiastics laboured hard to make it universal, the noble language which was destined to be Shakspeare's mother-tongue, and which is now spoken from the Atlantic to the Pacific, was not to be obliterated. It survived the trial, and came out purified and refined like silver from the refiner's fire.

Before they came to England, there was a notion among the conquerors in Normandy that no infant female heir ought to be allowed to marry, without the consent of the lord from whom her lands were held, lest she should happen to ally herself to her lord's enemy. This notion, an off-shoot, though not actually a part, of the law of feuds, they introduced into England; where a practice shortly grew up and prevailed amongst the lords, of selling their consent for money, until Henry I. attempted by his charter to restrain it, and forbade money to be taken for such consent, provided the ward were not married to the lord's enemy. This proviso opened a new door to the old abuse, for the lords always pretending that the husbands were their enemies, continued as before to extort money for their consent; to obviate which it was ordained by the great Charter at Runnymede that heirs should not be disparaged in marriage, nor be married without notice of the contract to the next of kin. Had the eyes which should have watched been wakeful, this provision might have proved effectual in repressing the evil it was designed to check; but on the renewal of the great charter in the next

reign, our ancestors were not sufficiently vigilant, and the protecting words requiring notice to the next of kin were omitted, whereupon the old evil came back with redoubled vigour. Now the king and the great lords,—not only pretended a right to control the marriage of their female wards, to which hitherto their interference had been confined,—but, encouraged by the loose wording of the charter, asserted an equal right to sell the marriage of every ward whether male or female. This right, which was shortly afterwards recognized by the Statute of Merton in 20th Henry III. remained in force for centuries, and while it continued exercised a most important influence on the social condition of England.

So long as the law of selling the marriage continued, the lord had the right to dispose of—for as much money as a jury would say was its value, or as any purchaser would *bona fide* give for it—the marriage of all such of his female wards as were under fourteen, and unmarried at the death of their ancestor; and of all such of his male wards as were under twenty-one, and unmarried at the same period. If the heir female refused such marriage as the lord tendered her, he was entitled to keep her lands for his own benefit until she attained sixteen: but if the infant heir male refused such marriage, he forfeited to the lord two years' full value of his lands; and thus a daring usurpation brought its usual consequences, and the law fell with double weight upon the infant male heir who was at first not subject to its provisions.

How fruitful in emolument these marriages were to the lord, and how in old times they led to cupidity of the worst description, a single instance may suffice to shew. The Earl of Lincoln gave Henry III. 3,000 marks, equivalent to about £30,000 of our present money, to have the marriage of Richard de Clare for Matilda, his eldest daughter. And so completely were these marriages accounted property, that they might be disposed of by the will of the owner. An instance we have in this passage from the will of Sir John Cornwall, (Ap. 16, 1554), "I bequeath to my son Richard my ward Margaret Lowthe, which I bought of my lord of Norfolk, to marry her himself if they both will be so contented; but if not, I will, that he shall have the wardship and marriage of her, with all the advantages and profits."* But the abuse would have been even greater, had not class feelings, and a regard to their own order, with the numerous ties of kindred existing among people of rank, operated to prevent that disparagement of unequal matches which our ancestors feared. Besides, in that age, money was scarce among any but landed men, and Tranio of Padua, when, to exalt his own consequence, he boasted that he could settle upon his wife, "three great

* Nicolas *Test. Vetusta* II. p. 715, London, 1826.

argosies, besides two galliases and twelve tight galleys," would have been unheeded by an acred squire or a proud baron.

The motives above alluded to, and some of the better feelings that have survived the fall, served to moderate the evils of these mercenary marriages, but did not remove them; and a prudent parent, foreseeing what might happen after his death, generally contrived to look out a suitable match and marry the heir during his lifetime. Their impatience to have the heir married, made parents overlook many difficulties and objections in their contracts for these marriages. Thus, Sir W. Venables, a Cheshire man, agreed that Thomas, his son and heir, on the Feast of the Nativity next ensuing, should marry Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Brereton; or, in case of her death before the marriage, such other daughter of the said Sir William as should be thereafter appointed: and in case of the death of the said Thomas, the son, before the said marriage, then such other son as should be the heir of the said Sir Thomas, should marry the said Elizabeth, or other daughter, and so from son to son, and daughter to daughter. Bargains like this shew sufficiently how anxious fathers were in those days of foreign and domestic war, so fatal to large numbers of the landed gentry, not to leave their heirs unmarried in the event of their being suddenly removed.

Diodorus tells us that in some Egyptian settlements there was a provision that the lady should always be the master. And I have a bachelor professional friend, who says that, on a countrywoman calling upon him to prepare her a marriage settlement, he ventured, as she was advanced in life and had lived unmarried so long, to ask her whether she was quite prepared to give up being her own mistress? She replied, very smartly, that her intended husband had agreed that she was to be mistress and master both—and that he must put that down in the writings. But while infants were united after the fashion of Thomas Venables and Elizabeth Brereton, there was no room for such provision as Diodorus mentions, or my friend's female client insisted on.

How the affections ever became reconciled in these matches, in which young people were united, without regard to temper, inclination, understanding, or mutual liking, we do not know; but if the result was happiness, it must have been owing to that alembic which surpasses the alchemist's, and which has the power of constantly educating good out of circumstances apparently the most untoward and unpromising. Nor was it the worst evil of this system that young people were thus coupled together without consulting their inclinations; for the practice induced a habit, which became almost universal, of marrying at an extremely early age. Isabella, the second wife of Richard II,

was affianced to him at seven, and was not twelve when she bore herself so like a woman and a queen in her husband's reverses, of which this city and neighbourhood was the earliest scene. Her mother, too, would have married Juliet,—whom, in that respect, Shakspeare drew as much from English as Italian ideas.—at the early age of fourteen. And Lord Campbell (*Chief Justices*, I. 185) has drawn attention to a well-known case in Dyer's Reports, where a husband of twelve years old dying, his wife was held entitled to her dower out of his land; and it was ruled, that if the wife were only nine years old, she would be entitled to her dower, even though the husband were but four years old. Montesquieu (*Esp. des Lois*, B. 26, c. 3) was wrong when, in reference to this state of things, he observed, that we had a law in England, which permitted girls of seven years old to choose a husband,—for choice was altogether out of the question; but he was very right when he said that the custom of such early marriages amongst us was shocking in two ways—for it had no regard to the time when nature gives maturity either to the body or the mind.

Our ancestors, indeed, seem to have anticipated age both in maturity and decay; for John of Gaunt, when little more than fifty, was always "Old John of Gaunt, time honoured Lancaster," and we have just seen how early they allowed children to be accounted men and women. In this latter respect, however, they were doubly inconsistent, for while they allowed them to be thought men and women at an earlier age than we,—holding a boy of fourteen, and a girl of twelve years, of age to consent to matrimony.—they yet treated them longer as children; and accordingly Clement Paston's mother, when he was sixteen, and after he had been some time at Cambridge, wrote to Mr. Greenfield, his tutor, to chastise him corporally for not attending to his learning, and "to belash him till he amend." (*Paston Letters*, cvii.)

To this evil of early marriages, and the little share the parties most interested had in choosing for themselves, we may perhaps ascribe the frequency of the crime of abduction in that age. In the sister island, this crime was not uncommon in our own time, and I suppose was not looked upon with much disfavour by an Irish jury; for once after a trial for this offence, before Mr. Chief Justice Bush, in the King's County,—where, though the evidence most clearly brought home the charge to the parties, the jury immediately acquitted them,—I remember his lordship leaning over the bench, and saying to the clerk below, "Mr. Clerk of the Crown, when I incline to commit an abduction, I will certainly come into the King's County to commit it."

In England, however, in mediæval times, this crime was common in a rank of life where it could hardly be heard of now. Instances abound, but I will mention only a few. In the 20th Edward III., Margerie

de la Beche was carried away from Beaumys, near Reading, and married to Sir John Dalton; and amongst the parties implicated in it were Sir Thomas de Ardern, of this neighbourhood, and Thomas Litherland, prior of Burscough, in Lancashire.*

On the 26th July, 11th Richard II., a Cheshire man, Thomas Vernon, the son of Sir Ralph Vernon, received the king's pardon for having forcibly carried away and married Margaret Caryngton, widow. In 15th Henry VI., dame Isabella Butler, having been forcibly carried away from Bewsey, and married by William Poole, of this neighbourhood, was rescued by Thomas Stanley, and brought and put in ward in this city.† And in 31st Henry VI. Joan Beaumont was siezed and forcibly carried away, against her will, by a band not less than forty persons.‡

This crime must have been looked upon with venial eyes; for notwithstanding its long and frequent occurrence, it was not until 3rd Henry VII. c. 2, that a statute was expressly passed to prevent it, and to punish the offenders.

In the times we have hitherto spoken of, the steps in the ladder of matrimony seem to have been four.

1st. A proposal between the parents; which, in the first instance, contrary to our modern notions, generally came from the friends of the lady, the parties most interested having, alas! nothing to do in the matter. If their consent was asked, it was merely nominal; so completely had a corrupt system enmeshed the landed and wealthy classes in its net work of vicious custom. The object was, of course, two-fold, to secure an advantageous alliance for the children, and to prevent their being put up to the highest bidder, in the event of the parents dying, leaving them unmarried.

2ndly. An agreement what the wife's dowry should be; which, as a general rule, was ten marks of annual rent in return for every one hundred marks of the bride's fortune,—a rule which seems to have been followed in the settlement which we are shortly to consider.

3rdly. Came the espousal, betrothal, or affiance,—a promise, in fact, of a future marriage to be afterwards performed. Some such espousal must have been in use in Jewish times: for the Blessed Virgin was the espoused wife of Joseph. In England, this frequently took place at a very early age, six or seven years old, or even earlier. In 16th Henry VII., Joan, sole daughter and heir of William Stanley, by Joan Massey, all Cheshire people, was married to John Ashton, at eight years old. Dulcia, the daughter of Sir John Massey, *tempore* Richard II.,

*"Archæological Institute's *Journal*," Vol. 14, p. 153.

† Rot. Parl. IV. 497.

‡ Ibid. V. 14 and 269.

was contracted to Peter Warburton, at five years old. And so late as 1613, Margaret Ireland was contracted, at nine years old, to Henry Byrom, of Byrom, in Lancashire, gentleman, a husband of the ripe age of four years. But, in 1622, this marriage was annulled, and she then became the wife of John Jeffreys, Esq., and mother of the two notorious judges of that name.

Before the year 1210, betrothals took place in the presence of witnesses. After that time they were required to be made before a priest, and in pursuance of banns: still later, in 1226, they took place in the church. These espousals are expressly mentioned in the charter we have to consider,—where, after troth plighted, and the dower given, the parties swore by heaven and all the saints there and in paradise (a distinction in the form which I do not understand) to take each other in marriage within forty days, if holy church would so permit: and some vestige of the old form remains in our service of marriage, where as a part of the ceremony, the parties are still called upon to plight their troth. Matilda, daughter of King Stephen, was troth plighted to Walleran, Earl of Mellan, in 1136;* and Bardolph told Nym that Quickly had used him ill in marrying Pistol, when she was previously troth-plighted to him. (Henry V. ac. ii. s. 1.)

4thly. There was the actual marriage which took place after the parties had attained the legal ages of consent; under seven, the marriage contract was void. After that age, the parties were competent to consent; and if afterwards, when the husband had attained fourteen, and the bride twelve, they did not disagree,—the marriage was complete,—and it required no further ceremony to make the parties lawful man and wife.†

In the play of Twelfth Night, Shakspeare, as Mr. Douce observes, has well distinguished between affiances or betrothals, and actual marriage; and has pointed out that the former were to be made before a priest, and in a consecrated place, and some other of the attendant circumstances. Thus, in the passage in which Olivia addresses Sebastian, and in the priest's reply to her subsequent question, we read:—

Now go with me and with this holy man
Into the chantry by: there *before* him,
And underneath that consecrated roof,
Plight me the full assurance of your faith,—
That my most zealous and too doubtful soul
May live at peace. He shall conceal it
Till you are willing it shall come to note:
What time we will our *celebration* keep
According to my birth.

* Mrs. Green's *Princesses* I. 191.

† Swinborne on Spousals—Gibson's Cod. I. Inst. 33,—II. Inst. 182.

This is the priest's answer to her appeal :

A contract of eternal bond of love,
Confirmed by mutual joinder of your hands ;
Attested by the holy close of lips ;
Strengthened by interchangement of your rings ;
And all the ceremony of this compact
Sealed in my function, by my testimony.

The presence of the priest at the subsequent marriage does not seem to have been necessary. An instance of such a marriage, which took place before the Hospitallers, at Clerkenwell, is described in Mr. Tomlins' *History of Islington*.*

After this rapid and imperfect sketch, drawn from Blackstone and other legal authorities, of the law which was in operation at that time, we come now to the settlement which is our immediate subject. The deed is in the form of an indenture, although no word has been bisected or cut through in making its teeth or indents,—“*instar dentium*,” at the top, which give such a deed its distinctive name. It is in that dialect of English which was written and spoken only a short time after the age of Chaucer, and its spelling would induce a belief that its scribe was either a Cheshire man or a Welsh borderer. *Die* is spelt “*dee*,” as it would be pronounced in Cheshire patois, and *she* is “*hir*,” as a Welshman would call it now ; *their* and *them* read respectively “*hor*” and “*hem*” ; while *after* is “*aftur*,” and *have* is “*hafe*.”

When this deed was made, it was common to have copies made in other languages besides English, and there were probably duplicates of this deed in Latin or Norman French. It bears date the Feast of St. Cuthbert, in the 10th of Henry VI., that is, on the twentieth of March, 1432, only a few years before the breaking out of the wars of York and Lancaster ; and from its never having had more than one seal, whose place remains,—but there is no seal to it now,—it was evidently Ralph Egerton's part of the deed. By the deed, Philip of Egerton and William his son and heir (not called apparent) on the one part, agree that the said William shall take to wife Margerie, the daughter of Ralph Egerton, of the Wryne, on the other part. Between a couple of the same family name a marriage could hardly be solemnized at that time without a papal dispensation, and no doubt one must have been thought necessary in this case. It is singular that though Sir John Egerton, the father of Philip, was living at this time, he is not made party to the settlement ; but the English were hard pressed in France at this juncture, and Sir John might possibly be engaged in the king's service either at home or abroad. It is stipulated that the marriage shall take place before the ensuing Feast of Whitsuntide, then only a few weeks distant ; and that the bridegroom and his father shall find

* *Athenæum*, 20th Feb., 1858, p. 233.

the array, (the wardrobe for his person), and the bride's father hers, or as the fashionable world would now call it, her trousseau. It is further agreed, that the bridegroom's father shall enfeoff two priests, William Hugynson and Richard Hawekyn, of lands in the Wich Malbank, of the yearly value of ten marks, and of other lands of the like yearly value in Chester,* and other places; which same priests were by their deed to give the said lands in the Wich Malbank, to the said William Egerton and Margerie, and the heirs of their bodies, with remainder to the right heirs of the said Philip; and as to the said lands in Chester and other places, they were to give the same to the said William, and the heirs male of his body, with remainder to the right heirs of the said Philip. For all which the said Philip and William were to become severally bound to the said Ralph in £100, with a condition on the said Philip's part, not to discontinue any lands, tenements, or reversions, that he had or might have, nor to do any act whereby such lands and reversions might not, on his decease, descend to the said William, except (outetaken) one portion of them of the yearly value of six marks, (eight shillings and sixpence, not an usual way of reckoning) whereof certain persons seized of the same were to make an estate, after the said Philip's decease, to Alice his wife, in allowance of her dower to which she was entitled in the lands specified, in the towns aforesaid. (The name of Alice, who must have been Philip's first wife, is first met with in this settlement. Her name has not hitherto appeared in any Egerton pedigree. Who she was does not appear; but judging by her dowry her fortune could not have been large.) And with a further condition on the part of the said William Egerton, not to make any estate in the lands aforesaid, either for life, in tail, or in fee, without the advice and assent of the said Philip and Ralph; and

* On the death of Sir John Egerton, he was found to have held the following property in Chester, which was no doubt part of the settled property, and it does not appear that he owned anything else here. The Inquisition runs thus:

CEST. xxxviij. Henry VI.

Johannes de Eggerton miles tenuit in dnico suo ut de feodo unu. mess. et unu. gardin. eidem adjacen. in Bridg-Street, civit Cest. juxta ecclesiam sancti Claudi.* de dno principe per svc. vijd ob. reddit camer. per ann. et per svc. inveniendi unu. judicatore. in Portmoto Cest. p oibs svc. et demand. et valet per ann.

CESTR.

[xiijs iiijd.

Tenuit unu. shoppa. in le Castle-Lane civit. Cest. de dco dno principe p. fid. tant. et valet per ann. iiij^s.

CEST.

Tenuit quindecim shoppas et quindecim gardina adjacen. in Foregate-Street de Johanne episcopo Cestr. p. svc. quinq. solid. p. ann. et sect. ad. cur. pdci epi. de tribus septiman. in tres septiman p. oibs aliis serviciis et demand. et valet per ann. iiij marcas.

Philippus Egerton, arm. filius et heres.

* Sic. in this Inquisition, but, in others, St. Olave's, which is no doubt the church meant.

The first of the three is the "Theology of the Cross" (Theologia Crucis). It is a theology of the Cross, of the suffering of Christ, of the suffering of the Church, of the suffering of the individual. It is a theology of the Cross, of the suffering of Christ, of the suffering of the Church, of the suffering of the individual. It is a theology of the Cross, of the suffering of Christ, of the suffering of the Church, of the suffering of the individual.

also with a further condition, that if the said Philip should die, leaving his said wife Alice surviving, she should not implead or vex the said William and Margerie, or their heirs, whereby they should be put to cost for the dower of the said Alice, in the lands and tenements in the towns aforesaid. And for having the said marriage in the form aforesaid, the said Ralph agreed to pay the said William 200 marks, that is to say, on the day of the espousals, £20, whereupon the said William was to give him an acquittance for a hundred marks; and another acquittance for the said £20. And he agreed before the said espousals to give the said William his written obligation to pay him ninety marks, as follows, viz.: ten marks on the Feast of St. Martin then next; other ten marks on the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist then next; and other ten marks yearly on every other of the said feasts, until the said sum of ninety marks were fully paid. And each of them, the said Philip and William, thereby became bound to the said Ralph in the sum of one hundred pounds, to be paid to him within one month after (aftur) the failure of either of them to perform the covenants thereby entered into on his part. In witness whereof, it is declared that to one part of the^a said indenture remaining (abyding) with the said Philip and William, the said Ralph had set his seal; and to another part remaining with the said Ralph, the said Philip and William had set theirs.*

The deed, which I have now gone through, may be taken as a type of the settlements which were common both at the time when it bears

* We append a copy of the Settlement at length, from the original in the possession of Sir Philip Grey Egerton, Bart., M.P. A photographic fac-simile, one-fourth the size of the document itself, appears as an illustration to the present Paper.

"Thes endentures, made in the feste of Seint Cutbert, the yere of the regne of Kyng Henry the sext, aftur the conqueste the tente, Witteneseth that Phelip of Egerton, of Egerton, and William his sone and heir on that on party, is agreeet and shall take to his Wyfe Margerie the doghter of Rauf of Eggerton of the Wryne on that other party, betwene this and the feste of Whitsontyte next for to folowe the date abowesaide, and the foresaide Phelip and William all the coste of aray touchyng the person of the foresaide William, agaynes the said mariage to be made, shall bere and pay fore. And the foresaide Rauf all the coste of aray, touchyng the person of the foresaide Margerie agaynes the saide mariage to be made, shall bere and pay fore. Also the said Phelip shall enfeffe be dede of a swre and a lawfull astate William Hugynson and Rycharde Hawekyn, prestes, in londes and tenementz in the in the (sic) Wyche Mabank of yerely valu of v marcs ouer all yerely charges and reprises, and the saide William Hugynson and Rycharde of a swre and lawfull astate in londes and tenementz in Chestur and other places of yerely valu of x marcs ouer all yerely charges and reprises, to hafe and to holde to the saide William Hugynson and Rycharde and to her (sic) heires for euer more, wyth the clause of warantee acordyng the wheche prestes so seised shull yeve by her dede all the saide londes in the saide toune of the saide Wyche Mabanke liyng, to the said William

date, and for a considerable period before and afterwards. It is no objection to it that it does not state the age of the bride and bridegroom, though that was frequently done; or that neither Philip Egerton (the elder) the then possessor of the Egerton estates, nor his son Sir John, is named in it, for one or both of them might then be absent on the king's affairs, (nor that the bridegroom is styled heir, and not, according to correct phraseology, heir apparent, for that was

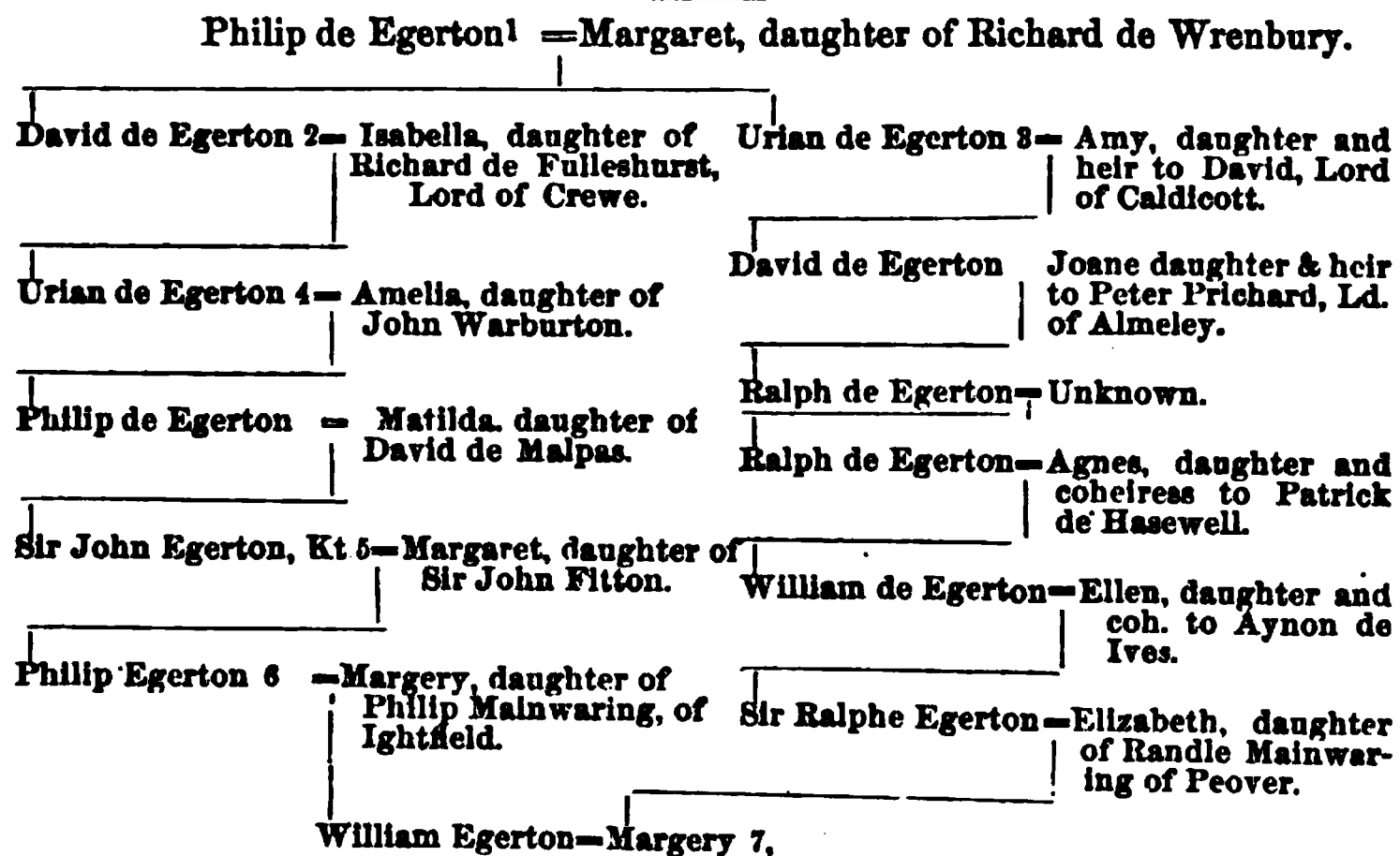
of Eggerton and Margerie, and to the heires of her too bodies lawfully begeton. And for default of yssu be twyx the foresaide William of Eggerton and Margerie hadde, the remyndre to the ryght heires of the foresaide Phelip. And also the saide prestes shall yeve be her dede all the said londes in the said toune of Chestre and other places, to the saide William of Eggerton and to the heires male of his body lawfully begeton, and for defaute of yssu male of the body of the saide William of Eggerton lawfully begeton; the remayndre to the ryght heires of the foresaide Phelip. On this the saide Phelip and William of Egerton shall be bounden in her obligacion severaly in c li to the said Rauf, opon condicion that the saide Phelip shall not discontynu no londes ne tenementz, ne the revercion of no londes ner tenementz that the saide Phelip hath or may haue in tyme comyng, ne non other thyng do, by the wheche thoo londes tenementz or revercions vn charget, alient, of discontynuet be his dede aftur his dissesse myght not descende to the saide William of Eggerton and to his heires, outetaken for to make demyse to certein persons of londes of his other lyvelode to the valu of vi marcs viij^s & vid be yere; the wheche certen persons so seiset shall make astate aftur the dissesse of the saide Phelip to Alice, wyfe of the saide Phelip, in alovaunce of hir dower, the wheche hir oght for to haue in the londes specefyt in the tounes beforesaide; and also opon condicion that the saide William of Eggerton shall make non astate in ne londes beforesaide for terme of lyve, in fee or in fee taile, wyth oute the avice and ascende of the saide Phelip and Rauf. And also opon condicion that yf so be the saide Phelip dee lyving his saide wyfe, Alice that then the saide Alice shall not enplede nor vex the saide William of Eggerton, ne Margerie, ne her heires, by the wheche thay shuld be put to coste for the dower of the saide Alice in the londes and tenementz in the touns beforesaide. For the wheche marriage, in the fourme beforesaide to be hadde, the said Rauf shall pay to the saide William of Eggerton cc. marcs, that ys to say, the day of the espovseles betwene the saide William of Eggerton and Margerie xx li; and then the saide William of Eggerton shall deliuer a sufficient acquitance of the receyet of c. marcs, and a nother sufficient acquitance of the receyet of the saide xx li; And afore the said espovsoles the saide Rauf shall deliver to the saide William of Eggerton a obligacion of xx iiij x (90) marcs for to be payed to the saide William of Eggerton or to his executors, that ys to say, in the feste of Seint Martyn nexte for to folowe the date abovesaide x marcs, and in the feste of the Nativitee of seynt John the Baptiste then next for to folowe other x marcs, and so forth yerely at every saide feste x marcs, tyll the saide summe of xx iiij x marcs be fully performet and truly payed. And to all thes covenantes on the parte of the foresaide Phelip and William of Eggerton well and truly for to be performet, the foresaide Phelip and William of Eggerton and either of hem bynden home by this present wrytyng to the foresaide Rauf in c li, for to be payed to the foresaide Rauf wyth in a monythe aftur the tyme that one or any of hem perfourme not the covenantes on her part or any of her party. And to all thes covenantes of the party of the

sometimes overlooked;) nor that for the first time in the Egerton pedigree we meet with the mention in this settlement of Alice, the first wife of Philip Egerton the younger, for such discoveries are constantly occurring when old deeds are for the first time disinterred.

But on other grounds to which I shall now advert, we shall, I fear, arrive at the conclusion, that this settlement is *spurious*! At the time of its date, as the subjoined sketch shews,* Philip Egerton the elder, the

saide Raufe well and truly to be performet, the saide Raufe byndethe hym to the said Phelip and William of Eggerton in c li. for to be payed to the saide Phelip and William of Eggerton wyth in a monythe aftur the tyme that the foresaide Rauf performe not the covenannt or any of the covenauundes beforesaide. In Wittenes of the wheche thyng the foresaide Rauf to the parte of this endenture to the foresaide Phelip and William of Eggerton abydyng hath sette his seale. And to y^e parte of this endenture to the saide Raufe abydyng, the foresaide Phelip and William of Eggerton haue sette hor seales. Yeven the yere and day abovesaide."

***PEDIGREE OF WILLIAM AND MARGERY EGERTON.**



¹ Philip de Egerton was Sheriff of Cheshire, 23rd and 24th of Edward 1st.

² David de Egerton was Sheriff of Cheshire 5th of Edward II., and 7th of Edwd. III.

³ Urian de Egerton, second son of Philip, was Lord of Caldicott in right of his wife, and ancestor of the Egertons of Betley and Wrinehill.

⁴ Urian de Egerton altered the armorial bearings of his ancestors, by changing the tinctures and adding to his 3 pheons "a lion rampant, gules," as now used. The antient bearings of the Egertons being "gules, 3 pheons' heads argent."

⁵ Sir John Egerton, Kt. was slain at the memorable battle fought on Blore Heath, Sept. 23, 1459, between Lord Audley, General for King Henry VI., and Richard Nevil, Earl of Salisbury, on the side of Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York.

⁶ Philip Egerton had three sons. William the eldest died s.p.; John, the second son succeeded to the estates and by marriage with Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Hugh Done, of Oulton, became possessed of the Oulton estates. Ralph, the third son, was joint escheator of Cheshire with Roger Mainwaring, July 7th, 1st Henry VIII. and ranger of Delamere Forest, 6th Henry VIII., being then one of the gentlemen ushers of the King's chamber. He received the honour of Knighthood from King Henry in 1513, for his conduct at the battle of the Spurs, and the sieges of Terouenne and Tournay; and in the following January he had the grant of the office of Standard Bearer of England for life, with the salary of £100 per annum. The manor of Ridley, which became forfeited to the Crown by the attainder of Sir William Stanley, was granted to him as a reward for taking the French Standard at Tournay. He was ancestor of the Egertons of Ridley, and grandfather of Lord Chancellor Egerton.

⁷ Hugh, the elder brother of Margery, built the residence of Wrinehill.

great grandfather of the bridegroom, was in possession of the family estates, and his son and heir apparent, John, afterwards Sir John Egerton, was also living. At first, it seems strange that neither of them was party to this settlement, but it will appear still stranger, on comparing dates, if they were. The inquisition on the death of Philip Egerton the elder, Sir John's father, taken in 24th Henry VI. (1446) finds that his son Sir John was his heir, and was then aged thirty-five, gives 1411 as the year of his birth, and makes him to have been just twenty-one, in 1432, when this settlement was made,—far too young for him to be a grandfather, much less the grandfather of a marriageable grandson. Again, upon Sir John's death, after the battle of Blore, in which he fell fighting for King Henry, in 38th Henry VI. (1459) his inquisition finds that Philip (the younger) was his son and next heir, and was then of the age of twenty-six, according to which, he was born in 1443, exactly one year after the settlement to which he is party, and by which he professes to marry his son. Nor is this all, for on the death of this last Philip, in 13th Edward IV. (1473) at which time his son William, the bridegroom, was dead, it was found by inquisition that John, his son and next heir, was then of the age of fifteen years, which would make him to have been born in 1460, or about thirty years after the date of the settlement made on his brother William's marriage. It is possible that some or all the inquisitions may be wrong to the extent of a year or two, but no allowable discrepancy will suffice to reconcile their dates with the date of the settlement, and it is beyond the power of miracle even to make a man the father of a marriageable son a year before his own birth.

There does not appear the same conflict and discrepancy in the inquisitions of the Egertons of Wryne. That on Sir Ralph, the bride's father, in 31st Henry VI. (1452) finds that his son and next heir, Hugh, was then of the age of twenty-six, which would make him about six years old at the date of the settlement, an age which it is probable enough might be about the age of his sister Margerie, at the time when she was a bride.

But, although for the reasons above given, I must reject the settlement as spurious,* a marriage such as that contemplated, and between the parties mentioned in it, though not at the time alledged,

* In the 10th year of Henry Duke of Lancaster, the duke pardoned Agnes del Birches for producing before the Justices a forged Charter of lands in Astley. (Baines' *Lancashire*, Vol. i. p. 348.) And I have in my possession an indictment of 49th Edward III., in which Thomas le Par and Matilda Legh were indicted for forging a settlement of lands.—Sir Edward Dering's beautiful collection of Charters abounds with forgeries of an old date, which severely tax the skill of the antiquary.

must actually have taken place, as is proved by the Cheshire records. Amongst these there is an inquisition on "Margerie, who was the wife of John Lane, and late the wife of William Egerton," which finds that she died on Thursday next after the Feast of St. Thomas the Apostle, in 15th Edward IV. (1475) and that she held a messuage and land in Hole, and thirteen messuages in Nantwich, "with the reversion to John Egerton, son and heir of Philip Egerton, son of Sir John Egerton, Knight, and brother and heir of the said William." But, although I feel that the settlement is not genuine, I am far from thinking that Alice was not the name of Philip Egerton's first wife, and the mother of his son William; though she was certainly not the mother of his son John, as the inquisition on his wife Margerie shews, where he is expressly called the son of Margerie. I am inclined to believe also, that the deed was a contemporary forgery, and had its origin in those troublesome times, when the crown was so often in hazard that treason lay in every man's path; and that the object of the forgers was the hope, by its means, to secure some provision for Alice or Margerie, or the issue of the latter, in the event of any unfortunate reverse befalling the house of Egerton. But the mistake in the date, the confusion in the arithmetic, and some other circumstances, shew the deed to have been the work of clumsy forgers.

Notwithstanding, however, its surreptitious character, the charter we have been considering may be taken as an example of the form of a marriage settlement, at a time when the state of the existing law compelled our forefathers to resort to these early marriages, as a means of protecting their children from falling into the hands of strangers, and being disposed of without regard to any consideration but money. We have all heard the old phrase of "begging a man for a fool," which arose out of a practice, once common but now out of use, where a greedy courtier sought from the crown the grant of an idiot's or lunatic's lands, under the pretence of taking care of them, but in reality to enrich himself thereby. But this kind of begging was a matter of constant recurrence in the case of the marriage of infant wards. When the Earl of Cumberland lay on his death bed, five days before he died, the old Earl of Bedford wrote to Queen Elizabeth,* supplicating Her Majesty to grant him the marriage of the dying earl's son, that he might marry him to his daughter; and his request having been granted, the parties were married at a very youthful age, and abundant unhappiness was the result. The Queen's immediate successor, James I., to whom history has done but scant justice, was alive to the hardship of the sale of marriages, and the evils resulting therefrom; and he formed

* Whittaker's *History of Craven*, p. 265.

a wise plan for removing them, and the system of which they were a part, and which were become so unsuited to the country and the age. Circumstances, however, did not then permit his Majesty to carry out his design, and accordingly the evil continued unredressed until the close of the usurpation; when one of the first acts of the restored monarch was to give his assent to a bill in Parliament, which swept away the feudal system, including of course, the practice of selling young people's hands without their hearts, and this, as some one observes, both increased our liberty, and improved our morals.

It is one advantage of looking back into the past, that it enables us to see whether our career has been retrograde, or, "like the eagle's flight, bold and forth on;" and sometimes from what has been done, to shew what more remains to be attempted, and how it may be best achieved. Our short enquiry has shewn us that in old times in the matter of matrimony, young people were not masters of their own wills, but that thanks to justice and humanity, the evil which so long afflicted our social system, is departed—both sexes are emancipated—and women have assumed their proper place; so that a poet of the last age, speaks of England as

The country where Italians wise
Have placed the women's Paradise.

In every country domestic life reflects the image of its civilization. We have seen that legislators have the power to influence it, and that they have sometimes influenced it for evil by means which had no such intention. It may be so influenced again, and willing as we all should be that they who have no share in the representation should have their rights guarded with a double vigilance, we should be careful lest, either by a want of sufficient watchfulness, or by a mistaken chivalry, we introduce into English domestic life an element which shall render it unlike itself, by giving it more likeness to that which prevails among some of our neighbours. I feel, I confess, some alarm lest, by yielding to the recent outcry for the rights of women, we should lessen the oneness of domestic life in England, and assimilate it to the standard of our lively neighbours; among whom a constant division of interests seems to produce a division of hearts, and where, while married couples are outwardly more ceremonious and polite in their intercourse, they are neither as united nor as loyal to each other as in our own happier country.

1. FROM A CHAP BOOK. LATTER PART OF 17th CENT OR EARLY PART OF 18th

2.

3

2000-10-10 (1000 1000)

2 DUCKING STOOL PRESERVED AT IPSWICH.

3. D^o

D^o KING'S LYNN (FROM A DRAWING IN
THE BRITISH MUSEUM. ADD MSS 22034)

DUCKING STOOL
IN THE MUSEUM
AT SCARBOROUGH.

On Obsolete Punishments, With particular reference to those of Cheshire.

BY MR. T. N. BRUSHFIELD.

PART II.

The Cucking Stool and Allied Punishments.

TH E class of punishments embraced under the above title, is one which, having its origin in remote times, and playing by no means an unimportant part in the manners and customs of the English people through several successive centuries, has become obsolete, almost within the memory of the oldest inhabitant.

Amongst modern writers, there appears to be great difference of opinion as to whether the various punishments treated of in this Paper were of a different nature, requiring a separate machine for the infliction of each, (such being the view taken by Mr. Jewitt¹ and Mr. Carrington²;) or whether they were varieties or modifications of the same form of punishment. This view is entertained by Mr. T. Wright³,—to whose opinion I strongly incline, for reasons presently to be adduced.

The cause of the discrepancy is four-fold:—the first being due to some modifications in the form of the machine at different periods, or even at the same period in different counties; the second, to the circumstance that whilst in some districts, several machines were employed for inflicting the various forms of punishment, in others only one was used: the third, to the confusion owing to the different synonymes that have been employed; and the fourth, to the occasional (and during the last two or three centuries, the general) termination by ducking the offender.

¹ *The Reliquary*, (Bemrose and Sons, Derby,) vol. i. p. 145.

² *Wilts Archæological Magazine*, vol. i. p. 68.

³ *Archæological Album*, p. 49.

The most simple definition of the punishment, and the one open to the least objection, is, that "it was a machine, either fixed or moveable, for the purpose of exposing certain classes of delinquents to the public gaze; the punishment being looked upon as infamous, and frequently, more especially in one particular class of cases, terminating in the operation of ducking the person over head and ears in water."¹

Perhaps no form of punishment has received a greater variety of appellations than the one now under notice, and whilst some express the form of the machine, or the uses to which it was put, others bear reference to the nature of the offence attempted to be corrected by it.

The most common name by which it was known in this country, was that of *Cucking Stool*. The earliest employment of this term dates from about the latter part of the 12th century, and its derivation has given rise to much conjecture. According to Lord Coke,² "*Cuck*, or *guck*, in the Saxon tongue, signifieth to scold or brawl, (taken from the bird cuckoo or guckhaw,) and *ing* in that language signifieth water; because a scolding woman was, for her punishment, soused in the water." Hickes derived it "from *coquina*, anciently *cockaigna*, signifying an idle jade, a base woman;" in the Sandwich records it is termed the "coqueen" stool. Johnson, and also Jamieson,³ incline to derive it from Kaak "a Dutch pillory, being an iron collar fastened to a post or any other high place," (Teutonic, *Kaecke*; ancient Swedish, Kaak; Danish, Kaag.) It has been suggested that it received its name⁴ "from cucking or tossing the culprit up and down in and out of the dirty water." *To cuck a bull* is "a common phrase among children in Warwickshire, and synonymous with 'tossing it';" and according to Halliwell, "to cuck" signifies in the North, "to cast, to throw." Skinner⁵ believes it to be a corruption of 'ducking' stool. Mr. Merryweather⁶ suggests that it was originally written "cockqueane," being partly derived from 'queane', a scolding or disorderly woman, and bases his opinion upon some entries in the records of the county of Middlesex: this is the only example I have met with of the word being spelt in this manner. But all these assigned origins must give place to that mentioned in '*Promptorium Parrulorum*' (edited by Mr. A. Way)⁷ where it is indisputably proved to be the Saxon *cuckyn* (stercus);

1 Brand's definition in *Popular Antiquities* is too limited.

2 Three Inst. 219, quoted in Burns' *Justice of the Peace*—vide also Stephens' *Commentaries*, vol. iv. p. 336.

3 Quoted in Johnson's *Dictionary*.

4 *Scottish Dictionary*. 2 Supplement to *Scottish Dictionary*.

5 *Etymologia Linguae Anglicanae*.

6 *Gentleman's Magazine* for December, 1860.

7 In art. "esyn, cukkyng, cukstoke, kukstole."

and this is further borne out by the title given to it in the earliest authentic mention of it, viz., in Cheshire Domesday Book, where it is termed 'Cathedra stercoris'. (In corporation and other records, extracts from works, &c., I have found the following modifications of the word :—Cock, kock, kocke, coke, cook, cooke, coock, cockle, cocking, cockling, coking, cokying, coqueen, cockqueane, cuc, cuk, kuk, cuck, cucke, cux, cuckold, cuckyng, cuckling.)

Since the latter part of the 17th century, it has been more generally known by the name of *Ducking stool*: both terms are, however, frequently found in the same record.

Amongst the Saxons, it was known as a *scealfing stol* (from *scealfor*, a diver) signifying literally a *ducking stool*. In the Southampton records¹ it is termed a *scolding stool*. In Worcester,² it was known as *gum* or *goome stool*, (from *gum*, insolence); and in Montgomery,³ as a *goging stool* (from *gog*, a bog) "properly a gonging stool, gong stool, or gang stool" (a close stool, A.S.).⁴ In Gloucester,⁵ it was called *curst stool* ("costolle"). In the '*Vision of Piers Plowman*' it is alluded to as a *pinning stool*. In the records of Waterbeach, Cambridgeshire,⁶ it is termed a *bucking stool*, (from *buck*, to wash.) It has also been known as a *choaking stool*, ("quia", says Skinner, "hoc modo demersæ aquis fere suffocantur"); and according to James Neild, the philanthropist,⁷ this was its Cheshire name; (though this seems to be doubted by Mr. Brooke, in the *Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society's Journal*, vol. 4, p. 136.)

I have also met with the name of *swingling stool*, but have unfortunately lost the reference. In the Statutes, it is occasionally spoken of as a *castigatory*.

In the Statutes, manorial claims, and law books, it is usually alluded to as a *tumbrel* or *trebuchet*.

1 Quoted by T. Wright in the *Winchester Volume* of the British Archaeological Association.

2 Noake's *Worcester*.

3 Blount's *Tenures*, p. 150.

4 *Lansdown MSS.*, 1033, quoted in *Promptorium Parvulorum*.

5 *Archæologia*, vol. 35.

6 The Rev. W. K. Clay, of Waterbeach, kindly at my request re-examined the Manor Rolls, and corroborated the spelling of the word; otherwise I was inclined to think that in transcribing, a B might have been accidentally substituted for C. Buck is an archaism signifying to wash, hence the word *buck-basket*, the linen basket in which Falstaff was hidden. Hence, also, one assigned origin of the name of the celebrated Derbyshire watering place, Buxton. "The *Buck* or *Bucking Stones*, meant simply rocks that were frequented as they are now, for the purposes of bathing."—Glover's *History of Derbyshire*, vol. ii. p. 172.

7 *Gentleman's Magazine* for December, 1803.

The term *tumbrel* has been in common use in England for several centuries, and is still employed in the North, to express a rough country cart, without springs, on two wheels, unloaded by being thrown back, and employed principally to carry dung¹. Its origin is from the Gallic *tomber*, to fall back; hence the modern French *tombereau* is a dung cart, as distinguished from *charrette*, the ordinary cart. Du Cange quotes this from the *Chronicon Fland.*: "Henri of Maltrait was led by the cross roads of Paris in a car or dung cart, (*venel ou tombereau*), &c." Hence also Dryden,

"My corpse is in a *tumbril* laid, among
The filth and ordure, and inclos'd with dung."

Again, Evelyn, in his diary, under date Oct. 2, 1641, writes, "With a gentleman of the Rhyngroves, I went in a cart, or tumbrel, (*for it was no better*; no other accommodation could be procured) of two wheels and one horse to Bergen-op-Zoom." The same term has been used to denote a warlike engine, an ammunition waggon, and in one of Beaumont and Fletcher's plays, as a boat unfit for sailing. In documents it is found spelled in a variety of ways; thus—tumbrel, tumbril, tumberel, tumbler, (slang), tymborella, tomerel.

The *trebuchet* was a military engine, consisting of a long pole working upon an axis, which divided the pole into two arms of unequal length, the shorter one having at its end a box weighted with stones, whilst at the other extremity was a sling, which, being charged with a stone or heavy missile, the pole was released and swung round on its axis, discharging the stone, (*vide Plate.*) In form and arrangements was very similar to some forms of the Cucking Stool. In documents it is also alluded to as *trebget*, *trepget*, *trobothecum*, *trewettum*, *trobothetum*, *trebuch*, *tribucket*, *terbichetum*.

Lastly it is occasionally mentioned as a *thew* (thewe, tew, theaue), most probably derived from the A.S. *thew*, servile, expressive of the degrading character of the punishment.

There is good reason for believing that the engine of punishment was, in its infancy, and until the 15th century, generally an ordinary tumbrel or dung cart, in which the person was placed and drawn through the streets of the town, the main difference between it and the pillory, consisting in the latter being a fixture. In the early and middle ages, "to be carried about in a cart was always considered as especially disgraceful; probably because it was thus that malefactors were usually conducted to the gallows." In the early romances of the cycle of King Arthur,² "we have an incident which forms an apt illus-

¹ There is a good representation of one in Hone's *Every Day Book*, vol. 2, p. 242.

² In the poem called *Lu Charette* or *The Cart*, written in the 13th century.



4.

Engelhardt (Paris 1840).

1. **MILITARY TREBUCHET.**

A.D. 1339

2. **DUCKING STOOL** FROM JPLINE'S 'ACADEMY OF ARMORY'

17th CENT.

3. **D°** FROM GAY'S 'JEFFERSONS WEEK'

1714.

4. **D°** AT WORTHING, FROM WILTS ARCHAEOL. MAG.

CIRCA 1776

tration of the prevalence of this feeling. Sir Lancelot, when rescuing his lady, Queen Guenever, has the misfortune to lose his horse, and meeting with a carter, he seizes his cart as the only means of conveyance, for the weight of his armour prevented him from walking. Queen Guenever and her ladies, from a bay window of the castle of Sir Meliagraunce, saw him approach, and one of the latter exclaimed, 'See, madame, where as rideth in a cart a goodly armed knight! I suppose that he rideth a hanging.'¹

From the 15th century, as the punishment of ducking came into more common use amongst one particular class of offenders, a modification of the ordinary tumbrel or cart began to be more frequently employed, thereby facilitating the administration of the punishment, and causing less danger to the delinquent. And whilst, in some places, the old machine served all, or nearly all the purposes of the old one;² in others, as the new one was made a fixture by the side of some pool or stream, it became still necessary to retain the moveable tumbrel or cart, so as to carry prisoners to the place of execution, or to the fixed cucking stool, or to cart delinquents through the town, so that their persons might be known. In the latter case, papers were frequently affixed to their heads or breasts, stating the cause of their offence, &c.; and in addition public attention was more prominently obtained by persons preceding the vehicle, and making a noise by tinkling bells or ringing basins (the brass basins formerly used by the barbers) and occasionally even by minstrels. Although special machines began to be commonly resorted to in the 15th century, yet we do not possess any representations or any specimens of an earlier date than the 17th century; but from the general description in corporation and other records, there is no doubt that the forms were almost identical. The majority appear to have been fixtures, of which the Worthing specimen may be looked upon as the type (*vide plate*) and the following the general description:—A post was firmly imbedded in the earth by the side of a pond—attached to it by a pivot, so that it could be worked up and down with a see-saw movement, was a long pole or beam, (a ladder like frame appears to have been employed at Chester and Canterbury), to one end of which a chair or seat was fixed; whilst at the opposite extremity there was a chain which served the two fold purpose of securing the pole to a second post when not required

1. T. Wright, in *Art Journal* for August, 1860, p. 240. Also in *Journal of British Archæological Association* for October, 1849, under "Remarks on an Ivory Casket of the 14th century," one of the accompanying illustrations representing Sir Lancelot in the cart.

2. *Vide* extract from Leicester Records in 15th century.

for use, or for lowering the chair end into the water. In some instances the pole could be swung horizontally, so that the delinquent might be the more easily forced into the chair and bound in it, and then it was swung back to its position over the water. When ducking formed part of the sentence, the officer in charge of the machine lowered the chair with its occupant into the water, and raised it again by means of the chain.¹

Many of these were moveable, by having wheels (generally two) attached to them, in which case the machine, with its occupant, could be wheeled about the town; and, if ducking was to form part of the punishment, it was backed into a pond or stream, the long shafts let go, and then recovered again by means of ropes attached to them—of this form, that at Wootton Bassett may be looked upon as a good example; those at Southampton, Warwick, Gravesend, and Lyme Regis appear to have been of similar form. The one employed in the 16th century at Kingston-on-Thames, and that still preserved in the church at St. Mary's, Warwick, had three wheels; the first evidently for the purpose of guiding the machine. The one used at Leominster, and still in existence, has four wheels, as seen in our illustration.

In some places, as at Chester, Leicester, and Canterbury, notices both of the fixed and of the moveable kind are alluded to in the records. The Chester one appears to have been at first a fixture, and to have been made moveable at a subsequent date by the addition of wheels.

Occasionally, as at Warrington, Cambridge, Scarborough, Plymouth, and Derby, the ducking chair was suspended by a rope or chain from a bridge or pierhead, and lowered into the water. In other instances the chair was suspended from a beam working on an elevated axis, as at Macclesfield, Ipswich, and probably Banbury, Worcester, and King's Lynn.²

The chair or seat in some cases was so fixed that the occupant faced the spectators, in others it was reversed; of the former, the Manchester, Wootton Bassett, Chester, and Leominster specimens were examples: the one at Worthing was an example of the latter, as also the one figured in Gay's *Pastorals*.

It is, I believe, due to the circumstance of the two terms *Tumbrel* and *Cucking Stool* being in use at the same period, which has led to the belief that they were originally and essentially dissimilar forms of punishment. In the eleventh and succeeding three or four centuries, the Norman-French terms of *tumbrel* or *trebuchet* would naturally be

1 *Vide* plate of Manchester ducking stool.

2 And the example figured in a chap book, and copied in one of the accompanying plates.

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DUCKING STOOL reserved in LEONMINSTER CHURCH. (from an original sketch)

Three Wheeled Carriage for supporting the Ducking Chair,
preserved in St. Mary's Church, Warwick.

Cucking Stool and Pillory, in Rye Church, Sussex.

used in all official documents and records; and accordingly we find one or other of these terms employed in the majority of manorial claims, and in all statutes and law books. Whereas amongst those classes of the community who clung with fondness to the language of their forefathers, the Saxon term *Cucking Stool* appears almost always to have been used, for instance, in the political songs of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.¹ True, the apparent exception to this is the term *Cathedra Stercoris*, which is referred to in the Domesday Book as a Saxon punishment; but it must be remembered that this was merely a Latin translation of a Saxon term, and rather serves to prove the correctness of the view just stated. From and after the 15th century, the identity of the meaning of the two terms is easily proved, *e.g.*, in *The whole Office of the Country Justice of Peace*, published in 1652, "Cucking Stool or 'Tumbrel" is mentioned. Blount, in his *Tenures* (edition of 1679) alludes to the Saxon term as "antiently Tumbrel or Trebuchet"; and in the *Glossographia Angl. Nova* (2nd edition published in 1719) is the entry "Tumbrel was formerly what we now call a Cucking Stool."

Mr. Carrington² was of opinion that the terms *tumbrel* and *trebuchet* denoted "different instruments," the former "being moveable, and upon wheels, the trebuchet being permanently fixed on a short post at the side of the village pond." But there is scarcely a necessity for such a division, nor is it at all clear that they were originally different, as in the various copies of the "Statute of the Pillory and Tumbrel" of Henry the Third's reign, amongst the Harl. MSS., either term is used indiscriminately. Bailey, Comyn, and Jacob, allude to the two terms as identical. Moreover, none of those machines which were suspended from a bridge, &c., could, strictly speaking, come under either definition.

Mr. Kelly³ found in the borough accounts of Leicester some payments for a "Scolding Cart," which he believed was different from the Cucking Stool in "having wheels." But the term is evidently only another synonym for the Cucking Stool, and Mr. Kelly's opinion as to the latter not having wheels, is erroneous. It may be remarked that at Southampton it was called a Scolding Stool.

The term *Thew* requires a distinct notice, as there appears to be a great probability that it served as a name for two distinct forms of punishment. We do not possess any authentic account of this term having been employed earlier than the 14th or later than the early

¹ In "Piers Plowman" the Saxon term *pinning stool* is employed.

² *Wilts' Archaeological Magazine*, vol. i. p. 70.

³ *Ancient Records of Leicester*, p. 50.

part of the 16th century ; and there is strong reason for believing that it was confined to certain localities, and soon fell into disuse. In the 17th century, Randle Holme¹ termed it "a ould word."

The earliest notice of it that I have found is in the year 1350,² when the Abbot of Vale Royal in Cheshire had to show cause why he claimed amongst other of his manorial privileges, the right of punishing by the "Collistrigium, *Thew* et *Tumbrel*."

In the *Liber Albus* of the city of London are several entries concerning the *thew*, relative to which the learned editor, Mr. Riley, remarks that "in the city it would seem to have been the name of a peculiar kind of pillory, used not only for females, but sometimes for males as well."³ I ventured to express a doubt as to the correctness of this opinion, when that gentleman very courteously forwarded to me the following extract from Letter Book II. fol. 21, (about A.D. 1375) explanatory of the entry "Judicium de *Thewe* quia *Jurgatrix*" at p. 103 of "*Liber Albus*:" "Quod ipsa est communis *jurgatrix*—quod habeat judicium *collistrigii* vocata "*le thewe*" pro mulieribus ordinati, super idem moratura per spatium unius horæ."⁴

In *Promptorium Parvulorum* it is defined as "pylory, collistrigium" and in this respect accords with the London example. In 1427, the term occurs in the Manorial Records of Waterbeach, Cambridgeshire; and in the following century it is alluded to in the Ipswich records. The definition given by Du Cange is that of an ordinary ducking stool, and there are several illustrative instances of the period of the 16th century, in some manorial claims in Harl. MS., No. 2115, wherein it is thus defined, "judicium de *Thewe* hoc est ponere eas (*i.e.* *rixatores*) super quoddam scabellum a cokynstole."

I now pass on to give, in chronological order, an account of the Cucking Stool, from the earliest times to the commencement of the present century.

1 In his MS. Index of Harleian MS., 2115.

2 *Vide* Harleian MSS., 2115. p. 135.

3 Introduction to *Liber Albus*, p. 99. The original work was compiled A.D. 1419, by John Carpenter, Clerk of the City of London, and is still preserved in the Guildhall. Under the editorship of Mr. Riley, it has recently appeared in the important series of historical works published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. Carpenter was one of the executors of the will of the celebrated Sir Richard Whittington.

4 Though here termed the *collistrigium*, yet it is tolerably evident that it was not the common pillory. It is not a little singular, that all through *Liber Albus*, there is no allusion to the punishment of the *tumbrel*. May not the London *thew* have been some modification of the ordinary *tumbrel*

CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT (ENGLAND).

Early period to 12th century.—Whatever the primary origin of this punishment may have been, it appears that it is almost peculiar to England. Wright¹ states that it cannot be traced out of our island; and although it was undoubtedly employed during the Saxon period, we have no record whether it was introduced into Britain by any of the German tribes who settled in this country, or whether they continued a custom which had been employed here during, at all events, the latter part of the Celtic period. As, however, there is no notice of it, or allusion to it, in any of the Saxon laws, it is just probable that it may have originated in England a few generations only before the period of the Norman Conquest.

The exception to this statement is somewhat remarkable, as one of the local laws of Chester, recorded in the Domesday Book for Cheshire,² as being actually in existence in the time of Edward the Confessor, ran thus:—"Vir sive mulier, falsam mensuram in Civitate faciens, deprehensus IV solidis emendabat: similiter malam cervisiam faciens, aut in *Cathedra ponebatur Stercoris*, aut quatuor solidos dabat propositis." (Any man or woman detected giving false measure in the city, was fined four shillings: likewise for brewing bad ale, was placed either in the *dung chair*, or gave four shillings to the bailiffs.) The proper Saxon term appears to have been *scealfing* stol (from *scealfor*, a diver), literally a ducking stool, which Blount (*Tenures*, p. 151) defines, "*Cathedra, in qua rixosæ mulieres sedentes aquis demergebantur.*" (A chair in which brawling women being seated are plunged in the water.) It is not known whether it was essentially appended to the Saxon Court Leet or View of Frankpledge, but there is no doubt of such being the fact during the Norman and subsequent periods.

12th century.—During this century we find but few notices of it. One appears in the *Chronicle of Jocelin de Brakelond*,³ and shows, not only that at this period it was one of the privileges pertaining to manors, but also the jealousy with which any invasion of this right was repressed. According to the *Chronicle*, "about 1190 certain encroachments were made on the privileges of the Abbot of St. Edmund's Bury, in the manor of Illeggh—"levaverunt homines de illega quoddam *trebuchet* ad faciendam justiciam pro falsis mensuris panis vel bladi mensurandi, unde conquestus est abbas."

Whittaker⁴ states, that "amongst the municipal constitutions of

1 *Archæological Album*, p. 49. 2 *Leycester's Cheshire*, p. 396.

3 Page 88, quoted by A. Way in Notes to *Promptorium Parvulorum*, art. Cukstole. Vide also Harleian MS., No. 1005, fol. 139.

4 *History of Richmondshire*, vol. ii, p. 422. See also Baines' *History of Lancashire*, vol. iv. p. 800.

Preston, in Amounderness, which, although of the time of John, are evidently of much earlier origin, is the following:—‘Item, si burgensis sit in misericordiam de xii denariis, quarta aut quinta vice, faciet meliorem finem quem poterit, vel ibit at Cuckestolam.’” (If a burgess be in arrear for twelve pence for the fourth or fifth time, he shall make the best terms that he can, or go to the Cucking stool.)

The community of Grimsby were fined ten marks for putting a woman upon the tumbrell unjustly, in the second year of the reign of John.¹

13th century.—From the time of William I. until the middle of this century, we find but few recorded instances of the employment of the Cucking stool, although these plainly show that it must have been in common use. Fabyan² remarks, that in the 42nd of Henry III. (1257), “Syr Hugh Bygotte, justyce, with Roger Turkelay and other, kept his courte at Sayute Sauyours . . . In process of tyme, after the sayd Syr Hugh wyth other came to Guyld Hall, and kepte hys courte and plees there, wythout all order of lawe, and contrarye to the lybertyes of the cytye, and there punyshed the bakers for lacke of syze by the tumberell; where before tymes they were punyshed by the pyllory, and orderyd many thynges at hys wyll, more then by any good order of lawe.” Under date of 1258, the same passage is referred in the *Liber de Antiq. Legibus* (p. 40. published by the *Camden Society*). At this period, Sir Hugh’s alteration of the law must have been considered as a great grievance, as the pillory was more particularly the punishment for male offenders, whilst the tumbrell was reserved for females, so that the bakers must have felt a greater degree of degradation by being exposed to the public gaze in the latter instead of the former. These and other irregularities and causes of complaint may perhaps have led to the institution of the celebrated “Statute of the Pillory and Tumbrel,” in 1266-7 (51st of Henry III.) which, with regard to these two punishments, can scarcely be looked upon as a new law, but rather as a Statute to restrain the excesses of mayors and others having authority. By this Statute,³ “If the baker or breweress were convicted because they had not observed the assize (of bread and ale) on the first, second, and third occasion, they were to be amerced according to the amount of their offence, if they had not heavily offended; but if their offence

¹ Madox’s *History of the Exchequer*, vol. i. p. 504.

² *Chronicle*, edition of 1583, part 7, p. 32.

³ Harleian MSS. 748, 867, 869, 946, 947, 1011, 1120, 1214, and 1954, contain copies of this Statute, portions of which vary both in terms and in whole sentences.

was grievous, and they would not be corrected, they were to suffer bodily punishment, that is to say, the baker that of the pillory, and the breweress the tumbrel or castigatory (*braciatrix tumberellum vel castigatorium.*)

Collinson¹ mentions, that at Shepton Mallet, a tumbrel was set up by Hugh de Vivorme, lord of the manor, "in the time of Henry III., for the correction of unquiet women, which unseemly apparatus Michael de Ambresbury, Lord Abbot of Glastonbury, with some difficulty, in a suit at law removed." According to Borlase,² the following entry is in one of the Exchequer Books of Cornwall, "Manor of Cotford Farlo, temp. Henry III. Whereas, by reason of brawling women, many evils are introduced into the manor, and quarrels, fighting, scandal, and other disturbances arise through their hue and cry; therefore our custom with respect to them is, that when they be taken, they undergo the punishment of the 'Coking Stole'; and there stand bare foot, and their hair down their backs, so as to be seen by all passers by, as long as our bailiff shall determine."

Lipscomb³ strikingly illustrates the importance attached to the possession of a tumbrel as a part proof of the right to the privileges of a manor. It appears that the manor of Nether Winchendon was, during the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I., the subject of much dispute between the family of the Wakes and the Abbot and Convent of Notley, and "the Abbot was again called upon by *Quo Warranto*, to shew his right to view of frankpledge without license of the king or his predecessors, to whom the same was averred to belong *de jure coronæ*—and the Abbot pleaded immemorial possession, and said that the whole ville was of his fee, and that he had view of all his tenants abiding there; that he had neither gallows nor pillory, but has *a tumbrel*, &c.:—after all this turmoil it does not appear that the Abbot was deprived of his privilege. The lawyers no doubt gained much more by the proceedings than either of the contending parties, and justice gained nothing!"

In the 14th century, we find allusions to the punishment in some of the songs and poems of the period. The following couplet is in one of the political songs issued during the troublous times of Edward II.⁴

"But bi seint Jame of Galice that many man hath souht!
The pillory and the cucking-stol beth i mad for noht."

¹ *History of Somerset*, vol. iii. p. 460.

² *History of Cornwall*, vol. i. p. 303.

³ *History of Buckingham*, vol. i. p. 516, &c.

⁴ Wright's *Political Songs*, p. 345.

In the popular "*Vision of Piers Plowman*," written about 1362, at a time when the greatest discontent prevailed, and when "dishonesty too frequently characterised the dealings of merchants and traders,"¹ the punishment of the retail provision dealers is powerfully alluded to:—

"Maires and maceres
That menes ben bitwene
The kyng and the comune
To kepe the lawes,
To punnyshe on pillories
And *pynyng-stooles*—
Brewesters and baksters,
Bochiers and cokes,
For thise are men on this molde
That moost harm wercheth
To the pooere people."—*Vision of Piers Plowman*, by
Wright, p. 47.

In 1330, "the proprietors of the manor of Repton claimed to be lords of the hundred, and to have within their manor, a pillory, *tumbrell*, &c."² In Keilway's Reports,³ "among the cases tried on an *Iter* in the time of Edward III., there is a case of *quo warranto*, in which the defendant claimed to have the punishment of offenders who broke the assize of bread and beer, and it was found by the jury, 'que n' avoit pillor ne tumbrell,' and Lord Chief Justice Scrope, 'agard que il enjoyara son franchise, mes il serra en le grace le Roi, *pur ceo que il n' avoit pillorie et tumbrell*.'"

In London,⁴ certain classes of immoral men and women, principally the latter, were punished by exposure on the Thew (being accompanied to the place of punishment by minstrels), as long as the Mayor and Aldermen deemed necessary. Several instances of the use of this punishment, and for what offence, are adduced in the same work;⁵ thus, one was for lying, one for being a scold (*jurgatrix*), one for selling stinking fish, and one for having a false quart, *and because pitch had been placed in the bottom of it*.

In Harleian MS. 2115, fol. 135, there is an account of the case of the Abbot of Vale Royal, Cheshire, who was summoned in the 24th year of Edward III. before Thomas de Ferrers, Justice of Chester, to answer by what right he claimed, in the manors of Darnhall and Over,

1 Wright's Introduction to *Piers Plowman*, p. 11.

2 Bigsby's *History of Repton*, p. 289.

3 Page 148, quoted by Mr. Carrington in *Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine*, vol. 1, p. 70.

4 According to *Liber Albus* (edited by Riley) pp. 458-9.

5 *Ibid*, pp. 602, 603, 607.

amongst other privileges the right of punishing by the pillory, thew, and tumbrel, "et omnia que pertinent ad usum franci plegii." After the Abbot had stated his case, John de la Pole opposed him on the ground that he had neither pillory, tumbrel, or gallows, "nec alia in hiis casibus necessaria," and had made unjust use of his privileges.

The following lines are taken from a poem written in the early part of this century :—¹

Hail be ye, brewesters, with your galuns,
Potels and quarters, over al the tounes ;
Yur thowmes berith moch away, scharne hab the gyle ;
Beth i-war of the *cucking stool*, the lak is dep and hori.

15th century.—As we proceed from one century to the next succeeding it, we find that the authentic evidences of the infliction of the punishment become more frequent, although we must not necessarily infer from this that it was more generally employed. The 15th century introduces a new series of records relating to the Cucking Stool,—to wit, the various Corporation Accounts, which contain statements of the expenses attending the erection and use of the machine.

In the Leet Book of Coventry mention occurs, in 1423, of the "Cokestoole made apon Chelsmore grene to punysche skolders and chidders as y^e Jawe wyll."²

At Waterbeach³ we find, at the proceedings of the Court Leet, a "Precept to the Ladyes' Ministers to make a new "Buckinge stoole and a Thewe."

Scaum's *Beverlac* contains the following very singular entry relative to the Beverley Cucking Stool, under the date of 1456 :—

"Et sol' j laborar' p' mundac'one cō'is seuer jux' cuxtolepit p'
exitu aque it'm p' j diem,iiij^d."

(Also paid one labourer for cleaning the common sewer adjoining the cuckestool pit for a passage of the water there for one day, 4d.)

The *Liber Albus* of the city of London relates to the 13th and 14th centuries, and contains many ordinances relating to the assize of the provision dealers, as also the punishment undergone by those who broke such assize, together with the nature of their offence. But, from the instances enumerated, the laws appear to have had but little effect, and to have been in consequence made more stringent,—in London, at least,—for we find in "the assize of dyvers artificers" of the year 1468,⁴ that in place of being amerced three times as formerly before

¹ Wright's *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, vol. ii. p. 176.

² Quoted in *Promptorium Parvulorum* by A. Way,—notes to Cukstole.

³ *History of Waterbeach in Cambridgeshire*, by Rev. W. N. Clay, in Cambridge Antiquarian Society's Publications, No. 4, p. 18.

⁴ In Stow's *Survey of London*, by Strype, vol. ii. p. 343, &c.

suffering corporal punishment, the traders were limited to twice, and some even less than this, and as usual the baker and brewer are more severely punished than the rest. In the assize referred to, the brewer, if "he woll not beware by two warnyngs, the thyrd time to be juged to the Pillory, or unto the Cockyng-stole. First to the Cockyng-stole, and after to the Pillory." In *Lansdown MS*, 796, there is a similar list of assize, evidently belonging to the same period, and it is singular for containing two classes of brewers who were punished differently for breach of assize. The "ale brewer," for the third offence was "to be jugyd unto the Cuckyng Stool and afterward unto the Pillory," whilst the "berebruare" "yf he sell *eny* fectyf bere, he to be jugyd unto the pillory iij market dayis." (In this case, most probably, the first-named was a female, and the latter a male. Until the close of this century, the brewing trade was almost entirely in the hands of females, who appear to have borne a very indifferent character for honesty.) In 1451, one of the orders of the Mayor and Council of Chester was "that no wife, widow, or maid, should keep any tavern, ale or beer cellar in Chester."¹

In 1467, "among several orders made by Richard Gillot, Mayor of Leicester," was the following:—"That scoldes be punished by the mayr on a cuck-stole before their door, and then carried to the four gates of the town."² The municipal records of Southampton for the year 1474, contain the following entry:—

"Costes doon in makyng of the scooldyng stoole—

"Furst, paid for j piece of tymber bought of Robert Orchiere for the same	
stolexd.
For carriage of the same fro Hille to the West Holle	iiij ^d .
Item, for sawing of the same pece in iij peces	viiij ^d .
Item, for iij boltes and ij pinnes of iron for the same stool	ij ^d .
Item, for the wheelles to convey the said stole by comaundment of the meyre,	iijs ^a iiij ^d .
Item, paid to Robert Orcherd for the makyng of the said stoole and wheelles for	
iij days laboure to hym and his man xd. the day, summa	ij ^s viij ^d .
Summa x ^s viij ^d . ob." ³	

In 1484, the end of the High-street, Saffron Walden, was spoken of as the "Cokstul hend."⁴

16th century.—In No. 2115 of the Harleian MSS., there are many

1 *Vide* Lysons' *History of Cheshire*, p. 660.

2 Nichols' *Leicester*, p. 376—also Kelly's *Records of Leicester*, p. 45.

3 T. Wright, in the vol. of the *Winchester Congress* of the British Archæological Association.

4 Lord Braybrooke's *History of Audley End*, quoted in Way's notes to *Promptorium Parvulorum*.

notices of the tumbrel during this century, and which are of especial interest to the Cheshire antiquary on account of their local character. With one exception, all relate to manorial claims, the claimant being summoned at the suit of Prince Henry, Earl of Chester (son of Henry VII.) to show cause "*quo warranto*" he claimed for himself and his heirs the "view of frankpledge," &c., &c., and to fine breweresses, bakers, and scolds, for three offences; but for the fourth, to punish bakers by the pillory, breweresses by the tumbrel, and scolds by the thew. The following is the list of claimants enumerated:—Roger, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield; Thomas Huls, of Knutsford; Philip Legh, of 'Bothes'; John Glegge, of Gayton,—all for their respective manors; John Warren, for his manor of Stockport; George Grey, Earl of Kent, for his manors of Rushton and Eaton ("*Russheton et Eyton*"), and of Tarporley ("*Torpurlegh*"); John Boucher, Lord Fitz Warren, for his manor of Nantwich ("*Nantwich et Wico Malbank*"); Edward Sutton, Lord of Dudley, for his manor of Malpas; William Stanley, of Hooton, for his manor of Storeton ("*Sturton in Wyrall*"); Thomas Venables, for his manor of Kinderton; and James Bruyn, for his manor of "Bruyn Stapulford."

The exception above referred to is a remarkable one, and does not serve to afford a favourable impression of the quietude of the fair sex. At a halmote of the third lord of Runcorn, held at Halton, before Peter Dutton, anno 35th Henry VIII., inquisition was made on oath "that Margaret Norland made an attack upon Robert Carrington, and struck him with her hand contrary to the peace; and that Ellen Norland, daughter of Richard Norland, underwent the punishment of the thewe lawfully" (*cepit onus le Theaue legitime*). And that Alice Lesthwyte, widow, for entertaining other men's servants; and that the wife of Oliver Whitley, Joan White, wife of William White, and the wife of Richard Lightbone, were common liars and scolds," (*communes abjurgatores et garrelatores*").

In 1511 (3rd Henry VIII. c. 6), "An Act agaynst deceyptfull making of Wollen Cloth" was passed, and, according to one of its provisions, if any deceit was practised by the comber or carder, he or she was liable "to be sett upon the pillorie or the cuckyngstole, man or woman, as the case shall requyre, upon due proof of such deceyte, &c." In the municipal records of Canterbury¹ is the following account, in the year 1520:—

"Item, paid for a pece of tymber for the ladder of the cuckyngstole, and staves to the same²xxd."

¹ In the margin opposite is written "the common chidders to be put on the cuckstoole."

² *Archæological Album*, p. 52.

There are certain items, showing that the total cost of this machine was 10s. 5d. The following proves that it was a fixture, and Wright believes it "not improbable that it stood, not by the river, but in some public place in the city."

"Item, paid to Christofer Wedy for caryage of the said tymber to the saw-stage, and from thense to the place where the seid cucking-stole stondeth, etc. iiij^d.¹

In 1547, when this large structure can hardly have been in decay, we have an entry of charges for making another; and, as the sum is much smaller, although the value of labour and materials had risen considerably, it is probable that this was a small portable machine, intended to be carried about the town and to the river for "ducking."

"Costes for Makying of the Cokyng-stole.

Item, paid to Dodd, carpenter, for makying of the cokyng-stole, and sawyng the tymber, by grete.....v^s viij^d.

Item, a paire of cholls²iiij^s iiij^d.

Item paid for ij iren pynnes for the same, waying v lⁱ at ij^d ob the lⁱ xj^d ob."

At Sandwich, in 1534,³ two women were banished for immorality;—"if they return, one of them is to suffer the pain of sitting over the coqueen stool, and the other is to be set three days in the stocks, with an allowance of only bread and water, and afterwards to be placed in the coqueen stool, and dipped to the chin." In 1568, a woman was "carted and banished." For scolding, as well as for some other offences, the person was sometimes ordered to carry a large wooden mortar round the town.—A similar practice was adopted at Ipswich and other places.—The ducking chair figured in Boys' *History of Sandwich*, is ornamented with figures of men and women on the perpendicular pieces of the back and front; and on the top rail of the back is carved the following distich:—

"Of members y^e tonge is worst or best,—an
Yll tonge oft doeth breede unrest."—(*Vide plate.*)

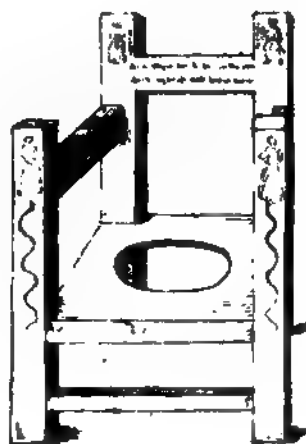
At Leicester,⁴ it would appear that the punishment was in frequent requisition; as, within a period of thirty years, no less than four new machines were paid for by the town, according to the Chamberlain's Accounts as follows:—

1 Most probably like the one figured in R. Holme's *Academy of Armoury*—*vide plate.*

2 A pair of wheels?—*chol* (A.S.) usually signifies the head, jaws, or jole, *e.g.*, in the *Creed of Piers Plowman*, by Wright, p. 464—"and his *chyn* with a *chol lollde*."

3 Boys' *Collections for the History of Sandwich.*

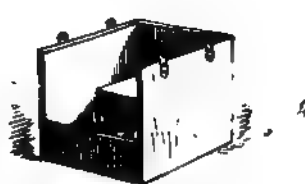
4 Kelly's *Ancient Records of Leicester*, pp. 47 and 50.



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3

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OSWALD BOWEN 1896

¹/₂ DUCKING CHAIR AND WOODEN MORTAR FORMERLY AT SANDWICH.

3. 130 PRESERVED AT LEICESTER

4. 132 FORMERLY AT WORCESTER

" 1548.—Item, paid to John Croft for makyng the cookstolle.....	vs.
1552.—Item, paid for mendyng of the cucstole at tow tymes	viijd.
1558.—Item, paid to Robert Crofts for makyng the duckstoole	xvjd.
1563.—Item, for making the cuckstoole.....	xvjd.
Item, to William Yates for making pynes and bands for the same.	vjd.
1578.—Paid for a newe cuckstoole.....	xiiij ^r .

During the same century are notices of payments for carting offenders through the town, principally those who were leading immoral lives, whether men or women. At Edgware, in 1552, "the inhabitants were presented for not having a tumbrel and cucking stool."¹

In 1556, at Beverley, (Scaum's *Beverlac*) "iiijd. de John Robynson cordin'p'le cukstoole pitt" (4d. received of John Robinson, cordwainer, for the cuckstool pit.)

At Banbury, in 1556,² the following entries appear in the Corporation Accounts:—

" Payd for v dayes worke of ij menes for to make the Kockestoll	viijs iiijd.
Payd to Jhon Awod for makinge of sartun stapulls and hokes for the kockestoll	ijs.
Payd for a peace of ashe to Nycolas Sturgon for the kockstoll	vid.
And, in 1593, "Item, stocks, pillory, cooking-stool, and tumbrell."	

At Cambridge, in 1559,³ "Jane Johnson, adjudged to the duckinge stoole for scoulding, and commuted her penance. Katherine Sanders, accused by the Churchwardens of St. Andrewes, for a common scold and slanderer of her neighbours, adjudged to the ducking stool."

In the Book of Homilies, published in 1562, we find in the section "against contention" the following:—"And because this vice is so much hurtful to the society of a common wealth, in all well ordered cities, these common brawlers and scolders be punished with a notable kinde of paine: as to be set on the cucking stoole, pillory, or such like. And they bee unworthy to be live in a common wealth, the which doe as much as lieth in them, with brawling and scoulding to disturbe the quietnesse and peace of the same." In the same year, at "Fyve-Brigge Stathe," Norfolk,⁴ a woman was ordered "to ryde on a cart, with a paper in her hand, and tynkled with a bason, and so at one o'clock to be led to the cokying stool and ducked in the water." And in 1597, "Margaret Grove, a common skould, to be carried with a bason rung before her to the cucke stool, at Fyebridge, and there to be three times ducked." In 1567, at Minchinhampton, Gloucester-

1 Lysons' *Environs of London*, vol. ii. p. 244.

2 Beesley's *History of Banbury*, p. 224, et seq.

3 *Cole MS.* quoted in Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, vol. iii. p. 104.

4 Blomfield's *History of Norfolk*, vol. iv. p. 355.

shire,¹ four shillings were paid for “makyng off the pyolerre and costolle.”

The following account of the cost of the machine at Kingston-on-Thames, in 1572,² in some measure explains its form:—

“The making of the cucking stool	0	8	0
Iron work for the same.....	0	8	0
Timber for the same	0	7	6
Three brasses for the same and 8 wheels ...	0	8	10”

The quotation following is from a Court Roll of the manor of Bottesford (co. Lincoln), bearing date May 3, 1576.³

“Whereas the wife of Xpofer Crayne slaundred the wyffe of Richard Dawber for a rouyle of lyne, we say that Dawbers wyffe is a very onest woman and withowte blame in that matter; and we am'ce Xpofer crayne for the yll usage of his said wyffe iij^s iiij^d.

It' we lye in payne that any woman that is a scould shall eyther be sett upon the Cuk stoll and be thrise ducked in the water, or els ther husbands to be am'cied vj^s viij^d, as well one p'tie as the others.

p' me Ioh'm flarre

Scenⁱ Cur' ib'm.”

In the Corporation records of Lichfield,⁴ is the notice, “1578, March 18, for making a Cuckstool with appurtenances, £0 8s. 0d.

In the proceedings of the Manchester Court Leet,⁵ are several entries relating to this punishment. “October 6, 1586, That William Radcliffe, gentleman, hath encroached the Bache House Hill, and the Cucking-stool Pool;—That he shall lay the same forth before next Annunciation Day, under a penalty of 5s.” The pool was fed by the moat of the old fortified residence of the “Radcliffes of the Pool,” on the site of the present Unitarian Chapel, Cross-street, and the chapel was hence derisively called St. Plungeon's or St. Plunge 'ems. On October 1, 1590, the cuckstool was presented as being “in great decay;” and repeated April 8, 1591, “and that the water ditch course of the same cuckstool is taken away and enclosed. That before Whitsunday next, Wm. Radcliffe shall remove the earth now cast forth of of the ditch, by the cuckstool, afore the causeway side, that it be not hurtful to the highway, on a penalty of 10s.” This gentleman appears to have given the court some trouble, for on October 5, 1598, he is ordered to “lay open the place again, according as heretofore it hath been used;” this was one of many ineffectual attempts to restore the

1 See *Archæologia*, vol. 35, p. 409.

2 Lysons' *Environs of London*, vol. i. p. 283.

3 Mr. Peacock in *Gentleman's Magazine* for April, 1861.

4 In the *Ashmolean MSS.*,—vide Harwood's *History of Lichfield*, p. 383.

5 For these extracts and remarks I am indebted to J. Harland, Esq.

MANCHESTER DUCKING CHAIR

PRESERVED IN THE ROYAL INFIRMARY.



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Charles 1864.*

METHOD OF EMPLOYING THE
DUCKING CHAIR AT MANCHESTER

FROM THE MANCHESTER HISTORICAL RECORDER.

stool to the pool in the Pool-Fold. In 1590 and 1591, the water ditch having been taken away and enclosed, the pool was left dry. The old excavations for marl in the pits (called "Daub Holes") on the side of the present Infirmary, which were large and deep, having become filled with water, the cucking stool was transferred from the Pool Fold to these pits, and remained there until the 18th century.

At Lyme Regis in 1581 "'The jury present that the tumbrell be repaired and maintained from time to time according to the statute.' In 1583, Mr. Mayor was to provide a tumbrel before All Saints Day, under a penalty of 10s."¹

From records of the manor of Sandbach,² in this county, it appears that, in 1588, an order was passed "That a Pillorie and Cookeing Stool should be set up in some convenient places, at the expense of the Tenants of the Manor, before the Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Lady Mary the Virgin then next, sub pœna, any one refusing or denying to be contributarie to forfeit three shillings and four pence to the Lord of the Manor" (Sir John Radclyffe, Knt.)

In the Corporation account of the neighbouring town of Congleton we find the following entries:—

"1592.—Paid Wm. Fox for amending the Cocklestool	ixd.
1595.—Paid for boards and workmanship to the fenderers, and making a damme for the Cockstole.....	iv ^s . ix ^d .
1598.—Paid for mending the Cockling stool and setting it up.....	vi ^d .

At Seaford,³ in 1594, "the jury present that the *Cuckingstole*, the Pillory, and the Butts are in a state of decay," and eight years afterwards the two former are presented as "defective and out of order."

In 1595 "a newe Cucking Stool" appears as an item in the possession of the Chamberlain of Gravesend.⁴

At Coventry,⁵ "at the gate of the Grey Friars, was also one, and in the Leet Book the following entry occurs, under the date of Oct. 11, 1597—"Whereas there are divers and sundrie disordered persons (cwomen within this citie), that be scolds, brawlers, disturbers, and disquieters of their neighbors . . . it is ordered and enacted at this Leet, that if any such . . . do from henceforth scold

1. Roberts' *Social History of the Southern Counties*, p. 153.

2. Information of T. W. Jones, Esq., of Nantwich.

3. *Memorials of Seaford*, by M. A. Lower, in *Sussex Archæologica Collections*, vol. 7, p. 100, et seq.

4. Cruden's *History of Gravesend*, p. 264.

5. *The Reliquary* for January, 1861, p. 155.

or brawle . . . upon complaint thereof to the Alderman of the Ward made, or the Maior for the time being, they shall be committed to the Cook stoole lately appointed for the punishment of such offenders. An entry for 'making the cooke stoole at Grey frier gate, iiijs. iiijd,' occurs in the same vol. as late as the year 1623."

At Ipswich, "in the Chamberlain's Book, are various entries of money paid to porters for taking down the 'ducking stole'; and in the year 1597 three unfortunate females underwent this opprobrious ceremony. The fee for inflicting the punishment was 1s. 6d."¹

Wodderspoon² states that "amerciements, punishment by the pillory, and the tumbril, abound in the Court Books" of Ipswich; and from the Domesday of the town he quotes the following:—

"Item.—Women that bene common chiders amonge their neighbours and will not chastise their ill tongue to myssaye folke, leatt them be chastised bi the Justice called ye Tew, or else leatt them make grievous rannsoms if they have whareof."

He further remarks that "the use of the tumbril for the correction of offenders, was far more generally in vogue than the Ducking Stool, when persons, both male and female, were drawn through the streets seated in a cart, with a mortar (as at Sandwich) hung about their necks, for the offence of 'Flyten or chiden,' as well as in expiation of more heinous peccadilloes."

At North-Petherton, "at the pulling down of a chantry in Elizabeth's reign, part of the materials were employed in 'the making of stocks, a ducking stool, and pillory for the use of the hamlet of Newton.'³ In Halliwell's Dictionary there is a quotation from a MS. of this century, where a woman for offending is, after being fined, ordered to "be sette thries upon the cokyngstoele, and than forswere the lordship."

It is not a little singular that, considering the general prevalence of the punishment throughout England, little or no notice should have been taken of it in the works of the dramatists of the period. There is only one passage in Shakspeare which appears to bear any relation to it, and that is met with in *Troilus and Cressida* (act 2, sc. 1)—"Thou stool for a witch." This line is satisfactorily explained in another way. in Brand's *Antiquities* (by Ellis, vol. 3, p. 23), and proved to have borne no allusion to the ducking stool.

1. From the '*History of Ipswich*,' quoted in *Gentleman's Magazine* for Jan'y 1831, p. 41, et seq.—which contains a representation of a female about to undergo the punishment. There is an excellent representation of the Chair in Wodderspoon's *Memorials of Ipswich*, p. 295. The illustration in the present paper is copied from Wright's *Archæological Album*, p. 51.

2. *Memorials of Ipswich*, pp. 102, 272, 294, 225.

3. Collinson's *History of Somerset*, vol. 3, p. 70.

17th Century.—The following items appear in the "*Shuttleworth (Lancashire) Accounts.*"¹

"Jan. 1601.—For the reparinge of the Church at Whalle, for makinge a new pare of stockes and *cockstool*, and for soldyers, iij^s. iiij^d."

Feb. 1611.—Habergham Eaves,—half a xvth for the cookestoole at Burneley." (This was the proportion paid by the Shuttleworths on account of their property at Habergham Eaves.)

Aug. 1620.—The constable of Habergham Eaves, a xvth towards the cooke-stole and whipp-stocke to be made in Burneley, viid ob."

At Manchester² we continue to find records of the punishment:—

"8 April 1602.—We desire that our chief lord will provide a Cuckstool, to be set up in some convenient place, according as hath been oftentimes promised, for the punishment of scolda, &c.

"1st April, 1619.—The Jury find that there is no Cuckstool within the town, and therefore order that the Constables for the time being shall erect a new Cuckstool in some convenient place, near the Horse Pool in Market Stid Lane—penalty 5^s."

This appears to have had the desired effect in a machine being provided, for, under date of April 10, 1638, we learn "that the Constables shall, at the common charges of the town, cause the cookestoole to be repaired.

"25 April, 1648.—The Jury doth order the Constables to erect a *Cuckstool* in the usual place in the horsepool betwixt and the 24th June next." This order was evidently not attended to, for on Oct. 10 of the same year "the constables are ordered to erect a cuckstool and butts; *the preceding Constables are fined for neglecting to duck Mary Kempe 'a common scold,' and the existing Constables are ordered to see her ducked.*" In 1679 and 1681, the Cuckstool is presented for being out of repair. From the entries during this and the previous century it is evident that the Manchester cucking stool was a fixture by the side of the water.

There are several very interesting notices of the punishment during this century in Kelly's *Ancient Records of Leicester* (pp. 47—51); and "In 1602 is a payment 'for the charges of the *Cuckstool*, the *Carte*, and the *Stocks*.' We learn by the same account that when the fair offender was punished by immersion, the Cucking-Stool was placed on or by the side of the West Bridge, as a payment was made for carrying it there."

In 1651, Elizabeth Harris "was adjudged to be put in the Cuckstoole, and be drawne from the Bare Crosse to John Wilson's dore."

"1629.—Item, paid to Frauncis Pallmer for making two wheeles and one barr for the scolding cart ij^s.
1646.—Item, paid for making the Cookestoole..... xvj^s. vjd.

1. Edited by Harland. Chetham Soc. Pub., pp. 133, 193, and 243.

2. Records of the Court Leet,—information of J. Harland, Esq.

On "27th June, 1654," before Mr. Maior, Mr. Somerfield," Ann Rankin was informed against for brawling, and her punishment is thus recorded:—"The said Widdow Ramkin sent home in the Cuckstoole then." On the same occasion a second female was cited for a similar offence, and punished in a like manner. In the same century are several items for "carting."

At Congleton, in Cheshire, during this century we find several entries in the Corporation records:—

"1604.—Paid Richard Myatt and his son for a board and setting up the Cuckstool	1	0
„ Paid Robert Wilkinson and another for fetching the Cuckstool from Radnor	0	8
1638.—Paid to Howley for repairing the Cockstool.....	1	0
1653.—Paid to Ralph Stubbs for repairing the Cucklestool	5	0
1654.—Paid for repairing the Cuckle Stool.....	1	0"

From the municipal records of Worcester (quoted by Mr. Noake in his *Worcester in the Olden Time*) we re-produce the following:—

"1628.—Allowed the money for whipping of one Rogerea, and for carrying several women upon the gum stoole.

1625.—For mending the stocks at the Grass Crosse, for whipping of divers persons, and carting of other some, and for halling the goome stoole to the houses of divers scoulding women."

At Marlborough, in 1625, a man received for his help at the Cucking of Joan Neal, 4^d.¹

The Session Books of the County of Middlesex contain the following entries:—(*Gentleman's Mag.*, Dec. 1860). "Upon the motion of Mr. Marsh, one of the Justices of the Peace for this County, it is ordered by this Court that the inhabitants of the parishe of Hackney shall erect and sett up a cock-queane stoole in some convenient place within the parish of Hackney." *Liber Sess.*, 1 Car. 1.

"Upon the motion of Mr. Jonge, one of the Justices of the Peace, it is ordered that the inhabitants of the parishe of St. James, Clerkenwell, shall erect and place a Cockqueane-Stoole on the side of ducking ponde, within the said parishe." *Liber Sess.*, 1 Car. 1.

"Forasmuch as itt fully appeareth unto this Courte, upon the testimonie of divers credible persons inhabitinge the parishe of Enfelde, in the county of Middlesex, that Susan Croxan is a common scould and disturber of the Peace, and slanderer and stirrer upp of stryfes

1. Waylen's *Hist. of Marlborough*. This cucking stool appears to have been a fixture, and "according to tradition, it was placed at the edge of the stream, near the south front of the Master's Lodge of Marlborough College." (Mr Carrington in *Journal of Archæological Institute*, vol. 15, p. 79.)

amongst her neighbours ; itt is therefore ordered, that the Constable and Headborough of the saide parishe shall, immediately upon sight hereof, cause the saide Susan Croxon to bee placed in a Cockinge-stoole, and thereuppon to bee duckt in water within the saide parishe." *Liber Sess. 2 Car. 1.*

At Gravesend¹ the machine "was placed upon wheels and, by the ministration of the fellowship of Porters, was plunged with the occupant into the river, at an inclined plane, called the Horsewash, at the Town Quay, there being no other place so suitable for the operation within the town"; and the local records notice several payments with regard to it: e.g.—

" 1628.—Nov. 9, paid unto Mildman for mending the Cucking Stool...	0	7	0
1629.—Sept. 4, paid unto the wheeler for timber for mending the Cucking Stool	0	3	4
1635.—Oct. 28, paid for two wheeles and Yeekes for the Ducking Stool	0	3	6
1636.—January 7, paid the Porters for ducking of Goodwife Champion	0	2	0
1646.—June 12, paid two Porters for laying up the Ducking Stoole...	0	0	8
1653.—Paid John Powell for mending the Ducking Stoole.....	0	6	0
1680.—Paid Gattlet for a proclamation, and for carrying the Ducking Stoole in Market	0	1	6

In "Randolph's *Muses' Looking-Glasse*" (pub. in 1643) is the following allusion to it:—

Plus. And here's a cobbler's wife brought for a scold.
 Nim. Tell her of *cooking-stooles*, tell her there be
 Oyster queanés, with orange women,
 Carts and coaches store, to make a noyse."

In the "*Town Accompt Book of Lyme*" we read:—

" 1631.—For bringing the Cucking Stool out of the Church.....	0	6
1633.—For amending the Cucking Stool	0	6
1653.—Paid for a piece of timber for a Cucking Stool, and six boards ...	16	2
1657.—For timber to make a Cucking Stool	12	0
1658.—For making a Cucking Stool, George Baker	5	8

And in the "Court of Hustings Book," under date April 30, 1685, it is recorded that the jury "present the Corporation, for not repairing the Cucking Stool 6 8

Therefore it is ordered that it be repaired within one month *sub poena*." ²

At Grimsby, "in 1646, the machine was probably out of repair, for the Chamberlains *presented* it to the Court on the 15th day of October in that year, and it was ordered to be renewed without delay; and thirty years afterwards it came into full operation. A woman named Jane Dutch, about that time was repeatedly subjected to the ordeal, without deriving the least benefit from the application. It is recorded of her that the frigidity of the wave, even in the depth of winter, was

1. Cruden's *History of Gravesend*, pp. 268 to 270.

2. Roberts' *Social History of the Southern Counties*, p. 155.

insufficient to cool the fervor of her tongue. "Between every dip she favored the spectators with abundant specimens of her exhaustless eloquence; and when the watery castigation was at an end, though dripping wet, she saluted her persecutors with such an overpowering volley of high sounding tropes and rhetorical flourishes, as convinced them that her *weapon of offence* was unconquerable. Indeed, her disorderly conduct was carried to such a length, without respect to persons, that the Churchwardens were heavily fined for neglecting to present her in the Ecclesiastical Court."¹

During the period of the commonwealth the punishment appears to have continued in vogue; for instance, at Wells, June 22, 1649, a woman, for immorality, was ordered to be set in the stocks, and afterwards "*to bee washed in the Pallace Moots*, and then to be br't downe to the prison²; and in "*The whole Office of the Country Justice of Peace*," pub. in 1652 (2nd edition), the old statute against Traders is shown to have been still acted upon, sic. :—"Bakers and brewers, if they offend, may be amerced; if grievously or frequently, the Baker may be judged to the Pillory, the Brewer to the Tumbrell, i. e. Cucking-stool, but this must be in the Sessions." At Newcastle, in 1653, one of the deponents in "*Gardiner's England's Grievance* (p. 118, reprint) affirms that "Scoulds are to be duckt overhead and ears into the water in a ducking stool."

In the Annals of Liverpool we learn that, in 1656, "a new cuck-stool" was "erected at the bottom of Dale Street"; and in 1695 there was "paid Edw. Accres for mending the cuck stool 15s."

In "*Homer a la Mode*" (pub. in 1665) it is stated of a woman, that

"She belonged to Billingsgate,
And often times had rid in state,
And sate i' th bottome of a poole,
Inthroned in a *cucking-stoole*."

At Shrewsbury, in 1669, the Corporation ordered that "a ducking-stool be erected for the punishment of all scolds."³

In *Eachard's Observations* (p. 109, pub. in 1671,) is the passage :—"If need were, I could tell him of another, that thinks my letter wholly written against his filling the *tumbrel*."

At Newbury, in 1672, Mary Adams having been presented as "a comon scould," she was ordered to appear at the sessions; having done so, she "pleaded not guilty to her Indictment for a comon scould, and

1. *Gentleman's Mag.* for Dec. 1831, p. 505.

2. *Notes and Queries* for April 10, 1858, p. 292.

3. *History of Shrewsbury*, p. 172.

put herself on the Jury, who, being sworn, say she is guilty of the Indictment against her. *Cur.* That she is to be ducked in the Cucking Stool according as the Mayor shall think the time fitting."¹

"The Records of the Court of King's Bench furnish a case in the year 1681 of a Mrs. Finch, a most notorious scold, thrice ducked for that offence previously, who appeared there on trial for a repetition of it, when the Court sentenced her, on conviction, to pay a fine of three marks, or be imprisoned till it was paid."²

Brand³ quotes from the *New Help to Discourse* (3rd ed., 1684, p. 216) the following:—"On a ducking stool. Some gentlemen travelling, and coming near to a town, saw an old woman spinning near the ducking stool; one, to make the company merry, asked the good woman what that chair was made for? Said she, you know what it is. Indeed, said he, not I, unless it be the chair you use to spin in. No, no, said she, you know it to be otherwise: have you not heard that it is the cradle your good mother has often layn in?"

The first reference to this punishment in the Corporation records of Chester that I have been able to find is the following:—

"1685.—Decemb. 5, paid Bryan Bolland for a cuckstool, by Mr. Maior's order 1 7 6

Three years after this, appeared the celebrated Chester work on Heraldry, entitled "*The Academy of Armory*," in which⁴ there is a description of the punishment and an engraving of the apparatus. As the author, Randle Holme, most probably drew all the illustrations for his work from local objects and specimens, it is fair to infer that the representation he gives is that of the Chester ducking stool referred to in the above quotation from the Corporation accounts. In the heraldic language of the work "He beareth Azure, a Cuck-stool, or a Ducking Tumbrel, Or.—Born by the name, or rather known for the Cognizance of a Scold, being an instrument to cool Hot Fiery Tongued Women, which have their Tongues set on Fire by the Devil, which nothing can Tame except it be well ducked."

The poets and dramatists of this century have on several occasions noticed the punishment—thus Lord Dorset:—

"She in the ducking stool should take her seat
Drest like herself in a great chair of state."

In the *Tamer Tamed*, by Beaumont and Fletcher, is the passage:—

1. Mr. Carrington in the *Journal of the Archæological Institute*, vol. 15, p. 78.
2. Malcolm's *Manners and Customs of London*, 1811, p. 186, *et seq.*
3. *Popular Antiquities*, vol. iii. p. 105.
4. Book iii. chap. 8, p. 351.

"We'll ship them out in cuck-stools, there they'll sail
As brave Columbus did."

In *Hudibras* are the following lines :—

"These mounted on a chair-curule,
Which moderns call a cucking-stool,
March proudly to the river's side,
And o'er the waves in triumph ride."

Nash, in his notes to *Hudibras*, remarks having seen "a stool of this kind near the bridge at Evesham, in Worcestershire, not above eight miles from Strensham, the place of our poet's birth."

18th century.—Dunton, in the *Athenian Oracle*, (pub. in 1704, p. 48) thus describes a scold and her punishment :—

"Her voice so loud
Till it esteemed a common nuisance be,
Thy Neighbours all struck Deaf as well as thee.
Then justly high-exalted in the Air,
Fill once a Week the Penitential Chair."

The corporation records of Chester, for this century, contain several entries relating to it.

"1705.—March 28, Paid for whipping Bess Moseley 1 0"

This whipping does not appear to have had much effect on the lady, as, on Aug. 6, of the same year, we find the following :—

"Paid ye Beadle by Mr. Mayor's order for ducking Bess Moseley..... 2 6"

It would almost appear, by an entry on the 30th of the same month, that the machine was made expressly to punish this woman, for it states—

"Paid Mr. Whitoff a note for Ducking Stool 2 2 8"

The following are the only other items that I have been able to find relating to this punishment :—

"1711.—May 9, To new ropes for the Ducking Chair 11

" " 12, To pd. Edwd. Williams for work at the Ducking Chair 12 0

1712.—Feb. 16, To a pair of wheels for the Cucking Stool..... 8 0

1713.—March 10, To payd John Fornall, by Mr. Mayor's order, for
going with the Cucking Stool to Boughton..... 2 0'

It is probable that, prior to 1712, the Chester Ducking Stool was either a fixture, or so constructed as to be moved about without difficulty, (*vide* Illustration from R. Holme's *Academy*). I have been unable to ascertain the place where the offenders were ducked, but most probably it was at the mill dam adjoining the Dee Mills. Wolley writing in 1712,¹ states that in Derby, "over against the Church steeple (All Saints) is St. Mary's Gate, which leads down to the brook near the west side of St. Werburgh's Church, over which there is a bridge to Mr. Osborne's Mill, over the pool of which stands the Ducking Stool." Mr. Ll. Jewitt² states that the mill "is still known as "Cuck-

1. Simpson's *History of Derby*, p. 532, quotation from Wolley's MS.

2. *The Reliquary*, for Jan. 7, 1861, p. 147.

stool Mill," and the water adjoining as "Cuckstool Mill Dam" The Stool was repaired in 1729, "as will be seen from the following items in an account of one Thomas Timmins, a joiner:—

To the Cuckstool, 1 stoop	0	01	0
2 Foot and $\frac{1}{2}$ of Joyce for a Rayle	0	00	5
Ja. Ford, jun., $\frac{1}{2}$ day at Cuckstool	0	00	7"

Fosbrooke¹ states that "in 1718, during the Mayoralty at Bristol of Edmund Mountjoy, the ducking-stool on the Weir was used as a cure for scolding. in one particular inveterate instance; but the husband of the lady whose "evil spirit" was "so laid," when the year of civic supremacy expired, brought his action of battery in behalf of his peaceful rib, before Sir Peter King, at the Guildhall, and the man (says our authority) recovered such damages, that the Ex-Mayor could not endure the mention of "cold duck" any more."

In Gay's *Shepherd's Week*, (pub. in 1714) Sparabella, in "the Dumps, exclaims—

"I'll speed me to the pond, where the high stool
On the long plank hangs o'er the muddy pool,
That stool, the dread of ev'ry scolding Quean."

At Rugby,² "the town had the usual appendages to a manor, a Pillory, Ducking Stool, Cage, and Stocks.

"1721.—June 5, Paid for a lock for ye ducking stool, and spent in town business 0 1 2
1739.—Sept. 25, Ducking stool repaired. And in
1741.—Dec. 21, A chain for the ducking stool 0 2 4

The ducking stool was placed on the west side of the horse pool, near the footpath leading from the Clifton road towards the new Church-yard. Some remains of the posts to which it was affixed were visible until very lately, and the National School is now erected on its site. The last person who underwent the punishment was a man, for beating his wife, about forty years since: but, although the ducking stool has been long removed, the ceremony of immersion in the horse pond was recently inflicted on an inhabitant for brutality towards his wife."

At Lyme Regis, in 1724, "The corporation was presented for not keeping up a ducking stool, as it was formerly allowed, by the informations of several persons;" and, in 1752, the following presentment was made:—"Stocks, pillory, and cucking stool all wanting and necessary, and ought to be erected by next court leet."³

The following is a copy of the original certificate (obtained through

1. *Encyclopædia of Antiquities*, p. 302, quotation from Evans' *Bristol*.

2. Mr. Ll. Jewitt in *The Reliquary*, for January, 1861, p. 154.

3. Roberts' *Social History*, pp. 155 and 161.

the kindness of Dr. Kendrick, of Warrington) of the Constables of that town as to the setting up of the Cucking Stool :—

“ 5th day of May, 1730.

We the Constables of Warrington for this present year do hereby own that the Cook stool, by us sett upp ovar the Bridge in this town, was sett upp by the permission and leave of Wm. Middlehurst of Warrington aforesd. as witness our hands.

JOHN ANSDELL,
ROBERT CHEATHAM,
DAVID WHITTOLL.”

In 1731, the Mayor of Nottingham caused a woman to be placed in the Cuck stool, and there left to the mercy of the mob. The poor creature was so illtreated, and ducked to such a degree, that she lost her life. The Mayor was prosecuted and the Cuck stool taken down.¹

According to the *Universal Spectator* of Oct. 14, 1738,²

“ Last week at the Quarter Sessions at Kingston-on-Thames, an elderly woman, notorious for her vociferation, was *indited* for a common scold, and the facts alledged being fully proved, she was sentenced to receive the old punishment of being ducked, which was accordingly executed upon her in the Thames, by the proper officers, in a chair for that purpose preserved in the town ; and to prove the justice of the court's sentence upon her, on her return from the water side she fell upon one of her acquaintance, without provocation, with tongue, tooth, and nail, and would, had not the officers interposed, have deserved a second punishment even before she was dry from the first.”

At Leicester,³ “ in 1744, there was paid for bringing out the Cuckstool £0 0s. 6d. ;” and in 1768-9, there was “ paid Mr. Elliott for a Cuckstool, by order of Hall, £2.” Kelly further says,—“ An aged inhabitant of the town has recently informed me, that he recollects having seen, many years ago, another ancient Cucking-Stool, at that time kept in the Town Hall yard, and which was a kind of chair without legs, fixed at the end of a long pole. He also remembers, when a boy, to have heard his mother say, that a few years before, she had seen the Cucking Stool placed at the door of a house in the Shambles Lane, but that the woman having managed to leave the house previously, escaped the ducking intended for her ; and that a neighbour, who died some 30 years ago, at an advanced age, related to him that she once saw a woman ducked for scolding, and that the instrument was placed by the side of the river adjoining the West Bridge. He thinks this must have occurred about 80 years ago.

1. From Wylie's *Old and New Nottingham*.

2. Quoted in *Notes and Queries*, 2nd series, vol. i, p. 490. In Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, vol. iii. p. 106, this anecdote is repeated almost word for word as taking place in 1801, “ according to the *Chelmsford Chronicle* of April 10” of that year—and Brand (p. 104) quotes from the *Evening Post* of April 27 to 30, 1745, an anecdote commencing “ Last week, a woman, &c.” which probably relates to the same case. I have no means of ascertaining which is correct, and therefore have selected the earliest date.

3. Kelly's *Leicester*, pp. 45, 48, and 49.

(circa 1770.) Its use in this town at this comparatively recent period has also been confirmed by a gentleman now in his 81st year, who recollects the Cuckstool being placed as a mark of disgrace in front of a house in Bond Street; the woman residing there had also, it appears, twice done penance in St. Margaret's church, for slander."

Throsby, in his *History of Leicester*, mentions a Cucking stool being in existence there about 1760, at the Town Hall. The old Ducking Chair itself Mr. Kelly discovered as being still in existence at the Town Library (*vide* illustration), and is now in the Leicester Public Museum.

At Cambridge, Cole¹ remembered to have seen a woman ducked for scolding "at the bridge pool next to Magdalen College. The chair hung by a pulley fastened to a beam about the middle of the bridge, in which the woman was confined, and let down under the water three times, and then taken out. The bridge was then of timber, before the present stone bridge of one arch was builded. The ducking stool was constantly hanging in its place, and on the back panel of it was engraved laying holding of scolds, &c. Some time after a new chair was erected in the place of the old one, having the same devils carved on it, and well painted and ornamented. When the new bridge of stone was erected, about 1754, this was taken away; and I lately saw the carved and gilt back of it nailed up by the shop of one Mr. Jackson, a whitesmith, in the Butcher Row, behind the town-hall, who offered it to me, but I did not know what to do with it. In October, 1776, I saw in the old town-hall a third ducking-stool of plain oak, with an iron bar before it to confine the person in the seat; but I made no inquiries about it. I mention these things as the practice seems now to be totally laid aside."

At Honiton, Devon, Baretti, in 1760,² saw a ducking stool *in situ*, which he describes as "a kind of armed wooden chair, fixed on the extremity of a pole about fifteen feet long. The pole is horizontally placed on a post just by the water, and loosely pegg'd to that post, so that by raising it at one end, you lower the stool down into the midst of the rivulet. That stool serves at present to duck scolds and termagants: but it is said that the superstitious inhabitants of Honiton used formerly to place on it those old women whom they thought to be witches, and duck'd them unmercifully several times; sometimes to death."

In Warwickshire, Mr. Morgan³ saw a similar engine, "consisting of a long beam or rafter, moving on a fulcrum, and extending to the centre of a large pond, on which end the stool was to be placed."

In 1766, James Nield, the celebrated Cheshire philanthropist,⁴ saw in the Bridewell at Liverpool "a ducking stool complete, the first I had ever seen. We had two at Knutsford, one in a pond near the

1. MS. British Museum p. 172, circa 1780, quoted by Brand in his *Popular Antiquities*.

2. *Journey from London to Genoa*, vol. 1,—letter dated August 16, 1760.

3. In 4th edition of Jacob's *Law Dictionary*, 1772.

4. Lettsom's *Memoirs*, vol. 2, p. 197.

Higher Town, and another in a pond near the Lower Town, where the schoolboys were accustomed to bathe ; in these, scolding and brawling women were ducked ; but the standard in each was all that remained in my memory. (In Green's '*History of Knutsford*,' p. 88, it is stated that the place is still known as the Duck-stool pit). I never remember them used, but this at Liverpool enables me to describe it. A standard was fixed for a long pole, at the extremity of which was fastened a chair ; on this the woman was placed, and soused three times under water, till almost suffocated. At Liverpool the standard was fixed in the court, and a bath made on purpose for ducking ; but why in a prison this *wanton* and *dangerous* severity was exercised on *women*, and not on *men*, I could nowhere learn. This mode of punishment seems formerly to have been general, for it is in the memory of persons now (1806) living, when a machine of this kind was in the Green Park."

Howard¹ visited the Liverpool Bridewell in 1779, and learned that the practice was still continued. In this chair, he proceeds, "ALL the *females* (not the *males*) at their entrance, after a few questions, are placed with a flannel shift on, and undergo a thorough ducking thrice repeated—an use of a bath which, I dare say, the legislature never thought of, when in their late Act they ordered baths with a view to *cleanliness* and *preserving the health* of prisoners." At another visit, about the year 1792,² he found that "this use of the bath has been discontinued ;" and Neild, in 1803,³ found that it had not been again employed, adding that "it was formerly the punishment in almost every country town in Cheshire and Lancashire for scolds and brawling women."

Mr. Carrington⁴ was informed by Mr. Curword, the eminent barrister, that he recollected to have seen, about the year 1776, a fresh Cucking Stool "in a perfect state, at the edge of a pond, in a village green, near Worthing."

Brand⁵ favours us with some lines entitled "the Ducking Stool," commencing thus :—

"There stands, my friend, in yonder pool,
An engine called a ducking stool."

At Grimsby, "the last lady who occupied the exalted situation of chairwoman in the Trebucket was Poll Wheldale, about the year 1780. She is represented as being possessed of great volubility of speech, and somewhat addicted to scandal withal. This latter quality acquired for her the distinguished title of Miss Meanwell. The Cucking Stool was ultimately removed in 1796."⁶

At Scarborough, the last person ducked was a Mrs. Gamble, who underwent the cooling operation about the year 1795. This took place

1. Appendix to *The State of Prisons*, &c., 1780, p. 181.

2. *The State of Prisons*, &c., 1792, p. 76.

3. *Gentleman's Magazine* for December, 1803.

4. *Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine*, vol. 1, p. 73.

5. *Popular Antiquities*, vol. 3, p. 105, quoted from *Miscellaneous Poems*, by B. West, published in 1780.

6. *Gentleman's Magazine* for December, 1831, p. 505.

at the old pier, the site still being called "ducker's hole." The chair is now preserved in the Museum of the Philosophical Society.¹

In the latter part of the century, a correspondent in Willis's *Current Notes* (for October, 1854, p. 79), remembers to have seen "at the place called 'the Barbican,' at Plymouth, one of these stools swinging over, or on the edge of Plymouth (Sutton) Pool. The chair was made of iron, suspended by a chain running over the end of the beam."

Just previous to the commencement of the present century, "a Cuckstool complete stood over a pit near Longton, on the way from Preston to Liverpool, adjoining the turnpike road."² And at Banbury, about the same time, "the Cucking stool existed at a horsepool at the lower end of the Market-place."³

19th century.—At Wootton Bassett, the wheels and the chair—the latter bearing date 1668—of a ducking apparatus are still preserved. About forty-five years since it was perfect. "The person to be ducked was tied into the chair and the machine pushed into a pond, called the Weir-pond (which is now filled up), and the shafts being let go, the scold was tipped backwards into the water."⁴

In the disused Norman portion of Leominster church, a perfect ducking apparatus is still preserved. A correspondent (T. F. Watling, Esq., of Leominster, who also kindly favoured the writer with a sketch of the machine), informed me that he remembered, about 1808 or 1809, to have seen "a very disorderly old woman, named Jenny Pipes, ducked by means of this apparatus, and after being dipped three or four times, she was asked to express her regret to the magistrates, when Jenny vociferated: "D—, d— them all." Mr. Carrington⁵ was informed of the same case by an eye witness, who "also recollected Sarah Leeke being placed in this chair, and wheeled round the town, about the year 1817, but "she could not be ducked, as the water was low." He also stated, "that the persons ducked were immersed at three different parts of the town,—twice in the river Lug, and once in a pond; and that when the machine was wheeled through the town, the woman in the chair at the end of the beam was nearly as high as the first floor windows of the houses."⁶

1. Information of R. Champley, Esq., through whose courtesy a sketch of the Chair was obtained for the illustration of the present Paper.

2. Baines' *History of Lancashire*, vol. 4, p. 300.

3. Beesley's *History of Banbury*, p. 223.

4. Mr. Carrington in *Wiltshire Archæological Magazine*, vol. 1, p. 68.

5. *Journal of Archæological Institute*, vol. 17, p. 78.

6. An engraving of this machine appears as an illustration to Mr. Carrington's paper, before referred to:—another is in the *Illustrated London News* for March 27, 1858, in the descriptive paragraph to which it is erroneously stated that Jenny Pipes was *not* dipped, but was liberated "on reaching the river's edge." Another illustration appears in the vol. of the *Anastatic Drawing Society* for 1858—the present lithograph is from an original sketch.

At Chesterfield, the ducking stool was removed about sixty years ago, and was last in use about ten years previously. It was of the same form as the Worthing example. "Ordinarily one or two immersions of the poor victim was all that was inflicted; but the last woman who underwent the punishment having used very bad language, and sworn terribly on emerging from the water the second time, was again ducked, and this time came up again cooled and penitent. It was used on the authority of a 'magistrate,' and in the latter part of its existence it was chiefly used to punish refractory paupers. The woman was placed in the chair, her arms drawn backwards, a bar placed across her back and in front of her elbows—so that she was literally 'trussed'—another bar to hold her upright, and cords to tie her in, and she was then powerless, and obliged to submit to whatever degree of punishment her tormentors might think fit to inflict upon her."¹

Mr. Swinnerton, of Macclesfield, informs me that an old inhabitant of that town "had a perfect recollection of this extraordinary engine. It was placed at the bottom of Cuckstool-pit-hill, on the border of the brook (or river). He described it as something like a clumsy chair, on which the delinquent was placed and securely bound. The chair was then hoisted by an impromptu teagle, and then, with its terrified occupant, lowered into the water, amid the jeers of the crowd assembled to witness the punishment of the offender."

According to the information of Mr. Claye, of Stockport, a cucking stool was formerly placed opposite the Dog Hill Green Pits, at Poynton: and a gentleman of the neighbourhood informed him that his father used to relate an anecdote of an old woman of the locality who, being "an inveterate scold, was placed in the stool and ducked repeatedly, but they were afraid they should drown her before her tongue was cured; the only alternative was to submit to the consequences of the scolding periodically administered, or be indicted for woman-slaughter—the former was preferred."

Lysons (*History of Devonshire*, p. 357) states that the lord of the manor of Dacombe, in Devonshire, "is obliged to keep a cucking stool for the punishment of scolding women."

1. Mr. Ll. Jewitt in *The Reliquary* for January, 1861, p. 147.

(To be continued.)

A Brief Abstract of the Proceedings of the Society,

FROM JULY, 1857, TO DECEMBER, 1859.

[CONTINUED FROM PAGE 128.]

WE resume the narrative of our proceedings at a point full of interest, not only to this Society, but to the antiquarian public generally. We allude to the ANNUAL MEETING OF THE "ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND," which had been this year fixed to be held in the city of Chester. To the visit of a kindred body,—the British Archæological Association,—in the summer of 1849, the city of Chester, in some measure, owed the existence of its own local "Architectural, Archæological, and Historic Society." The Council of this Society, therefore, remembering the important results which attended the Congress of the Association at Chester, naturally looked forward, with the highest satisfaction, to the approaching visit of the INSTITUTE; and, at a meeting of the Council, held December 19, 1856, pledged the Society to the following resolution:—

"Mr. W. Wynne Ffoulkes having submitted to the Council the desirability of a cordial co-operation with the Committee of the 'Archæological Institute of Great Britain' in the arrangements for the Congress to be held in this city in July, 1857,—it was proposed by Mr. Wynne Ffoulkes, seconded by Mr. E. G. Salisbury, and resolved unanimously, —That the following gentlemen be appointed a Local Committee for promoting, in the best manner possible, the objects of the forthcoming Meeting:—

THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL THE MAYOR (PETER EATON, ESQ.)

MR. JOHN WILLIAMS
MR. P. S. HUMBERSTON
MR. CHARLES W. POTTS
MR. JOHN SMITH
MR. J. HICKLIN
MR. JOSEPH PRICE

MR. E. G. SALISBURY
MR. T. N. BRUSHFIELD
MR. W. F. AYRTON
MR. JAMES HARRISON
MR. THOMAS HUGHES
MR. W. W. FFOULKES, *Hon. Sec.*

In consonance with the foregoing preliminary arrangements, the proceedings of the ANNUAL MEETING OF THE INSTITUTE commenced in this city under very encouraging auspices, on Tuesday, July 21st. The Lord Bishop of Chester not only favoured the meeting by becoming its Patron, but consented likewise to take the part of President in the section of History; the President of the division of Antiquities being Dr. Guest, Master of Caius and Gonville College, Cambridge; whilst the section of Architecture was under the efficient direction of Sir Stephen R. Glynne, Bart., who has few rivals in the minute accuracy of his Ecclesiological knowledge.

The opening meeting took place at the Town Hall, the entire accommodation of which had been freely placed at the disposal of the Institute by the Mayor and Corporation. The members of the Town Council met at noon in the Assembly Room, where Lord Talbot de Malahide, accompanied by the Lord Bishop of Chester, the Lord Bishop of Oxford, Sir Charles Anderson, Bart., the Rev. Canon Slade, and several influential members of the Chester Archæological Society, were introduced to the Mayor, Peter Eaton, Esq., who wore his insignia of office on the occasion. The noble President was then conducted by the Mayor and Corporation into the Town Hall, and the following address, which was read by the Deputy Town Clerk, John Walker, Esq., was formally presented by the Mayor :—

“To the Right Honourable Lord Talbot de Malahide, and the Members of the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,—We, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the city and borough of Chester, in Council assembled, beg to offer to the members of the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland our sincere congratulation on the selection of this ancient city as the place at which to hold their annual meeting for the present year. Associated as you, my lords and gentlemen, are, for the intelligent investigation of the history and remains of past ages, we venture to express a belief that the many remarkable antiquities and interesting memorials of former days with which Chester and the adjacent district abound, will be found worthy of your examination and illustration ; and in the prosecution of your researches you may confidently rely on our assistance and co-operation. Assuring you of our anxious desire to render your visit to this city as agreeable and interesting as those which the Institute has previously enjoyed at other municipal boroughs, we trust that you will receive with favour this official expression of congratulation and welcome, and that Chester may obtain a record in your Proceedings suggestive, not only of historical associations, but of pleasant and friendly reminiscences ; in the confident hope of which result, we heartily wish you every success and gratification in the promotion of your important and learned pursuits.”

Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE rose to express his cordial acknowledgment of this gratifying address from the Corporation. “ On behalf of the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland,” said the noble President, “ I tender you our thanks for the kind manner in which you have given us a welcome to this city. It is a source of great gratification that we find such influential bodies as the Corporations of our country rallying round our standard and expressing sympathy with our views. Since the Archæological Institute has existed, it has visited many places of historical interest and presenting a rich variety of monuments of ancient art ; but I may venture to assert that no place at which it has met will have afforded the members greater gratification than the city of Chester and its neighbourhood. We all know what an

important part this city has taken in the history of the country, and we all know that for a long succession of years it has given a special title to a royal prince. At all times it has been distinguished for its loyalty to the throne and its attachment to the liberties of the subject. I beg leave, gentlemen, to return you my most sincere thanks for the honour you have conferred on the members of the Institute."

The LORD BISHOP OF CHESTER then addressed the assembly :—
 " My Lord Talbot and gentlemen,—My name having been associated with those of distinguished persons as patrons of this meeting, I wish that the duty devolving on me could have been placed in more able hands. It has fallen to my lot to bid you and the members of your Society a cordial welcome, assuring you that we earnestly adopt those sentiments so well expressed in the address which the Mayor of Chester has just now presented to you. It is with very great satisfaction that I am enabled to welcome the noble President of the Institute as my guest on this occasion, having feared that private anxieties might have detained him on the continent, whence he has hastened hither to-day, with the earnest desire to take his place amongst us at the very outset of the present proceedings. I hope that Chester may fully realise the anticipations formed when you conferred on us the honour of selecting this city as the scene of your annual assembly. There is scarcely any town more interesting than this, when we consider the part it has taken in the history of our country. From the time of the Romans and through the mediæval ages, the struggles of the Reformation, and the stirring scenes of the Civil Wars, our hearts warm at the gallant deeds of our ancestors, and we can scarce determine which to prefer, chivalry or liberty. With such historical recollections, and with such features of interest connected with this ancient city, I heartily bid you welcome to Chester."

The REV. CANON SLADE then said,—“ My Lord Talbot de Malahide, in the absence of the Dean, his duties on the present occasion devolve upon me, and I have much pleasure, as he would have were he present, in inviting your Lordship and the members of the Society to the investigation of our venerable Cathedral. The exterior is not attractive, but its interior possesses features of great archæological and architectural interest. I scarcely know any Cathedral which possesses so many remarkable features in the variety of styles and details. I hope that, as a result of this meeting, we shall be favoured with a more perfect architectural history of our Cathedral than any we have yet seen. The King's School, the ancient refectory of the abbey, has been placed at the disposal of the Society for their temporary Museum ; and every facility will be afforded to the members of the Institute during their visit."

Mr. HICKLIN next addressed the meeting as follows :—“ I have the honour and pleasure of appearing, at the request of my friends, as the official representative of the Chester Archæological and Historic Society to welcome the arrival of the Institute, and to assure you of every assistance which it is in our power to render. With full appreciation of the special value and advantage of the pursuits in which you engage, we are ready and anxious to extend the study of Archæology, and to recognise its influence, as awakening an intelligent spirit of enquiry—illustrating the history of the past—stimulating the progress of improvement—causing, as it were, forgotten generations to live again, and gathering from the wisdom and errors of former years, materials for the instruction of the present age. In Chester and the adjacent districts, you will doubtless find much to investigate with advantage : the Walls of Chester have echoed to the tramp of the legions of Rome ; here the raven standards of the Danes floated amidst scenes of carnage and tumult ; here the Barons of the Norman Court have displayed all the pageantry of chivalry ; here, as our Reverend Diocesan has reminded us, loyalty has vindicated by its heroism its claim to the gratitude of the Crown and the approbation of the country. Here, in ancient days, a persecuted faith found a sanctuary, freedom a home, and Chester became the centre of religious knowledge, and the seat of many important institutions which it has always been its glory to foster and support. Amidst the relics of the past, and on spots which revive so many historical associations, we sincerely offer you our congratulations and our ready aid during the time of your sojourn, that your investigations may be pleasant and instructive, and your visit to Chester agreeable and memorable. I may also state, on behalf of another local body, the members of the Mechanics' Institute, their kindly readiness to place at the service of the Institute their library, and their Museum in the Water Tower, which will be found to contain many objects of interest and relics of bygone times, not unworthy of your examination.”

The Noble PRESIDENT expressed the gratification with which these kind assurances of friendly feeling must be esteemed. “ In the first place (Lord Talbot observed), I cannot but be grateful for the kind expressions which have been used by my friend the Lord Bishop of the Diocese. And I can sincerely assure you that he only does justice to my feelings in stating to you that it was a source of great anxiety to me to be able to be present here amongst my friends this day. I am heartily sensible of the kind feeling expressed, in the absence of the Dean, by the reverend dignitary who represents the authorities of the Cathedral ; as also by Mr. Hicklin on behalf of the local societies. To all these institutions we feel deeply indebted for their welcome and for the sympathy expressed in the objects of our Society. These sympathies

are calculated to give a fresh and stimulative impulse to our proceedings, and I trust that our visit to Chester will be conducive to that purpose. In conclusion, I beg to offer our warm acknowledgments to the local societies of Chester, but especially to the Architectural and Archæological Society, which has done so much for science, and so much to revive and maintain the study of the national monuments of the Palatinate. I am aware of the valuable publications issued from time to time under their auspices, and of the great loss sustained by the death of our talented friend, the Rev. W. H. Massie. I had the pleasure on several occasions to meet that lamented gentleman—besides the knowledge I obtained of his exertions in connexion with the local institutions kindred to our own—and I know that his loss will be difficult to replace. I trust, however, that there are many active members remaining in the Society, who will be stimulated to pursue the investigations in which Mr. Massie was so efficient a guide.

The LORD BISHOP OF OXFORD addressed the meeting, and upon behalf of himself and those who were associated around him, and as an old member of the Archæological Institute, begged to return thanks to the Lord Bishop of Chester, the Very Rev. the Dean, and the Canons of the Cathedral who formed the Chapter, for the very kind welcome which had been given them by his Rev. friend, Canon Slade. He was sure that every member would gladly join in the acknowledgment, and that they would not only be bad men, but very bad archæologists if they did not distinctly and very clearly acknowledge such a welcome from such a body ; because, amongst all the different institutions which marked their common country, and which embodied the peculiar character of England, in which it differed so markedly from every other country, was, that instead of building the present upon the past, as an ancient worn-out débris, hiding it underground as a foundation, and showing to the present eye nothing but what is new ; instead of doing this, a very special characteristic of this country was that it conserved the old, and more than any other country invented and adopted new, and by the practical ability of the people kept the old in a state of perfect preservation, and yet was very much ahead of other nations in the newest of the new. It seemed to him that the Cathedral Chapter and his Right Rev. brother, the Bishop of Chester, did well in welcoming such a Society ; because, after all, there was far more than the mere gratification of a somewhat idle curiosity when archæologists ransacked the dust of antiquity. They were carrying out the great plan of the Creator and Ruler of this world, who had so ordered the affairs of men that things returned again in a perpetual cycle, the past reproducing itself in the present, with only slight external alterations ; but, really and truly, in the kernel the same which was before. And,

therefore, when people did set themselves to study thoroughly the past, not to get a mere superficial acquaintance with it, but see it as it lived and moved and had its being, to understand it in its temper, in its circumstances, and in its inward life, those persons did get a certain sort of prescience of the future from their acquaintance with the past. Thus, the man who thoroughly understands the past, would be the man who could most perfectly forecast the future, according to those trite lines of the poet, that such a man was one, in whom

"Old experience did attain
To something of prophetic strain ;"

the understanding of the past giving him, as it were, the power of prophecy regarding the future.

LORD TALBOT DE MALAHIDE said that the speech of his Right Rev. friend, the Bishop of Oxford, would render it a work of supererogation to enter into any details of the objects of the Archæological Institute. Their study was not a mere dull and dry pursuit, but was fraught with good and instruction to the public. He might confidently state that, so far as the study of archæology was concerned, many practical objects were gained by institutions like that now assembled. The Society, he might also observe, had done much to arrest the threatened destruction of national monuments. Only a few days since he had visited the Castle of Dover, with which so many associations interesting to the country were connected—similar to those with which the city of Chester was invested—memorials from the old Roman time to the Saxon, from the mediæval ages down to the present. Unfortunately, as many of his hearers knew, there were a short time since engineering projects which would have interfered with some interesting features of the fortress ; but he (Lord Talbot) was proud to say, it was in a great measure due to the exertions of the Institute that these alterations had been arrested, and, he believed, the authorities at present were fully impressed with the necessity of maintaining the interesting details of that noble building. It would be in the power of every one present to know individual instances in which a zealous and judicious archæologist, by the exercise of taste and judgment, could often be of great service. It had come to their knowledge a few days since, that a very interesting monument of antiquity—he would not name the place, but it was one of the most venerable castles in the south of England—had been doomed to destruction ; but through the personal exertions of a well-known antiquary, the design was completely arrested. These two instances were sufficient to convince the most sceptical that every antiquary had a good deal in his power, if he availed himself of the opportunities which come under his influence, in order to maintain and save our national monuments."

Mr. J. H. MARKLAND, D.C.L., observed that, though called upon to second the resolution of the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Oxford, he ought perhaps to apologise for addressing the meeting, being an utter stranger to so many present. No town could have been selected by the Institute for a place of meeting with greater propriety than Chester. They were now in a city, the very atmosphere of which breathed antiquity,—“*non olet sed redolet.*” Not only were there numerous objects, both Roman and Mediæval, of deep interest to the antiquary. but the ladies present would also look with no common feelings upon many buildings around them, intimately connected with history,—and on the river which washed the City Walls, celebrated, as it had been by one of our most distinguished poets, as the grave of Lycidas. Mr. Markland expatiated at some length on the advantages and benefits to be derived from this and kindred societies. He pointed out that since the publication of Mr. Parker’s excellent work, there had been a manifest improvement both in the structure of churches, and in their careful restoration,—an improvement plainly shewn in the modern works in progress in many of the Cathedrals. Chester, he confessed, presented many attractions to him personally. His youth had been passed in this city, and the little Latin and the less Greek which he now possessed, were taught him in the noble room (the King’s School) which had been set apart for the reception of the temporary Museum. That he was cradled in the study and love of antiquities, he might assert; as an instance, he would mention that, at the age of twelve, he instructed a person in this city to cleanse and restore the monuments of two of his ancestors,—those of Bishop Stratford and Archdeacon Entwisle. It was too much like egotism, but he might briefly notice that, forty years ago, he was the first to direct attention to the *Chester Mysteries*; of these he edited two, as his literary gift to the Roxburghe Club. This led to the publication of the *Coventry Mysteries*, by Mr. Sharpe; of the *Townley Mysteries*, by their able Associate, Mr. Hunter; and, lastly, to the editing of the entire series of the *Chester Mysteries*, by Mr. Wright; so that he hoped he had rendered some service in bringing forward an ancient literary relic, both curious and interesting, intimately connected with their present place of meeting.

A vote of thanks to the Noble Chairman, proposed by Sir CHARLES ANDERSON, Bart., and seconded by the Rev. HUGH JONES, D.D., was carried with acclamation. The meeting then adjourned.

The Museum of the Institute was opened in the King’s School, the ancient Refectory of the Abbey. Amongst the collections were an extensive assemblage of relics of Roman occupation at Chester, inscriptions, personal ornaments, pottery, &c., contributed chiefly by the

Chester Archæological Society, Mr. F. Potts, Mr. Gardner, Mr. Edwards, Mr. T. N. Brushfield, and Mr. John Lowe. The Marquis of Westminster sent the gold torc found near Holywell, and some gold ornaments of still more uncommon type were brought by Mr. Mayer. A large collection of the minor relics of all periods found at Hoylake were contributed by Mr. Mayer, the Lancashire Historic Society, the Rev. Dr. Hume, and Mr. Ecroyd Smith. Sir Philip de Malpas Grey Egerton, Bart. contributed the gold armlets found at Malpas, and several bronze weapons of interest found at Broxton. Some uncommon types of stone antiquities, and many objects of later periods, were contributed by the Warrington Museum, Dr. Robson, and Dr. Kendrick. The Viscount Combermere sent the original grant by Henry VIII. of the Abbey of Combermere to Sir George Cotton; and numerous documents of local importance were produced by the Corporation of Chester, Sir Philip Grey Egerton, Bart., Mr. T. W. Jones, of Nantwich, and Mr. R. E. E. Warburton. Mr. Jones produced also a knife and fork, part of the effects, as it was believed, of Milton's third wife, and which had possibly belonged to the poet. They are described in the *Archæological Journal*, p. 89. Amongst the chief contributors of works of mediæval art were Sir Stephen Glynne, Bart., the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, Major Egerton Leigh, Mr. C. Kynaston Mainwaring, and Mr. Farrer. The Hon. R. Neville brought his precious collection of rings, including his most recent acquisitions, and some silver ornaments of unique type, found in his excavations near Audley End. Miss Ffarington sent many interesting objects; the antiquities lately found in Penwortham Castle Hill, near Preston; a large series of impressions of seals, from her family muniments; some curious ancient plate, &c. The Rev. W. B. Marsden sent an ancient portrait of Henry VII. on a panel. A collection of early antiquities from various localities was sent by Mr. Brackstone; some Saxon remains from Norfolk, by the Rev. J. Lee Warner; and numerous relics of various periods were produced, not connected with Cheshire, forming an instructive series. The striking interest, however, of the Museum arose from the extent and variety of the local collections. Amongst these must be mentioned the illustrations of Chester in olden times, contributed by Mr. T. Hughes, Mr. Topham, Dr. Davies, &c., and by the numerous possessors of delicately finished drawings with the pen, the work of Mr. J. Musgrave, an artist living in Chester a few years ago, whose accurate, nay almost photographic, views of the old buildings in this city are deservedly held in very high estimation.

In the afternoon a general exploration of the Roman remains, the ancient buildings, the churches, city walls, and objects of interest in Chester took place, under the guidance of Mr. Wynne Ffoulkes, Mr.

J. Harrison, Mr. Ayrton, Mr. T. Hughes, and other members of the Chester Archaeological Society.

At the evening meeting the chair was taken by the BISHOP OF CHESTER. A Memoir was read, communicated by Mr. WILLIAM SALT, F.S.A., "On the Visits of Henry III. to Chester, Shropshire, and Staffordshire."

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22.

The Meetings of Sections commenced at ten o'clock at the Town Hall. In the Section of Antiquities, the chair was taken by the President, Dr. GUEST, Master of Caius and Gonville College, Cambridge.

A Memoir was read by the Rev. J. EARLE, M.A., Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, "On Local Names in the neighbourhood of Chester; with the view of illustrating the evidence in regard to the ancient occupation of various parts of Britain by various races, as traced through the names by which the various localities are known."

In the Section of Architecture, the chair was taken by Sir STEPHEN R. GLYNNE, Bart.

Mr. J. H. PARKER, F.S.A., read a paper "On St. John's Church, Chester." It appeared at length in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1858, pp. 273—281. We will merely state here that Mr. Parker was of opinion that the present north-west tower, half detached as it stands, was completed in the time of Henry VII. or Henry VIII. In the west face of the tower there is a figure of St. Giles, abbot, in a niche of well-designed work, with his usual emblem, a stag, in his hand, to which the tradition of the white hind has been for centuries locally applied.

In the afternoon a meeting of the Section of Antiquities was held at the Town Hall, Dr. GUEST presiding.

Mr. GEORGE SCHARF, Jun., delivered an address on the "Gallery of Ancient Masters in the Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition," the formation of which had been wholly due to his exertions; and he reviewed with much ability the various schools of Art, and the peculiar merits of the examples which had been so liberally contributed. He noticed the unprecedented opportunity which the Institute would now enjoy of viewing in one continuous series the productions of the most eminent painters of all countries, from the earliest period; as also a portrait gallery of unrivalled interest, arranged by Mr. Peter Cunningham, and which he trusted might be the prototype of the National Portrait Gallery.

The meeting then adjourned; and at six o'clock the Annual Dinner of the Institute took place in the Music Hall, Lord Talbot presiding. At the close of an evening passed with much good feeling and cordiality,

the company, at the kind invitation of the Bishop of Chester, proceeded to the Palace, where a very hospitable reception awaited them.

THURSDAY, JULY 23.

At an early hour a large party of Members and visitors proceeded by special train to the Art-Treasures Exhibition at Manchester. A general feeling of satisfaction was evinced by the assembled archæologists in having an opportunity of examining the choicer portions of the "Faussett Collection," which was secured in so spirited and patriotic a manner by Mr. Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., as an addition to his extensive museum at Liverpool. Great regret was expressed that objects of such beauty and interest should have been lost to the National Collection through the inexcusable negligence of the Trustees of the British Museum. The inspection of the scanty commencement of the series of Celtic and other early antiquities brought forcibly to the remembrance of many Members present the severe loss which Archæology had so recently sustained in the untimely death of Mr. Kemble, a prominent member of the Institute, and the consequent failure of the extensive display of national antiquities which he had here proposed to bring together.

On their return from Manchester, the Members were received by Mr. Williams, of the Old Bank, at his house in Chester, and the evening passed with much satisfaction.

FRIDAY, JULY 24.

The Historical Section assembled at the Town Hall, the BISHOP of CHESTER in the Chair. The following Memoirs, amongst others, were read:—"The History of St. John's Church, Chester," by the Rev. FRANCIS GROSVENOR. "On the Alleluiah Victory, and the State of England in the Fifth Century," by JOHN ROBSON, M.D.*

In the Section of Antiquities, the chair was again taken by Dr. GUEST. The first paper was read by J. A. PICTON, Esq., late President of the Liverpool Architectural and Archæological Society, "On the Primitive Condition and Early Settlement of South Lancashire and North Cheshire, with the Physical Changes which have taken place." The locality referred to is that which extends for some distance on each side the Mersey. Geologically, this tract belongs to the new red sandstone series. In no place do any of the eminences rise 300 feet above the sea level. In the uplands the sandstone comes to the surface, and generally the soil is a tenacious clay. In the neighbourhood of the sea that clay is covered by drift-sand, and more inland by peat moss. Little is known of the condition of the locality during the

* This Paper was printed in full in the *Journal* of the Archæological Institute, Vol. XIV., pp. 320—330.

occupation of the Romans. When they penetrated into the district in the reign of Claudius, the county of Chester was occupied by the Cornavii, comparatively a peaceful race. Roads were constructed and settlements were made, of which Chester was the chief. The north side of the Mersey was in the hands of the Brigantes, a fierce tribe, who were continually in rebellion. The Mersey at all times seems to have been a great barrier to the union of the inhabitants of its opposite shores, and the men of Lancashire and Yorkshire are more similar than those of Lancashire and Cheshire. In the district under consideration, some of the names of the rivers and places are of Celtic origin; others, without doubt, are of Danish derivation; but the majority are Saxon. Great physical changes had taken place in the district from cultivation and other causes; and in the Hundred of Wirral, where it once was said—

“From Birkenhead to Hilbree

A squirrel might hop from tree to tree,”

it had become difficult to find shelter from the westerly blasts sweeping over that locality. Mr. Picton proceeded to show that forests must have existed on the site now occupied by the docks at Liverpool; since far below high-water mark huge stumps of oak trees have been found with roots extending so widely as to prove that the trees had originally flourished there. Mr. Picton concluded an interesting discourse by a reference to the spread of civilization and commerce, as shown in Liverpool, which would, he trusted, continue to benefit the present and future generations.

The Rev. J. H. MARSDEN, Disneian Professor of Archæology at Cambridge, read a Memoir “On the Altar with a Greek Inscription, found in 1851, behind the Exchange in Chester.”

The Section of Architecture resumed its proceedings in the Council Chamber, Sir S. R. GLYNNE, Bart., presiding. A discourse “On the Architecture of Chester Cathedral,” was delivered by Mr. JOHN HENRY PARKER, F.S.A., who invited his auditors to accompany him in visiting the Cathedral after the evening service. This Paper was also printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1858, and has since been embodied with the articles on St. John's Church by Mr. Parker and the Rev. F. Grosvenor in a separate work entitled “The Mediæval Architecture of Chester.”

The Rev. CHARLES HARTSHORNE read a Paper “On Carnarvon Castle, with reference to Flint, and other Castles in Wales.” In the month of July, 1277, Edward I. first turned his course towards the Principality, and arrived at Chester on the 16th. He passed four days in camp at Basingwerk at the close of the month. From the 18th to the 24th of August he was at the same place, and at Rhuddlan on the

25th, where he remained until the 15th of October, proceeding on the following day to Shrewsbury. We find him again at Rhuddlan from the 9th of November until the 16th. In the tenth year of his reign (1282) he reached Chester on the 6th of June, continued there till the 28th of the same month, when he went to the encampment of his army at Newton for two days, returning to Chester on the 1st of July, and leaving it again in a week for Flint. On the 8th of July, he fixed himself before Rhuddlan and continued there, with only a very few days' absence in the neighbourhood, till the 11th of March, 1283,—a period of eight months. On the 13th, he took up his quarters at Conway, and remained there and in the immediate vicinity till the 16th of June, when he again came to Rhuddlan. On the 1st of July, he left it for Conway, on his route to Carnarvon; he reached that place on the 12th, and continued there till the close of the month. Criccaeth and Harlech were subsequently visited by him. He paid a short visit to Rhuddlan again at the close of December, 1283. In March, 1284, the twelfth year of his reign, he came to it on the 8th of March, dividing the early part of the month between that place and Chester. On the 24th he left it for Conway, and on the 1st of April arrived at Carnarvon. At Carnarvon he stayed through the whole of April and until the 6th June, scarcely being absent a day. On April 10th he was at Harlech; on the 23rd at Criccaeth, and returned again to Carnarvon on the 25th, staying there till the 8th of June, when he took up his residence at Baladenthlyn till the 3rd of July. The whole of the remainder of the month was spent at Carnarvon. On the 2nd of the month of August he visited the island of Bardsey, and subsequently Porthleyn, Carnarvon, Aber, Conway, Rhuddlan, Flint, and Chester, where he returned on the 10th of September. There he remained for a week. On the 8th of October we find the King at Conway for four days, on his route to Carnarvon, which he reached on the 12th, and remained till the 24th, going thence, by way of Criccaeth and Harlech, to Castle-y-Berio, or Bere, and Lampeter, in South Wales. It was not until the twenty-third year of Edward's reign that he is again found on the borders of the Principality; in 1294, he visited Chester on the 4th of December, sojourning there for four or five days. It was his last visit to Chester. He was now on his road to Conway, which he reached, by making a diversion from the direct line, on the 25th of December, no doubt spending his Christmas in that beautiful residence, for he was there through the whole of January, February, and March, and through the first week of April, 1295. He continued in different parts of Anglesey and Merionethshire through May and June; was once more at Conway the first five days of July; at Carnarvon on the 7th, 8th, and 9th, when he finally left that part of his dominions. Mr.

Hartshorne then stated the order in which Edward I. built his castles in North Wales, commencing at Flint and Rhuddlan, in the eleventh year of his reign, 1283, then carrying on his works at Conway. He stated that there were no accounts of the expenses of erecting the former, and those of Conway Castle were simply set down on the Great Roll of the Pipe, with the accounts for Carnarvon, Criccaeth, and Harlech. Nor are there any accounts for building Beaumaris Castle. Upon Conway, he remarked that Edward I. came there on March 13th, 1283, and remained till August 28th. During his residence he sent writs to the sheriff of Rutlandshire for twenty expert masons, and to the sheriff of Shropshire for carpenters, and two hundred soldiers to guard them on their journey. Llewellyn's Hall was commenced in 1286, and took four years to complete, at the cost of £48 13s. 11d., the round-headed window being the work of Elias de Burton and William de Walton. The town walls were constructed in 1284.

In the afternoon, Lord Talbot and a numerous party assembled at the Cathedral, and were conducted through the edifice by the Bishop of Chester, the Rev. Canon Slade, and the Rev. F. Grosvenor. The principal features of architectural interest were pointed out by Mr. PARKER.

In the evening there was a meeting in the Music Hall, the LORD BISHOP OF CHESTER presiding, and Mr. HICKLIN gave a lecture, entitled "A Walk Round the Walls of Chester." In his imaginary walk, he pointed out, as he proceeded, the objects of historical interest, which were marked on an enlarged plan of the city. The more striking incidents connected with each structure, and the associations which they suggested, presented a subject of great and varied interest. In the course of his observations he introduced a series of manuscripts, illustrative of the siege of Chester during the reign of Charles I., lent to him for the purpose by Mr. Hawkins, of the British Museum. The lecture included notices of the most important historical and local vestiges of the city, from the period of its occupation by the Romans to comparatively modern times.

The BISHOP OF CHESTER considered the occasion presented by Mr. Hicklin's lecture very suitable for establishing some definite conclusion with respect to the origin of the Walls. He was surprised that their Roman origin should have been doubted; the remarks made by Mr. Hicklin with respect to that question appeared to him quite conclusive.

The REV. C. HARTSHORNE thought Mr. Hicklin's argument was perfectly decisive; the question must be set at rest for ever. In addition, there was ample evidence afforded by the moulding to be found on the Walls between the Northgate and the Phoenix Tower, to say nothing of the old Ship Gate, which was near the Old Bridge,

and which originally led to a ford across the river. Of these and numerous features of interest, as illustrations of the vestiges of *Deva* in olden times, a series of striking drawings was produced by Mr. Hicklin, from the stores of the Chester Archæological Society.

SATURDAY, JULY 25.

On this day a visit was made, on the cordial invitation of the "Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire," to Liverpool. The arrangements were entrusted to the Rev. Dr. Hume and Mr. Joseph Mayer, through whose admirable management and courtesy an excursion, replete with varied attractions and features of novel interest, was achieved with entire satisfaction.

On their course by special train from Chester, the Noble President, with a numerous suite of archæologists, stopped to examine the remains of Birkenhead Priory. They reached the shore of the Mersey at eleven, where, through the kindness of the Cunard Company, a steamer awaited them, which had been placed at the disposal of the Historic Society for the accommodation of their guests during the day. After a very agreeable cruise, with the gratification of witnessing the departure of the royal mail steamer *Persia*, and visiting the American ships, the *Niagara* and *Susquehanna*, the vessel proceeded to Garston, the most convenient point of landing for Speke Hall, in accordance with the hospitable invitation of Mr. Watt to visit one of the most interesting examples of ancient domestic architecture existing in the Counties Palatine. His carriages awaited the arrival of Lord Talbot and the party at their landing, and on reaching the stone bridge and picturesque entrance gate of Speke Hall, Mr. and Mrs. Watt (the latter a Cestrian born) received them with hearty welcome and hospitalities worthy of the most generous days of Old English festivity. The curious features of the old moated mansion,—just admirably restored by Mr. Watt,—the gardens and demesne, having been examined, the archæologists took their leave, highly gratified by the courtesy and kind feeling which had marked all the arrangements for the visit of the Institute.

On returning to Liverpool, the excursion party proceeded to inspect the various objects of interest in that town, especially St. George's Hall, the public buildings of chief note, and the extensive Museum formed by Mr. Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., including the Faussett Collections, which were viewed with fresh regret at the deplorable indifference of the Trustees of the British Museum to the acquisition of such an invaluable mass of evidence in illustration of the obscure earlier periods of our history. The liberality and good taste of Mr. Mayer in rescuing these treasures of antiquity, and in throwing open his extensive collections for public instruction, excited a general feeling of gratification. After a collation, provided at the Adelphi Hotel, the visitors proceeded

to the brilliant conversazione to which they had been invited by the Historic Society of Lancashire, and which took place in the Town Hall, through the kind permission of the Mayor of Liverpool. Towards the close of a very social evening, Mr. Mayer, in the name of the Historic Society, presented to the Noble President of the Institute an interesting and appropriate memorial, in the form of a "Mazer Bowl," banded with silver, and bearing an inscription commemorative of the occasion. It was made from one of the roof-timbers of the house used as head-quarters by Prince Rupert when he besieged Liverpool.

Lord TALBOT responded, expressing his sense of the high compliment thus paid to himself and to the Institute; and with the most hearty acknowledgment of all the kind feeling and attentions which had rendered this day one long to be remembered amidst the annual progresses of the Society, he took his leave, and the party returned by special train to Chester.

MONDAY, JULY 27.

This day was devoted to an Excursion to the Castles of Carnarvon and Conway, and a numerous party of Members of the Chester Archaeological Society accompanied their friends of the Institute on the occasion. The train reached Carnarvon about noon, and the party proceeded to the Castle; where they were met by Mr. Turner and other inhabitants, who showed them every courtesy.

The REV. C. H. HARTSHORNE delivered a short address on the history of the Castle, respecting which his researches have thrown considerable doubt upon opinions generally received. After mentioning the Castles at Flint, Rhuddlan, and Conway, which had been seen in the course of their journey that day, and which were built before that of Carnarvon, he proceeded to observe that Edward I. was at Carnarvon for the first time on April 1st, 1284; that his son Edward was born April 25th in that year; that three days after the birth of the Prince, writs for building the Castle were first issued. Consequently, the assertion that Queen Eleanor was at Carnarvon Castle at the period of Prince Edward's birth, is contradicted by the public records. The Castle of Carnarvon was completed in 1291, at a cost, as appears from the sheriff's accounts, of £3,528. The town walls were built in 1286. During the revolt of Madoc, in 1295, when Edward was much engaged in his foreign wars, Carnarvon Castle was razed to the ground. In the twenty-third year of his reign, Edward made his last visit to Carnarvon, and before his death the works for rebuilding the Castle had been carried on to a great extent; they were continued and completed by Edward II., the result being one of the most magnificent military structures in any part of the world. One hundred masons were sent from Chester to assist in building the Castle, and Mr. Hartshorne

pointed out, in the portion of the work erected in the reign of Edward II., its similarity to that of the Water Tower in Chester, as marked by the mouldings and other indications. The works seem to have been commenced at the north-east tower, and to have been carried round in the direction of the river. Edward II., if he did not commence his operations at a more advanced point in the works, certainly began at the curtain wall, south-east of the Eagle Tower. The Eagle Tower was roofed over in November, 1316; and floored in February, 1317. The eagle was placed on the summit the first week of March, 1317; and the effigy of the King fixed over the gateway on the last week of April, 1320. Mr. Hartshorne proceeded to verify his statements by extracts from the public records. He afterwards conducted the party through the ruins, which have been put into perfect repair under the direction of Anthony Salvin, Esq., at the cost of the Crown: and he pointed out the peculiar characteristics of the architecture in the interior arrangements and external features.

A discussion ensued, in which Mr. Hicklin, Sir Stephen Glynne, and other archæologists took part; and Mr. Hartshorne observed that it appears certain that Edward II., if not actually born in Carnarvon, was at that place in very early age. In the Wardrobe Accounts, a payment occurs of half a mark, given as alms by the King's own hands at Porchester to Margaret Attewode, who stated that for a certain time she had nursed him at Carnarvon.

A vote of thanks to Mr. Hartshorne having been proposed by Sir STEPHEN GLYNNE, the visitors returned by railway to Treborth, and inspected the Tubular Bridge and the Menai Bridge. They thence proceeded to Conway Castle, where they were met by Lady Erskine, by whom the castle is held on lease from the Crown, and who with very kind attention had made every arrangement for the gratification of the numerous visitors. Mr. Hartshorne gave some historical notices of the structure, which he designated as a most perfect example of the Edwardian type. After examining Plas-Mawr, the town walls, the curious gate-towers of Conway, and the Church, the party returned to Chester.

TUESDAY, JULY 28.

The Architectural Section assembled in the Council Chamber, under the presidency of Sir STEPHEN GLYNNE, Bart., and a Memoir was read by the Rev. J. L. PETIT, "On Nantwich Church." The fabric, Mr. Petit observed, is of the 14th century, although the original work was much earlier; it is a cruciform church of striking character, with a central octagonal tower. The recent restorations under Mr. Gilbert Scott's direction had not introduced many material changes, with the exception of the west window. Mr. Petit made special mention of the

beautiful stone pulpit, enriched with perpendicular panelling, as also of the sculptured wooden stalls of the church, actually in a decayed condition ; and he expressed his wish to record his opinion of the great architectural value of that part of the building—an example of late Decorated character—in the hope “ that should it ever fall into the hands of the restorer, it may be dealt with mercifully and tenderly.” Mr. Petit’s discourse was admirably illustrated by a series of his beautiful and artistic drawings.

At the close of the proceedings, an excursion was arranged for the purpose of visiting Nantwich Church, under Mr. Petit’s kind guidance ; as also Beeston Castle, and other remains of antiquarian interest.

In the evening a *conversazione* took place at the Museum of the Institute, in the ancient Refectory, now the King’s School. A large number of visitors, residents in Chester and the neighbourhood, including the members of the Chester Archæological Society, were invited to participate in this agreeable assembly. In the course of the explanatory observations offered regarding the various ancient remains which composed the collection, those more especially of local interest, the wish having been generally expressed for some details regarding the extensive display of relics found at Hoylake, and the remarkable discoveries there, on which no memoir had been communicated, particulars were related by the Rev. Dr. HUME. His account of those curious remains was originally read at the meeting of the Institute at York, in 1846 :—

“As early as the year 1845, (Dr. Hume observed) his attention was drawn to the curious objects found at Hoylake, on the northern shore of the Hundred of Wirral, at the mouth of the Dee, and it was then ascertained that they had been found at intervals during eighteen years, though no collection had been made. At that time he purchased all he could procure, and in 1847 his essay on the subject was published. Since that time there had been numerous collectors, and thousands of objects had been recovered. These were chiefly in the possession of Mr. Mayer, Mrs. Longueville, of Eccleston, Mr. Ecroyd Smith, Mr. Ainslie, of Guildford, Surrey, Mr. C. B. Robinson, Mr. Shaw, of Arrowe, the Historic Society of Lancashire, and himself. He had presented upwards of 100 objects to the Society, yet still had 400 or 500 remaining. There were scarcely any gold objects,—one coin, and some small articles being the only exceptions known to him ; but there were several in silver, and many in bronze, copper, and brass. Latterly, iron instruments, such as ancient knives, pheons, crossbow bolts, prick spurs, javelin heads, &c., had been brought to light ; but formerly these were not cared for. There were, perhaps, twenty different kinds of keys, and he thought that eighty or ninety forms of buckles might be arranged

from three various collections, no two of which were alike. The form and construction of various objects were explained, including needles, spindle whorls, coins, spoons, rings, fibulæ, tags or pendants of girdles, handles of small caskets, &c. ; and the character of the coast, with its submarine forest, was traced for about two hundred years. Dr. Hume next noticed the theories respecting the articles in metal and in stone. One is, that the place is the site of a town, of which all the more perishable evidences have long since passed away ; and another, that none of the relics were deposited at this spot, but that they were carried down from Chester, Hilbre, and other points, by the tide, and deposited in the smooth water along with other heavy substances. It would probably be found, after all, that an extensive burying place had existed there, in the shadow of the great forest trees, and that the sea, which could not restore its dead, gave forth these relics, which are the evidence of their former existence. The disintegration of the soil, which the Abbé Cochet, Dr. Faussett, the Hon. Richard Neville, Mr. Lukis, and others, performed by the spade and mattock, was here effected by natural causes ; and thus the relics of populations extending over a period of fifteen centuries were found side by side, to the astonishment and perplexity of the antiquary." Dr. Hume added, that he was preparing a treatise on the whole subject, which he hoped shortly to issue. [This valuable work is now on the eve of publication, beautifully illustrated.]

An expression of thanks to Dr. Hume, for these interesting remarks delivered on the impulse of the moment, was proposed by the Rev. CANON SLADE and Mr. CHARLES TUCKER, and unanimously adopted. The numerous concourse of visitors then dispersed.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 29.

The Annual Meeting of the Members took place at half-past nine, at the Town Hall. In the absence of Lord Talbot, who had been summoned to Ireland on pressing business, the chair was taken by the Treasurer, Mr. HAWKINS.

The attention of the members was then called to the choice of the place of meeting for the ensuing year. Invitations had been received from various Cathedral towns and localities presenting many attractions to the Society ; communications of a very encouraging character having been made from Carlisle, Bath, Peterborough, Hereford, Cirencester, and Southampton.

After a short discussion, in which the fullest assurances of cordial welcome and of hearty assistance in carrying out the purposes of the Institute were expressed by the Rev. H. M. SCARTH, it was unanimously determined that the Meeting for the ensuing year should be held at Bath.

At twelve o'clock the concluding Meeting was held in the Town Hall. The LORD BISHOP OF CHESTER presided, and opened the pro-

ceedings with the most kind expressions of satisfaction at the results of the visit of the Institute, and at the scientific as well as social results by which the proceedings of the week had been characterised.

The customary acknowledgments were then moved, and cordially responded to. Sir Charles Anderson, Bart., moved a vote of thanks to the Mayor and Corporation; Sir Philip de M. Grey Egerton, Bart., proposed thanks to the Dean and Chapter, for the valuable facilities they had given in promoting the objects of the Institute, and for permitting the King's School to be used as the Museum. Thanks were moved by Mr. Hawkins to the Chester Archæological and Historic Society, and especially to Mr. Wynne Ffoulkes, Mr. Hicklin, Mr. T. Hughes, Mr. James Harrison, and other active members of that body who had been unwearied in friendly co-operation. A similar compliment was then paid, on the motion of the Rev. J. L. Petit, to the Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society, to the Mayor of Liverpool, and to Mr. Watt, who had with such marked kindness and hospitality received the Institute at Speke Hall; more especially, however, to Dr. Hume and Mr. Mayer, by whom, on behalf of the Historic Society, the arrangements for the agreeable excursion to Liverpool had been carried out so highly to the gratification of their numerous guests.

The Rev. Dr. HUME, in acknowledging the compliment, expressed the satisfaction which the Historic Society had experienced on the occasion of tendering fraternal welcome to so many distinguished visitors, devoted to pursuits kindred to their own.' He concluded by proposing thanks to the contributors of Memoirs during the meeting of the Institute, mentioning especially Mr. Hicklin, Mr. J. H. Parker, and the Rev. F. Grosvenor, whose communications had illustrated subjects of great local interest. Mr. Hicklin responded in a speech of much ability and kind feeling; and he proposed thanks to the contributors to the Museum of the Institute, naming especially Viscount Combermere, Sir Philip de Malpas Grey Egerton, Sir Stephen Glynne, Major Egerton Leigh, with several antiquaries and collectors resident in Chester.

Sir CHARLES ANDERSON, Bart., then proposed the grateful acknowledgments of the Institute to the Bishop of Chester, the Patron of their Meeting, and who had consented with great kindness and courtesy to take the part of President in the Historical Section. The vote was seconded by Mr. E. G. Salisbury, M.P., and carried with general acclamation.

The LORD BISHOP desired to assure the meeting of the sincere gratification with which he received this warm acknowledgment of his endeavours to promote the objects of the Institute, during their visit to Chester. He certainly felt that he had little claim to such expressions

The second monthly meeting of the session was held in the Society's Rooms, on Monday evening, December 14th. W. F. AYRTON, Esq. occupied the chair.

Mr. T. HUGHES read a Paper "On the Rise and Progress of Literature and Printing in Chester during the 16th and 17th centuries." He commenced by referring to the Miracle Plays of the 14th century, as the first germ of a literary taste discernible in the city; passing in review that celebrated work, the *Polycronicon* of Ranulph Higden, printed by Caxton in 1482; the *Holy Lyfe of Seynt Werburge*, by the Chester monk, Bradshaw; and the historical productions of John Speed, who, as is well known, was a native of Farndon, in this county. After the Reformation came the families of Chaloner and Holme, men to whom modern Cheshire antiquaries were largely indebted, and about whom there were many particulars to be obtained by collating the records of the Stationers' Company at Chester. Mr. Hughes had carefully searched those records, and the paper of the evening was, in a great measure, the result of that interesting search. Prior to 1592, there was no tradesman in Chester actually carrying on the business of a stationer; but about midsummer of that year William Holme was elected into the Company, and was the first stationer established in Chester. Next to him, in 1613, came Peter Ince, a warm admirer of William Prynne, on whose behalf he was, a few years afterwards, mulcted in a fine of £500. The chartered rights of the Stationers' Company were duly dwelt upon, by which it appeared that none but citizens and members of that guild could engage in the business within the limits of the city. Instances were adduced of the right being combatted on several occasions by non-resident tradesmen; but in every instance without success, the Company uniformly winning the day, and generally forcing the offenders to expiate their fault, by enrolling themselves in the Company at a heavy expense. In 1656, Daniel King, originally a painter at Chester, published that curious work, "The Vale Royal of England;" and Mr. Hughes demonstrated, for the first time, from the records of the Company, that King was the son of a baker resident in Chester, and that he served his apprenticeship with the first Randle Holme, of local heraldic celebrity, dying in 1660, only a very few years after the publication of his work. In 1657, there was admitted into the Company one William Thorp, of which individual Mr. Hughes exhibited two most interesting relics: one an engraved bookplate, and the other a printed handbill referring to his business, both of which papers were, with every good reason, believed to be unique. These relics were handed round to the meeting, and excited considerable interest, more especially as being the earliest specimens of Chester printing at present known to exist. In 1676, John Minshull, after-

wards Mayor of Chester, commenced business as a stationer, his contemporary in the trade being Humphrey Page, Mayor of Chester in 1707, whose son John, also a stationer, filled the same high office in 1755. Randle Holme printed at Chester, in 1688, his *Academy of Armoury*, the largest and probably the first work that ever emanated from the local press. Mr. Hughes exhibited copies from his own library of this and other rare and early printed works relating to Cheshire, or by Cheshire men, and concluded his paper with a review of our city's literature at the commencement of the 18th century.

Mr. HICKLIN offered some observations on the paper read by Mr. Hughes, whom he complimented on his intelligent industry in the collection of interesting facts illustrative of archæological pursuits, and moved a vote of thanks to him for his services on that occasion.

The Rev. C. BOWEN, in seconding the motion, followed with some apposite observations; the CHAIRMAN and the Rev. J. HARRIS elucidating by their remarks several doubtful points arising during the progress of the discussion.

Two valuable cases of Cheshire and Lancashire seals, ranging in date from the 13th to the 16th centuries, were kindly sent for exhibition by W. Langton, Esq., of Manchester, the respected Secretary of the Chetham Society, and were much admired.

Mr. Hicklin was requested to defer the delivery of his announced lecture "On Ancient Dramatic Literature, with Illustrations of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*," till a future monthly meeting, as many members who were desirous of hearing it had been prevented, by various unforeseen circumstances, from attending.

[The substance of this Paper was afterwards read by Mr. Hicklin at one of the Free Lectures delivered in the Town Hall, Chester, in 1858.]

1858.

On Monday evening, February 1st, the ordinary monthly meeting was held. It had been previously announced that two interesting subjects would be brought forward and discussed by gentlemen fully able to do them justice; and the result was, as we anticipated, a larger gathering of members and their friends than we recollect to have noticed for a considerable time past.

Shortly after seven o'clock, the Very Rev. the Dean of Chester, who is one of the official presidents, having pleaded exemption on account of infirmity, Mr. W. WYNNE FFOULKES, Barrister-at-Law, was called to the chair, and in a few prefatory remarks introduced to the meeting the Rev. Canon whose name appeared first upon the programme for a Paper "On the History and Characteristics of the Lady Chapel in Chester Cathedral.

The Rev. CANON BLOMFIELD explained that he had been led to the preparation of this paper by the important alterations now going on in the Lady Chapel of the Cathedral, and especially by some discoveries, architectural as well as archæological, which had been made during their progress. As, however, the paper is printed at length in the current volume of the *Journal*, we need here merely state that large cartoon drawings, in illustration of the architectural portions of the paper, and including representations of the three bosses before alluded to, were kindly furnished by Mr. J. Peacock, one of the members, and were much admired.

On the invitation of the CHAIRMAN, Messrs. Beamont, Harrison, and Hicklin followed up the paper with some pertinent remarks; and on the motion of the latter, a vote of thanks was passed to the Rev. Canon Blomfield for his able and interesting disquisition.

The CHAIRMAN then called on

Mr. BEAMONT, of Warrington, who read a learned and interesting Paper "On Marriage and Marriage Contracts in England prior to the Restoration." This Paper also appears in our current volume. Sir Philip Egerton, Bart. M.P., had sent to the Society an original document, dated 18th Henry VI., purporting to be a marriage settlement of William, son of Philip Egerton, of Egerton, with Margaret, daughter of Ralph Egerton, of the Wryne, both in Cheshire. But Mr. Beamont proved very satisfactorily that, although it was clearly an almost contemporary document, it was, nevertheless, a gross and undeniable forgery; for that one at least of the parties was therein made to marry some considerable time before it was possible he could even have been born! Probably the document had been forged by a scribe ignorant of the family pedigree, and with a design to save some property which might otherwise have been in danger of alienation. But be that as it might, Mr. Beamont unhesitatingly proclaimed it to be a forgery; and so concluded his paper, with an eloquent tribute to the recognition, in the present day, of woman's will and woman's sacred rights.

The Rev. CANON BLOMFIELD moved the thanks of the meeting to Mr. Beamont for his very learned paper.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Ffoulkes), after seconding the vote of thanks to Mr. Beamont for the paper just read, called the attention of the Society to a large collection of pottery and glass of early mediæval character, lately exhumed from behind the premises now being erected by Messrs. W. and C. Brown, in Eastgate Row. There were specimens found, he stated, ranging from Roman and Saxon times down to the last century, each one of which might form a line in the history of Chester.

Many of the ladies and gentlemen present advanced to the table

and examined the remains with lively interest ; after which the meeting broke up, fully satisfied with the entertainment provided for them.

On Monday evening, March 1st, an ordinary meeting was held at the Rooms in St. Peter's Church-yard, when a Paper "On the Peculiarities of Cheshire," was read by Major EGBERTON LEIGH. There was a large attendance of members, and the Rev. CANON BLOMFIELD took the chair.

After a few preliminary remarks, Major LEIGH said Cheshire could boast of many peculiarities, and its capital was unique. Then, commencing with the capital—Chester—he alluded to its principal features, its walls and rows, and the mystery which enshrouded the origin of the latter. In passing along the rows, a remarkable feature was to be observed in the double range of shops in some parts, and he hoped that some of the stall-shops would be preserved as a curiosity. He regretted to see so many of the old houses which rested on pillars in the streets removed, and suggested that, under certain regulations, that old style of building should be encouraged in the various approaches to the city. The derivation of the word "Dee" was then commented upon. Several gentlemen had at different times suggested various derivations,—one being, that it came from a Welsh word meaning black ; another, that it was derived from a Welsh word, which signified the two waters, as the inhabitants of Bala would tell them that it was formed of two streams ; but he was of opinion that it might be derived from the Latin word *Devia*, wandering. A description of Northwich, and the gradual fulfilment of Nixon's prophecy respecting it that it would eventually disappear, occupied the next point in the paper. The cause of the subsidence of the soil, the disappearance of roads, hills, and houses, was clearly in consequence of the immense quantities of salt which were annually raised from the mines, which intersected the town and neighbourhood. It was a curious sight to see the manner in which the houses of Northwich were propped up by iron bars ; the town was literally resting on a crater. Reference was next made to Birkenhead, Knutsford, and other towns in the shire, whose peculiarities he pointed out ; to the timber churches still in existence ; to the meres, past and present, with their local legends ; the ancient marl pits ; the River Weaver, and the Bridgewater Canal. Humorous allusions followed, about the dress of the country people, in contrast with the prevailing fashion of the present day. The renown of the "Cheshire chief of men," and the character for bravery which they had ever maintained, came next in order ; and the gallant Major brought his remarkably clever and interesting paper to a close by allusions to the trees, stones, cheese, products, and provincialisms of the shire. This paper, which

will well repay perusal, appears, *in extenso*, in the present volume of the *Journal*.

The Rev. CANON BLOMFIELD then reviewed the principal points alluded to in the paper, and proposed a vote of thanks to Major Egerton Leigh, which was carried with acclamation.

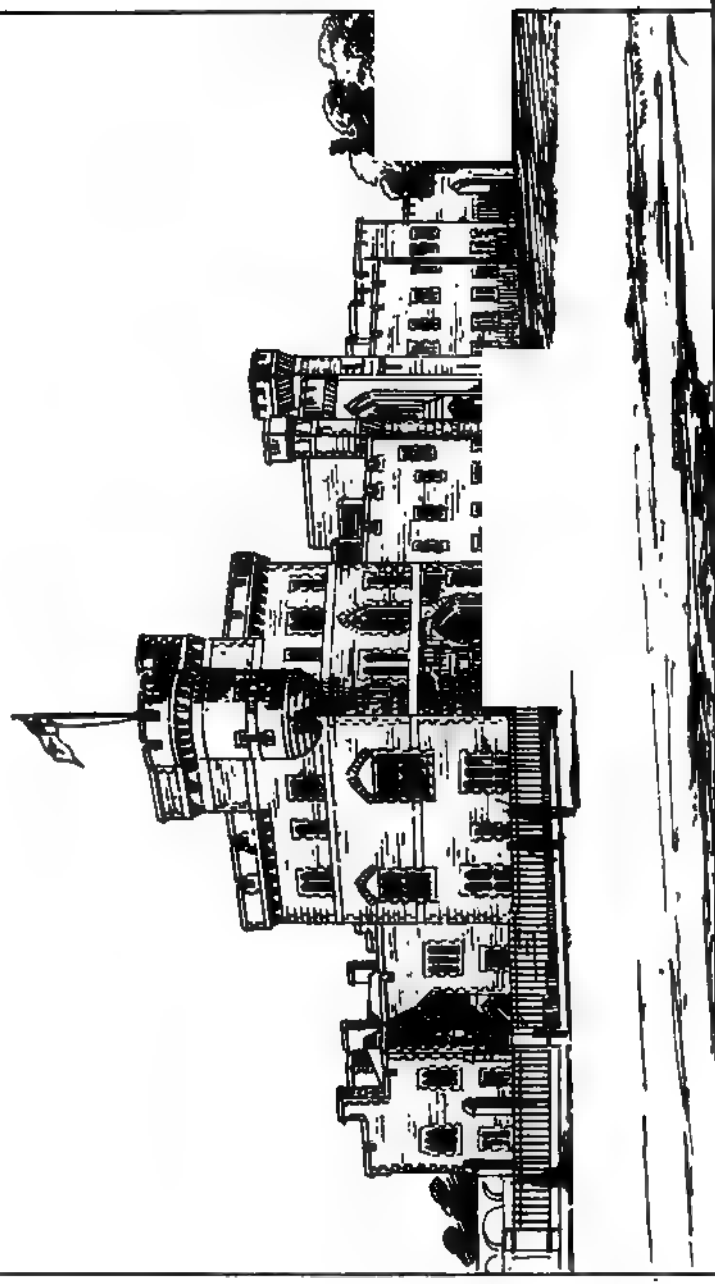
Mr. Wynne Ffoulkes, Mr. Thomas Hughes, Mr. Ayrton, and the Rev. C. Bowen, each offered a few remarks on the subject of the paper; after which Mr. FFOULKES introduced some intelligent comments "On Ancient Pottery," alluding particularly to a variety of specimens on the table, which were discovered in Eastgate Street during the alterations then in progress by Messrs. Brown.

Mr. HICKLIN, after some observations on Major Egerton Leigh's paper, proposed, and the Rev. C. BOWEN seconded, a vote of thanks to the Rev. Canon Blomfield, the Chairman, which was duly acknowledged; and an excellent meeting was thus closed.

Another successful meeting was held on Monday evening, May 5th, in the apartments of the Society in St. Peter's Church-yard, the Rev. CANON HILLYARD in the chair. The Paper of the evening was read by

The Rev. T. N. HUTCHINSON, of the Chester Diocesan Training College, and was the first of a series of papers "On Gothic Architecture," the present being exclusively devoted to the gradual development of "Arches and their Mouldings." Referring only occasionally to his notes, the lecturer proceeded, in a lucid and almost extemporaneous address, to describe the rise and progress of ecclesiastical architecture, from the earliest period down to the declension of the science in the reign of Edward VI. In order to do this more effectually, Mr. Hutchinson had prepared a chromatic chart, nine feet in length, showing the precise dates and reigns in which the four principal styles—the Norman, the Early English, Decorated, and Perpendicular—rose and declined. This lecture is printed in full in the current volume. We do not remember to have heard a more pleasing or intelligent explanation of the moot points in Gothic architecture than that so kindly afforded by Mr. Hutchinson on the present occasion. The lecture was profusely illustrated with a splendid series of large drawings in sepia and Indian ink, comprising no less than fifty-eight subjects, all taken, too, from examples of the various styles still existing and to be seen in the Cathedral, or St. John's Church, Chester. The drawings were deservedly the theme of universal admiration. A discussion ensued, in which the Revds. Canon Hillyard, T. N. Hutchinson, and other members took part.

Mr. HUGHES then exhibited, by permission of T. M. Penson, Esq.,



NEW MILITIA BARRACKS, CHESTER,

T. M. Penson, Architect.

the two perspective drawings by that gentleman of the new Militia Barracks then about to be erected in the Castle Field, Chester.

Mr. CHARLES BROWN also submitted to the meeting Mr. Penson's elaborate design for the new range of premises then in course of erection by Messrs. W. and C. Brown, in Eastgate Row. All these drawings were closely scrutinised by the audience, and the thanks of the Society accorded to both Mr. Penson and Mr. Brown, for their kindness in permitting them to be exhibited at the meeting. As examples of the way in which Gothic Architecture can be made subservient to modern taste and requirement, these buildings deserve a record in the annals of a Chester Architectural Society. Thanks were also warmly voted to the Rev. lecturer of the evening, and to the Chairman, the Rev. Canon Hillyard; and, after an announcement from Mr. JAMES HARRISON relative to certain antiquities discovered in Bridge Street, and which he has promised to describe at some future meeting, the proceedings terminated.

The Cambrian Archæological Association met this year at Rhyl, from August 30th to September 5th, and prosecuted a series of interesting researches in the immediate neighbourhood. The Chester Archæological Society were invited to join their Cambrian associates on Tuesday, and accordingly several members availed themselves of the friendly privilege.

A long line of carriages started soon after nine o'clock, making their first halt at Ty-yn-Rhyl, the house of Miss Lloyd, part of which was built in the latter portion of the 17th century. One principal feature of curiosity was the remains of the bedstead of Griffith, the Serjeant-at-law of Katherine, wife of Henry VIII., which had been ingeniously converted into a mantel-piece. Some valuable MSS. were examined, and, after partaking of some genuine and excellent Metheglin, the excursionists proceeded to Rhuddlan Church. The principal objects here examined were three incised grave-stones of the 14th, perhaps of the 13th century, two of which are unfortunately placed at the entrance doors of the church, and exposed to much unnecessarily rough usage. After examining the remains of the Parliament-house, an adjournment to the Castle took place, under the guidance of E. Hughes, Esq., of Rhyl, who pointed out the particular features of the place to the company. Rhuddlan Castle is full of interest to the Chester antiquary, being associated with many stirring events of our city's history. This Society would do well some day to make a summer visit to the venerable fortress, and elucidate, on the spot, its former connection with Chester and Cheshire men. There not being time to visit Twt-hill, probably the site of the original castle, the excursionists proceeded to examine

the very scanty remains of the Abbey, consisting of some interesting sepulchral effigies, and a window or two. Hopes were expressed that steps would be taken to have these sculptured stones removed to a more secure and suitable place.

Bodryddan House was next visited, where the party were received with the most courteous kindness. The magnificent and varied collections of arms, some of them of very great interest, the carved furniture of the principal rooms, and a collection of various relics, mostly of Eastern character, fully employed the company till time compelled them to depart on their journey towards Henfryn, where they were met by Colonel Morgan, who showed them the various remains of earth-works on that spot, which appeared to be of a military character. A good cross of the 14th century in the church-yard of Newmarket having been examined, the gigantic tumulus of Gop was next scaled. From its enormous size, doubts were started by some as to its natural or artificial character, but the great majority were decidedly in favour of the latter. Whether it is a sepulchral or military work, or a beacon, was a point not so easily decided. Local authorities conjecture it to be the resting-place of Boadicea. The carriages proceeded from this spot for some distance alongside of Offa's Dyke, which was very visible from the road; then turned towards Sarn Hwlkin (which was not explored), and came to Maen Achwynfan, a superb stone, covered with the usual ornamentation of that kind of monument. Its date was supposed to be of the 10th century, though it might be somewhat later or earlier. Thence the company adjourned to Golden Grove, where they were entertained in the most sumptuous and hospitable manner by the owner, Colonel Morgan, who must have received at his table at least 100 guests. The health of the host and his lady was proposed by Mr Babington and Mr. Longueville Jones, and responded to by the hospitable Colonel in a humorous and amusing speech. Highly delighted with their reception, the visitors took their leave of Golden Grove, a good specimen of domestic architecture of the 17th century, and directed their course to Dyserth Castle, an early Norman work destroyed in the 13th century by the Welsh, and never rebuilt. Scambre Wen, a little below the castle, was next visited, which, in spite of local traditions to the contrary, was thought to have been a small chapel or church, rebuilt perhaps on the site of an earlier one, as the present ruins are much later than the castle. On descending the hill, the travellers reached Dyserth Church, the principal features of which are the remains of a good Jesse window, the glass of which is probably of the 15th or early part of the 16th century. A small single lancet window in the chancel remains, and is probably a portion of the original church, for the present structure appears to have been rebuilt at a much later period. A slab, similar to

those at Rhuddlan, forms the threshold of the present entrance gate, and should be removed. Some curious monuments of Italian character, some slabs with a singular arrangement of tassels appended to the shield were observed, but the great object of attraction was the cross in the church-yard, probably of the 8th century, rubbings of which were taken by Mr. Longueville Jones. This very curious relic, we are glad to say, is to be removed from its present site and placed within the church, where it will be protected from further injury, a portion of it having already been broken off.

The excursionists returned to Rhyl early in the evening, and after an inspection of the very choice primeval and mediæval remains collected together in the temporary Museum, the Chester visitors returned home, full of gratification at this their first public fraternisation with their brethren of the Cambrian Association.

1859.

On Monday, February 21st, the monthly meeting was held in the Society's Rooms, St. Peter's Church-yard, at seven o'clock, when the Rev. CANON BLOMFIELD was called upon to preside.

It having been announced that Mr. OCTAVIUS HUDSON (Government Lecturer at the department of Science and Art, London), would deliver a lecture "On the Polychromy of the Lady Chapel in Chester Cathedral, and on the Principles of Colour, as applied to Architecture," there was a very numerous attendance of members and their families. Mr. Hudson had hung around the room a large selection of illustrations from various examples of Christian art, which added much to the interest of the lecture. In commencing, Mr. Hudson called the attention of his audience to one or two points which bore upon the subject: first, that colour, like form, was characteristic of a style of architecture; secondly, that there were various systems of using colour to be deduced from ancient principles as applicable to the enrichment of architecture. Then, again, that there were two great divisions seen in architecture, one arising from the decoration by means of painting, and the other from the decoration by means of sculpture. After illustrating these principles, the intelligent lecturer proceeded to the further elucidation of his subject by reference to the various existing churches in England and on the Continent, from which he gathered the rules whereupon he had founded that system of ecclesiastical decoration with which his name has become identified and celebrated. The lecture, it is hoped, will be ultimately published in the Society's *Journal*. On concluding,

The CHAIRMAN enquired whether any one wished to ask the lecturer any question.

Mr. HICKLIN thought it would add to the local interest of the

meeting if Mr. Hudson would give them an outline of the system of decoration he was pursuing in the Lady Chapel of Chester Cathedral. (Applause.)

Mr. HUDSON said, in the first commencement of the work they were not aware that any of the original colouring was present, so that they proposed drawing up a scheme of decorations ; but, fortunately, previous to that being done, the original colour was found,—the walls, the bosses, and the ribs, were all seen to be enriched by colour of the particular kind mentioned in the course of his lecture. With regard to the vaults there was more difficulty. It appeared that some years ago they had been stuccoed, and the stone had been chipped with an axe to make the stucco hold. A great deal of the stucco was taken away, with the hope of discovering the original plan of colouring, but the search was unavailing. They then had recourse to the style of decoration of the churches of that period, as discovered in some English and some Italian churches now in existence ; the Lady Chapel in Winchester Cathedral afforded them one means of supplying the deficiency, and the walls had been supplied from a church near Bedford. He inferred that the Lady Chapel was the work of the latter part of the 13th century.

The CHAIRMAN then proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Hudson for his lecture. He supposed there was no one in the kingdom so thoroughly versed as the lecturer in the subject on which he had been speaking ; he had systematised the whole question, and was perhaps the first person in the kingdom in that day who had brought out a real history of ecclesiastical decoration. He had been pleased that evening to give them a little of the information he had gained, and he had noticed that Mr. Hudson's modesty had led him to conclude early. He had much pleasure in proposing that they should give to the talented lecturer their warmest thanks for his very interesting and not unimportant lecture on a subject which had considerable interest in the present day. (Loud applause.) Some persons had called in question the expediency of the decorations in the Lady Chapel, but when they were completed, time and taste would soon set the matter at rest. He really thought the Dean and Chapter would not have been able to carry out what they were then doing if it had not been for the kindness and liberality of one who did "good deeds by stealth, and blushed to find them fame." (Applause.) Mr. Hudson was only restoring the building to its original state, and as it was intended it should be by the architect who built it. In a lecture he (the Chairman) had occasion to give last year, he traced the building back as near as he could to the age which had been ascribed to it,—the close of the 13th century,—when the richest style was in use ; and it was executed by the richest Abbot that ever presided over the Abbey, and one who, he felt sure, would spare no trouble to make

the church as rich as he could ; and the decorations now being restored were such as would be ordered at that period. They could not fairly judge of the intention of the builder, unless they saw the building restored to what the architect intended it to have been. They had been accustomed to whitewash on the walls of their churches, and this had prevailed for more than 300 years, but the desire for its continuance was now changed. He hoped the decoration of the eastern end might be slightly if not fully carried into the choir, and perhaps it might be extended further still. There was a sameness and monotony in the roof which called for some additional colour, in order to give it a pleasing effect to the eye ; but in carrying out these alterations, he hoped the Dean and Chapter would not be thought desirous of bringing about the Popish doctrines of mediæval times. (Loud laughter.) Mr. Hudson had mentioned that in the eastern window there was usually a representation of the stem of Jesse. They knew that a window of that description existed in or near the Lady Chapel, that it was there at the time of the Reformation,—that it survived the Iconoclastic antipathies of the Puritan age, and remained there until the time of James II. At the time the notorious Duke of Monmouth visited Chester, a violent “ No Popery ” mob got together, rushed into the Cathedral, and broke the window to pieces ; the ancient font was knocked to pieces, the organ broken, and a great deal of other mischief done. He mentioned this event because a step had just been taken in Chester which was interesting not only to Chester, but to the Church of England at large. There lay buried in their Choir one of the greatest, if not the greatest, divine of their church : this was Bishop Pearson, who presided over the diocese from 1672 to 1686, and was buried within the rails of the altar. He was author of *The Exposition of the Creed*, one of the most learned books written in England,—a book universally admired, and which all about to be ordained clergymen were required to study. It appeared that lately the memories of great men of former days were being revived, and amongst the men of that day whose memory ought to be revered was Bishop Pearson. Steps had already been taken to revive the memory of Matthew Henry, a great man in his way, but he would undertake to say not nearly so great a man as Bishop Pearson, whose memory was revered by men who were most backward in acknowledging merit. Bishop Burnett says that Pearson was “ the greatest divine of his age ; ” and Dr. Bentley had said “ his very dross was gold.” That year (1859) was the two hundredth anniversary of the publication of his work on the Creed. He thought, then, that this was the most appropriate time for reviving his memory, and perpetuating him either by a monument, or by a painted window in the Chapter House ; because there were in the Chapter House many volumes, full of manuscript

annotations by his own hand. Amongst other books there was a Greek Lexicon, in the beginning of which there was a memorandum in Latin —“ This book I read through in 1657 ;” and again, another stating that he read it through again in 1661 ! This, he ventured to say, had never been done by any one else ; it was like reading Johnson’s Dictionary. (Laughter.) The fine painted window to which he had referred was broken by the mob in the eleventh year of Bishop Pearson’s episcopacy, at a time when he was lying in the Palace suffering from an illness which rendered him unable to attend to his duties. He would also mention, that almost every American clergyman who visited the Cathedral enquired for the tomb of Bishop Pearson. Hitherto they had not been able to point it out, for no memorial existed, and until lately they were uncertain as to where even his body lay. An American bishop who had visited Chester recently told their revered Diocesan that he would undertake to send a sufficient amount of money over to put in an eastern window to perpetuate the memory of Bishop Pearson, who was greatly venerated in America, if the Dean and Chapter would accept it. It would be in the recollection of many then present that in the year 1841 the high altar was lowered. He (Canon Blomfield) happened to be in residence at the time, and superintended the works. In the progress of lowering they came upon a leaden coffin marked “ S. P. Episcopus.” He thought at first it was the coffin of Bishop Pearson, but then he remembered that his name was John. The coffin was about the size of the table then before him ; and, on thinking of the matter more closely, he saw that it must be the coffin of Bishop Peploe. In order, therefore, to drop Bishop Peploe, whose coffin had been very near the surface, they had to go three feet lower, and in doing this they came upon another lead coffin marked “ J. P. Episcopus ;” this, he came to the conclusion at once, was the coffin of Bishop Pearson. A part of the top was broken through and the lid was decayed, so he ventured to turn a portion of the lid back, and he saw the Bishop apparently as sound as when first buried. The body was wrapped round with cere-cloths, and, from the appearance of the body, he must have been a man of small stature. He was buried in 1686, having been fourteen years Bishop of Chester. A committee had been formed with a view to perpetuate his memory, and for that purpose circulars had been issued, and a subscription list opened, with promising results. The work on the Creed had been originally delivered in the form of lectures in the Eastcheap, London, during the time of Oliver Cromwell, at a period when the Church was buried under the ruins of the monarchy ; and the work itself, although a standard book in the Church of England, might be also claimed by every true orthodox Church. He therefore hoped that every orthodox

Church would take the matter up, as well as every one who venerated the memory of so good a man. (Applause.)

Mr. HICKLIN followed with some further explanations relative to the formation of the committee on the Bishop Pearson Memorial, of which the Dean of Chester was chairman, and the Rev. Canon Blomfield and the Rev. E. D. Green, of St. Oswald's, honorary secretaries. With reference to the historical transactions of the period, and the outrages of the mob at Chester during the visit of the Duke of Monmouth, in 1682, he quoted some interesting local statements, written in the quaint language of the period, from a singular book published in 1683, under the title of "An Historical Account of the Heroick Life and magnanimous actions of the most illustrious Protestant Prince James, Duke of Monmouth, containing an account of his birth, education, places, and titles, with his great and martial achievements in Flanders and Scotland; his disgrace and departure from Court and kingdom; with the most material circumstances that has occurred since his return." The book had been published in London, and was "printed for Thomas Malthus, at the sign of the Sun, in the Poultry, 1683." In concluding his remarks, he begged to take the liberty of asking Mr. Hudson when the decorations of the Lady Chapel would have so far progressed as to admit of the removal of the canvas screen which now stinted the fair proportions of the Cathedral. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. HUDSON declined to answer the question, whereupon the CHAIRMAN alluded to the long periods which Michael Angelo had taken to complete some of his works. (Laughter.) The proceedings were then brought to a close.

At the monthly meeting, on Monday evening, March 7th, the Rev. CANON HILLYARD in the chair,

The Rev. E. DYER GREEN, M.A., Curate of St. Oswald's, in this city, read an elaborate and interesting "Essay on the Life and Writings of Bishop Pearson," an analysis of which we reserve for a future page of the *Journal*. At the close of the Paper, which contained many local incidents and allusions,

The Rev. CHAIRMAN expressed to Mr. Green the thanks of the Society, and offered some appropriate remarks on the subject, with reference to the proposed memorial in Chester Cathedral in honour of the good and learned Prelate, "who being dead yet speaketh" in defence of "the faith once delivered to the saints."

Mr. HICKLIN followed with some observations arising out of various topics suggested by the Essay, particularly referring to the zealous exertions of the lecturer as one of the Honorary Secretaries to the Pearson Memorial Fund.

Mr. HUGHES exhibited to the meeting several scarce portraits of the worthy Bishop; and, at the conclusion of his remarks on that subject, alluded to the loss the Society would soon sustain in the departure of one of its honorary secretaries (Mr. Hicklin), who had just been appointed by Lord Derby to the lucrative office of Stamp Distributor for the Derby district. He regarded Mr. Hicklin as one of the original founders of their Association, in conjunction with the late respected Rev. W. H. Massie, whose united talents and friendly counsel had so efficiently conduced to its usefulness and success.

The Rev. CHAIRMAN most kindly congratulated Mr. Hicklin on the honourable appointment which he had obtained, and which he trusted would secure for him well-earned repose and comfort on his retirement from the more active duties in which he had been so long engaged; at the same time, he could assure him that there would be a general feeling of regret on his leaving Chester.

After a few remarks in reply from Mr. HICKLIN, who observed that he should probably have to bid the Society farewell at the next meeting, a vote of thanks was given to the Chairman, and the proceedings closed.

The usual monthly meeting was held at the Society's Rooms on Monday evening, April 4th, the Rev. CANON HILLYARD in the chair.

Mr. T. N. BRUSHFIELD, Medical Superintendent of the Cheshire Lunatic Asylum, read a Paper "On Obsolete Punishments, with more especial reference to those of Cheshire and its Neighbourhood." This Paper was in continuation of one read before the Society some eighteen months ago, which treated more particularly of the Brank, or Scold's Bridle—the Ducking Stool, also for scolds—and the curious Iron Torture Gloves, formerly in use and still preserved at Chester. (Vide *Journal*, Vol. II., p. 32.) Of this previous Paper Mr. Brushfield gave a rapid *resumé*, observing that when he originally exhibited the gauntlets he had obtained no clue as to their origin, probable date, or destined purpose, further than that he believed they were for confining the hands for the purposes of torture, and that they had been submitted to the action of fire. Since then, however, he had been able to glean the following account, which satisfactorily cleared up the whole of the mystery that had hitherto surrounded them:—

Howard,* in 1788-9, visited the Chester City Gaol, and, in his description of the place, the following occurred:—"Here was the first *iron glove* I have seen in England, which, though not yet used, shews the severity of the gaoler's disposition." About ten years previously he had witnessed a similar punishment in the Pope's galleys at Civita Vecchia, where, he says—"Persons convicted of forgery are always

* *Account of Lazarettos, &c.*, p. 208.

2.

Continued from p. 16.

SCOLDS BRIDLES.

1. FORMERLY USED IN KENDAL WORKHOUSE.

2. DO MANCHESTER MARKET.

confined for life, and if found guilty of forging bank notes, or any instruments by which large sums have been lost, they are punished with an *iron glove*.*

James Nield, the Cheshire philanthropist, visited the prisons of Chester on two occasions, but neither in his work† nor in his first letter in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1804 (pp. 4—6) is there any allusion to the glove. His second letter‡ contains the following explanatory statement:—" *Chester City Gaol*: In this prison are the only iron gloves I ever saw. The gaoler told me he had lived in the Leeward Islands some years, where they were frequently used on the negroes; that, on his return to Chester and appointment to the office of gaoler, he had got a pair made. This certainly shews a severity of disposition." In addition to the two pairs of these gloves which are still preserved in Chester, a third pair, in the possession of Mr. Curzon, were exhibited at a meeting of the Archæological Institute, in the early part of 1860, which were reported to have been found in Chester Castle; if, however, they came from Chester, they would most probably have originally belonged to the City Gaol, with the other two specimens.

Mr. Brushfield then exhibited two Branks or Scold's Bridles, being additional specimens to those produced at his former lecture. He remarked that one of them was formerly used in Manchester Market, to control the energetic tongues of some of the female stall-keepers, and it was remarkable for still retaining its original coverings, consisting of alternate white and red cotton bands, which terminate at the upper part in a loose bunch of the same material; the gag being large, with rasp-like surfaces; the leading-chain three feet long, and attached to the front part of the horizontal hoop. This Brank was still preserved in the Town Hall of Manchester, and, through the courtesy of Mr. G. H. Ireton, the Superintendent of the Markets, was that evening exhibited. It was probably the very one alluded to in the following entry extracted from the Records of the Manchester Court Leet§:—

"9th October, 1638.—That the Constables of this Town shall, at the charges of the town, provide a *bridle for scolds*."

The second specimen had been lent by Robert Walker, Esq. of Kendal, and was formerly in the Workhouse of that town. Its form was, the lecturer considered, very unique, the staple for the chain being situated immediately over the nasal opening; the gag being plain and enlarged at its extremity, and formed by the downward prolongation of the vertical band: there was a second horizontal band to surround the

* *Appendix to the State of Prisons, &c.*, 1780, p. 51.

† *Account of Prisons*, published in 1808.

‡ *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1806, p. 815.

§ Information of J. Harland, Esq.

upper part of the head; and the whole of the hinges were closely adjacent to the nasal piece. Mr. Walker had also informed him, that at another workhouse belonging to the same town, a third Brank "was at one time freely used there within the recollection of several inmates now alive," but that, unfortunately, it had been recently sold amongst some old iron. A fourth specimen was still preserved in the Kendal House of Correction, where, in 1832, it was employed in the case of "a female, and with admirable success." Its form was similar to the Chester examples figured at page 45 of our present volume.

The following interesting accounts of the employment of the Scottish Branks appeared in Turreff's *Antiquarian Gleanings from Aberdeenshire Records*, (pp. 64 and 79):—

"At Aberdeen, in 1614, it was enacted that 'whatsoever bairn or scholar be found casting stones in the Kirk, or breaking windows, the owner of the bairn, or the master of the servant, shall pay 6s. 8d. Scots, toties quoties, and the vagabonds to be bound to the cross, and bridled thereat, and stand 24 hours bound.'"

"At Botarie, June 15, 1642," John Matman, after being accused of several murders, is reported "that he had bound Jeane Davidsons, daughter to Alexander Davidsons, webster, to a post, and hade brydled her without ony just caus, and to the gryt effusion of her blood, quho lay bedfast a yeir thereafter; and also, out of his drunken humour, he frequentlie used to brydle his owne wyffe."

Mr. Brushfield then proceeded to describe the origin and various forms of that once mighty terror to evil-doers,—the public Pillory,—showing that it was a punishment not unknown to the Greeks and Romans of classical days; that in Saxon times it was employed in England under the direct sanction of the law; and that after the Conquest it became an appanage to the privileged boroughs and manorial courts then established throughout the country. Passing from feudal times, during which the pillory seems chiefly to have been employed against dishonest bakers and millers, the lecturer arrived, in proper chronological order, at the 16th and 17th centuries, when branding in the cheek, and maiming of the person by the loss of the ear, &c., were added to the ordinary refinements of the pillory. Thus were Robert Oakham and Dr. Loudon punished for perjury, in the reign of Henry VIII.; and thus, too, a century afterwards, was the famous William Prynne cruelly disfigured for his spirited resistance to Star Chamber violence. "Mutilated and dismembered," as Prynne states himself to have been in his petition to the House of Commons, he was conveyed as a prisoner through Chester, on his way to Carnarvon Castle, where he had been sentenced to spend the remainder of his days in perpetual banishment from his home and friends. Two or

three sympathising friends of his in Chester, who had the courage to visit him in his prison, afterwards paid the penalty of their friendship, and, besides incurring thereby large pecuniary fines, were obliged to make a public recantation of their offence, both in the Cathedral and Town Hall, before immense assemblages of their fellow-citizens. The history of the pillory, as a recognised punishment, ceased in the first year of the reign of her present Majesty's beneficent reign ; but there had been no instance of its employment in Chester since the year 1800, when one Steele, a bricklayer, for some outrageous offence, stood in the pillory at the High Cross, and was well-nigh pelted to death by the infuriated citizens. Another pillory, belonging to the county jurisdiction, existed at Glover's Stone, near the head of Castle Street, Chester, and there, within living memory, a man had undergone the same degrading penalty for his misdeeds. At Congleton, Rowton, Nantwich, Stockport, and Sandbach, the pillory was shown to have once existed ; and then, after passing notices of the Scottish "jougs," a variety of the ordinary pillory,—the "drunkard's cloak," a sort of barrel pillory,—and the "finger pillory," Mr. Brushfield concluded an able discourse, which evinced throughout a large amount of patient and thoughtful investigation, upon a subject of much interest to all who desire to study the past history of the country.

The Rev. CANON HILLYARD offered the thanks of the Society to Mr. Brushfield for his valuable lecture. The compliment having been suitably acknowledged,

Mr. CHARLES POTTS then adverted to the approaching removal from Chester of the Society's Secretary, Mr. Hicklin, and in animated terms impressed upon the meeting the loss that would be sustained by the city at large, and by this Society more immediately, in the retirement of one who, by his eloquence and talent, had done so much to further the interests of all that was commendable and good, not only in Chester, but in the whole surrounding neighbourhood. Mr. Potts concluded by reading a formal vote of thanks from the Society to Mr. Hicklin for his valuable services ever since the foundation of the Society by the late Mr. Massie and himself, just ten years since.

Mr. BEAMONT, of Warrington, cordially seconded the motion in appropriate terms.

Mr. HICKLIN responded to the vote of thanks which had just been so unanimously carried, in an eloquent address, in the course of which he gave an entertaining account of the progress of the Society from its commencement, and enlarged on the beneficial influence it had already exerted on the public taste.

Mr. Hicklin's remarks were received with much enthusiasm, and the feeling of the meeting was further expressed in appropriate speeches

by the Lord Bishop of Chester, Canon Hillyard, Mr. Ayrton, and others.

It is worthy of record here that, prior to his departure from Chester, Mr. Hicklin was publicly presented with a very chaste and elegant Silver Epergne, together with a purse of gold, the spontaneous offering of his numerous circle of friends in this city and neighbourhood.

A letter was read from Major Egerton Leigh, expressing regret for his unavoidable absence on the occasion ; and the usual vote of thanks to the Chairman terminated the proceedings.

On Wednesday evening, the 8th of June, the members held their ordinary monthly meeting, Mr. T. N. BRUSHFIELD (Medical Superintendent of the Cheshire Lunatic Asylum) being called to the chair.

The Rev. H. GREEN (of Knutsford) read an interesting Paper "On the *Emblems* of Geoffrey Whitney, a native of Nantwich, in the 16th century." This was a subject which, to a general observer, would seem to have presented little scope to a lecturer, but, in the hands of Mr. Green, it turned out to be a mine of almost inexhaustible antiquarian wealth. Prefacing his remarks with an historical account of emblems and emblem writers generally during the 15th and 16th centuries, he gradually drew the attention of his hearers to the works of Geoffrey Whitney, an author previously almost unknown in our catalogues of Cheshire worthies. A native of Coole Pilate, five miles from Nantwich, where his ancestors had resided as landed proprietors for more than two centuries before, and where he himself was born about 1545, Whitney was educated first at Audlem and then at Northwich Grammar Schools, as he modestly informs us in one of his poetical emblems. Thence he proceeded to Oxford, and afterwards to some other University, ultimately settling down at Leyden, where, in 1586, he published that very curious and always scarce work on which rests his title to fame as one of the notabilities of Cheshire. *The Choice of Emblèmes* was printed at the press of the famous Christopher Plantin, and is stated by Dibdin to have been "probably the only English book which owes its existence to the matrices and punches of that celebrated man." The woodcuts, which embellish almost every page, appear not to have been engraved purposely for Whitney's book, but had many of them previously done duty for other works issuing from the same printing office. Ormerod, in his notice of Whitney's *Emblèmes* in the *History of Cheshire*, evidently inclined to the idea that the woodcuts, rather than the poetry, formed the chief excellence of the work ; but that this estimate was not altogether correct, Mr. Green eloquently argued, by adducing passages from the book itself, displaying a depth of thought and a beautiful originality of expression which one might almost seek for in vain in the writings of Gower and other recognised contemporary poets.

Take, for example, the following stanzas, so full of consolation and hope to those struggling with the world, and of advice to those who are wont to "despise the day of small things":—

Although thy store be small, for to beginne,
Yet guide it well, and soone it is increaste,
For mighty men in time their wealthe did winne,
Whoe had, at firste, as little as the leaste:
Where God dothe blesse, in time abundance springes,
And heapes are made of manie little thinges."

By this, and similar quotations, did Mr. Green enlist the sympathies of his audience towards Geoffrey Whitney, their own county poet; and so in due time closed a Paper abounding with local interest, and evincing a more than ordinary acquaintance with, and appreciation of, Elizabethan literature. [This Paper will, it is hoped, appear in an early number of the *Journal*.]

Dr. DAVIES rose to move the thanks of the meeting to the lecturer, claiming, as his right to do so, that Mr. Green had introduced to them that evening the name of a Mrs. M. D. Colley, of Church-en-Heath, sister of the poet Whitney, which lady he (Dr. Davies) now for the first time recognised as an ancestor of his own.

The motion having been supported by the CHAIRMAN, and suitably acknowledged by Mr. GREEN,

Mr. J. EDWARDS (Blue Coat Hospital) exhibited a curious silver ring, recently found in the river Dee, and which, from the design upon the seal,—the initial M, supported by the prince's feathers and surmounted by a ducal coronet,—Mr. Edwards attributed to Henry, Prince of Wales and Duke of Monmouth, that dissolute prince who, in his youth, struck Judge Gascoigne while sitting upon the bench, and who afterwards so covered himself with glory on the field of Agincourt.

Mr. T. HUGHES then submitted to the meeting the original MS. Parade Book of the Chester Volunteers in 1782, which contained the autograph signatures of the members of the corps, to the number of 120, including most of the principal residents and tradesman of that period,—the Moulsons, Fletchers, Browns, Mellors, Cranes, Bowers, Townshends, Eddowes, Duttons, &c., &c. Colonel E. Townshend, grandfather of the present Major L. P. Townshend, of Wincham, was elected colonel of the regiment by the unanimous vote of his brother volunteers. Their place of meeting was at the Linen Hall, and they equipped and armed themselves entirely at their own expense.

Two original drawings,—one in water colours by Miss Jackson, of the stone pulpit in the Abbey Foregate, Shrewsbury, and which that lady has since reproduced in *fac simile* as a chromo-lithograph,—and the other an etching in pen and ink of the interior of St. John's Church,

by Mr. W. Boden, of this city, were also exhibited to the meeting, and deservedly won the admiration of all present.

Mr. J. B. MARSH presented to the meeting a circular glass bottle of the 16th century, stated by him to have been found while excavating upon the site of a monastery in Lincolnshire; after which the usual vote of thanks to the Chairman terminated the proceedings.

Cheshire Waifs and Strays.

No. 1.

Under this head, it is intended occasionally to publish in the *Journal* copies of any curious articles relating to Cheshire, previously existing only in MS., or of acknowledged rarity in print. As a specimen of this style of fugitive literature, we here give a verbatim copy of a strange broadside printed at Chester early in the present century, respecting the statements in which, bordering somewhat on the marvellous, the Editors will be glad to learn something from those who were living on the spot at the date referred to. It is quite possible that this is only one of that fraternity of literary escapades to which "*Nixon's Prophecies*," and other similar compilations in past days belong: at all events, its republication now may assist us in ascertaining whether any, and what amount of truth lies hidden beneath this seeming fiction.

A FULL ACCOUNT OF
MR. JOHN HARRIS,
The English Hermit,

Now residing in a Cave in a Rock, known by the Name of Allenscomb's Cave, near to the Town of Harthill, in the Parish of Tattenhall, in the County of Chester.

Mr. HARRIS is 99 Years old, born July 24th, 1710, in the Parish of *Handley*, in the County of *Chester*.

WHEN the train of human events appear to deviate from their wonted course, and become productive of characters altogether new and unexampled, they have a claim on the World to be perpetuated. An instance of this kind, when Nature has appeared surprisingly to wander from its wonted operations, is displayed in the character and manner of life exhibited by a certain Person in the vicinity of the Town of *Tattenhall*.—We often hear of Men, from various motives, preferring a life of solitude in some gloomy Cavern or Cave in the Earth, wholly secluded from human society,—a phenomenon,—the

love of not seeing, or being seen, which appears, when related, too romantic to gain belief; yet the reader may rely on the sequel being a simple declaration of the truth.—Mr. JOHN HARRIS, the Hermit, is a man about 5 feet 10 inches high, of a ruddy complexion, strong built, a strong voice, and walks very straight and remarkably quick: he was a Man possessed of a very great fortune, he had several estates in the parishes of *Handley*, *Brorton*, and *Tattenhall*, which he sold after his Parents decease, and took his abode in Dens and Caves in the Mountains, in which he has resided ever since, which is about the space of 66 years; occasioned by his Parents refusing him marriage with one Miss ANN EGERTON, in the parish of *Handley*, whereof he made a solemn vow never to marry as long as he lived, and to have as little conversation with mankind as possible. The first place he made his abode in, was a Cave belonging to W. LEECH, Esq., of *Carden*, in the County of *Chester*, in which place he resided for the space of 20 years and upwards; he not liking his situation, removed from thence to a Cavity or Cave in a Rock, belonging to J. TARLTON, Esq., of *Bolesworth-Hall*, in the County of *Chester*, in which he resided for the space of 46 years and upwards; which amounts in the whole to 66 years.—He was discovered on the 5th of November last, by four young Men, who were getting what they could plunder to burn the image of GUY FAWKES; they were so affrighted at the sight of the Hermit, that they ran into the town of *Harthill*, and declared that they had seen a wild hairy Man, and that he was gone into the Rock's mouth, that is in *Allenscombs*, and that he was the frightfullest figure they ever saw. The Gentlemen took them all to task very closely, but they all persisted in it, that it was even so: four of the Gentlemen took lanthorns and candles and searched diligently, and found this wonderful Man sitting by a fire made of cokes, to prevent being discovered by smoak. They begged his pardon for being so rude to enter his apartment, it was readily granted, he got up, made his obeisance and invited them all to sit down. They accepted the invitation, and had a long conference with the old Gentleman; they found by the light of a lamp that he kept burning night and day, as there was no windows to give light, that it was a spacious room and well furnished, with two very good feather beds, one for himself, the other for his servant Man, with other utensils fit for his use. His cloathing is very good and he keeps himself very clean, he is of a religious turn of mind and keeps by him a Bible, a Prayer-book and other godly Books which he takes great delight in; but as to his Hair & Finger Nails, they have not been cut since he took to the life of an Hermit, and his Toe Nails they are grown like unto Asses hoofs, neither hath he been shaved since he took to the life of an Hermit, which makes him appear very frightful. His Cave is situated between *Harthill* and *Bolesworth-Hall* in *Tattenhall Parish*; there is a Brook or Rillet of clear spring Water, that runs within 20 Paces from the Cave's Mouth, which is very useful to the old Gentleman: this Cave is known by the name of *Allenscomb's Cave*, the Cave's Mouth is about 4 feet wide and 8 feet long, there are several turnings and windings before you come to the Cave where this wonderful Man resides. The Cave is about 12 feet wide, 15 feet long and 6 feet high; about 10 yards from the Cave's Mouth there are three more Caverns in the same Rock, about 10 yards asunder, all four, and about the same

size as if they had been hewn out, or made by human species, yet there is not the least mark of a working tool to be seen in any of the Caves. This Crevice in the Rock hath been searched by several People since the 5th of November last, who have gone up the Crevice in the Rock to the length of half a mile and upwards, until a candle will burn blue and go quite out. MR. JOHN HARRIS keeps a servant Man whose name is JOHN BARLOW, aged 69 years, he was born at *Barnhill* and has lived with Mr. HARRIS near 50 years; this is his second Servant since he took to this way of life: he is often visited by the neighbouring Gentlemen in *Cheshire*, likewise by J. TARLTON, Esq., *Bolesworth-Hall*, the owner of the Rock wherein is Mr. HARRIS's residence, and who has given him liberty to reside in the apartment where he now is until the Lord is pleased to call him from hence. This Cave is 10 Miles from the City of *Chester*, and 2 from *Barnhill*.

The following donations to the Library of the Society have been made since the last publication of the *Journal*, in addition to the Transactions of the various literary bodies with which the Chester Archæological Society is in friendly association. In each instance the cordial thanks of the Council have been recorded to the respective Donors :—

Chester Miracle Plays, Vol. II, completing the series of *Shakspeare Society's* volumes previously presented by him...Mr. C. Barnard.
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ON THE
Architectural History of Chester Cathedral,
BY THOMAS RICKMAN,
WITH AN
INTRODUCTORY MEMOIR BY THE REV. CANON BLOMFIELD.

THE MS. of the following Report by Thomas Rickman, on the Architectural features of Chester Cathedral, has been for many years in the possession of a gentleman in Chester,* but has never yet appeared in print. It is supposed to have been drawn up at the request of Dean Cholmondeley, who was one of Rickman's early patrons, and the date of it may be fixed at about 1812. It is therefore probably the earliest specimen of his style of architectural analysis. As, at the same time, it affords a valuable specimen of the accuracy of his observation, and the clearness of his discriminative judgment, it is thought right to present it to the public, through the medium of the Chester Architectural and Archæological Society.

The name of Thomas Rickman is familiar to every student of Gothic Architecture, as the author of the clearest and most comprehensive text book on the subject. He was the first to elucidate the true characteristics of Gothic Architecture, and reduce them to a simple and intelligible system. The nomenclature which is now universally received, was first brought into use by him. For though he adopted the title of "Early English" from Miller, who had suggested it in 1805,† and that of "Decorated" from Britton, who applied it in his description of Malmesbury Abbey, in 1807 ;‡ yet he was the first person who really gave substance and meaning to those terms by assigning to each its proper characteristics. The term "Perpendicular" he himself invented, as describing the features of the later style. Thus, arranging

* Mr. Thomas Hodgkinson, Architect.

† In his *Description of the Cathedral Church of Ely*.

‡ *Architectural Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 3.

the whole series of Ecclesiastical buildings in this country under the four divisions of Norman, Early English, Decorated, and Perpendicular, and accurately defining the special and distinctive features of each, he became in fact the founder of the modern science of Gothic Architecture, the author of the Grammar by which the study of it is still regulated and pursued.

Rickman therefore deserves a higher place in the temple of Fame than he appears at present to occupy. The habit of laborious and patient investigation, the sound and discriminating judgment, the faculty of nice and accurate comparison, which enabled him, wholly unaided by the science or labour of others, to work out for himself that simple yet clear and comprehensive system, which secured this branch of architectural science from the ignorance and bad taste of preceding centuries, and established it on a fixed and certain basis, ought to place him in the foremost rank of men who have contributed to the advancement of useful knowledge.

As the history of his life and labours is but little known, it may be an acceptable introduction to the reading of this Report on Chester Cathedral, if we preface it with a short biographical Memoir.

THOMAS RICKMAN was born at Maidenhead on the 8th of June, 1776, and was the eldest son of Thomas and Sarah Rickman, members of the Society of Friends. His father's profession seems to have combined that of grocer, and chemist, and druggist, in which latter capacity he gave medical advice to his customers. Eventually he relinquished all but the medical department, and practiced as an apothecary, in which profession he wished to bring up his eldest son. Circumstances, and his son's natural tendencies, determined otherwise. It appears that even the strict and unæsthetic notions of his father's sect could not restrain the development of the son's taste for order and beauty of arrangement, which manifested itself, in the first instance, in a passion for military display. As a boy, he was eager to attend every review and parade which he could possibly reach, and to make himself master of all the details of military evolutions. He employed his leisure moments at home in drawing figures of soldiers, cutting them out of pasteboard, and arranging them on tables in an upper room which he had appropriated to himself. He made several thousands of these pasteboard soldiers, both cavalry and infantry, and disposed them in order of battle, to illustrate some prints which he had procured of celebrated battles. He studied the history of all the modern campaigns, and knew the services of all the officers in the Army List. He could tell the details of the uniform of every regiment, not only of his own country, but of most of the continental

nations, and understood the strength and value of the various instruments of warfare better than most of those who used them.*

It does not appear that this early tendency to military tactics ever led Rickman to take an active part in them, though it may have served to unsettle his views for some time with regard to the choice of a profession. His father removed to Lewes in Sussex, in 1797, and Thomas then went to London, first as assistant to Mr. Stringer, a chemist in the Strand, and afterwards to Mr. Atkinson, an apothecary in Jermyn street. But disliking the profession, or the town, he removed to Saffron Walden, and entered into the service of Messrs. Day and Greer, grocers, in that town. From thence he again went to London, and prepared himself, by walking the hospitals, to act as his father's assistant at Lewes, whither he went in 1801. But he was still unsettled, and again repaired to London in 1803, to enter into partnership with a cornfactor. While there he married his cousin, Lucy Rickman.

On the death of Mrs. Rickman, in 1808, he removed to Liverpool, and entered the office of an insurance broker. Here it was that his taste for æsthetic forms and methodical arrangements again overcame his sectarian prejudices, and directed his attention to the study of architecture, and especially Church Architecture. The business of his office, which commenced at ten and closed at four, gave him much leisure : this he employed in making excursions on foot into the country round Liverpool, and examining the details of all the churches which he could reach. He would start very early in the morning, and accomplish a good deal before his office opened ; and on Saturday afternoons he would set off on a longer journey to more distant places, and spend the whole of Sunday, which had no special claims on his Quaker conscience, in pursuing his favourite researches. This course he pursued with untiring industry for several years, until he had made himself master of all the characteristics of Church Architecture which could be found in that part of the kingdom. He afterwards extended his journies to other counties, and examined and took notes of the special features of almost all the churches in the kingdom ; making accurate

* In allusion to these military predilections, his professional friend and associate, Mr. R. C. Hussey, thus writes, "These really remained with him to the end of his life. He would always converse readily and with animation on military subjects ; and his wife observed that if he saw a soldier approaching, he would cross the street in order to get as near to him as he could. An old friend of Rickman's told me that he once met at dinner, at Dublin, an officer (I think a major in the army) who said an extraordinary thing had occurred to him, for he once came across a Quaker who knew more about his (the major's) regiment than he did himself. It need scarcely be added that the Quaker was no other than Mr. Rickman, our architect.

measurements and drawings of all that he thought worthy of notice. In this laborious investigation he spent not only many years, but many thousand pounds; and he thereby accumulated a vast fund of architectural data, on which he founded the system of classification of styles which is now universally accepted.

His maiden sister followed him to Liverpool, and opened business as a confectioner; and those who were conversant with that town some forty years ago may remember her very odd looking shop front, the design for which "is said to have been taken by Rickman from the Choragic monument of Thrasyllus, in Greece."

While in Liverpool, he married his second wife Christiana Horner, sister of Thomas Horner, who passed so much of his time on the top of St. Paul's Cathedral, painting the Panorama of London, which was exhibited at the Colosseum in the Regent's Park. The first result of Rickman's architectural investigation appeared in the shape of an Essay in the Liverpool "Panorama of Science and Art," bearing the same title under which he afterwards published it in an enlarged form, "An attempt to discriminate the styles of architecture in England."* This Essay, on its first appearance in 1817, attracted general attention and brought its author under the notice of many influential persons both in Liverpool and Chester, for whom he furnished designs for monuments and other buildings. The Church of St. Mary, at Birkenhead, was erected from his designs, and is one of the earliest efforts of his skill. The transepts now attached to this Church formed no part of Rickman's design, but are the work of a later architect.

At this time the Parliamentary Grant for the building of new Churches called forth a host of aspiring Gothic architects; amongst them Thomas Rickman appeared, and gained the first prize for a design, which was afterwards executed for St. George's Church at Birmingham.†

* I may here relate an anecdote of my own personal meeting with Rickman. I was once travelling in a stage coach, and had drawn the conversation gradually into an architectural channel. One of my companions, an elderly gentleman in Quaker costume, after some general remarks, addressed me as follows:—"Young friend, thou seemest to have some taste for architecture,—where did'st thou pick it up?" My reply was, that the little I knew of the subject had been gleaned from the perusal of Mr. Rickman's clever work on Gothic Architecture. "Indeed, friend," continued my querist, "is that verily so? Then, I am Thomas Rickman."

† This Church (writes Mr. Hussey) was erected under the Church Building Commissioners, very soon after they were appointed; and it was under their auspices, indeed, that he commenced his Church building. He used to say that when he had an interview with these functionaries, he enquired how large a projection he might give to the Chancel. The reply was, that two feet was enough for a Chancel; and two feet is given to it in this Church. He is buried

Hitherto he had not been a *professional* architect; and having no practical experience in the constructive department of the art, he was unable to undertake the exercise of it until he had associated with himself Mr. Henry Hutchinson, a gentleman who supplied this defect.* He then entered upon a large field of work, and was the popular Gothic architect of the day. Amongst the many Churches which he designed and erected in different parts of the kingdom may be mentioned Oulton, near Leeds, Hampton Lacy, in Warwickshire, St. David's, Glasgow, and St. Jude's, Liverpool. He also erected the Chapel and Asylum for the Blind at Bristol; and, in 1827, the new building of St. John's College, Cambridge. Rose Castle, the palace of the Bishop of Carlisle, was also restored by him.

In 1830, Mr. Hutchinson died; and four years after, Rickman took into partnership Mr. R. C. Hussey, a gentleman who is now employing his talents on the restoration of St. John's Church, Chester. In 1835, he married his third wife, Miss Millar, of Edinburgh, by whom he had a son, and who survived him. At this time he had relinquished his connection with the Quakers, and attached himself to the sect of the Irvingites, to which he continued to belong until his death, which took place in 1841.

The characteristics of Thomas Rickman's mind were great intelligence and quickness of perception; considerable powers of method and arrangement; and indefatigable industry in investigation. He was physically strong and active, and capable of enduring great bodily fatigue. He cannot however, be said to have possessed much imagination, or inventive genius. His work on Architecture is one that displays rather acuteness of observation, and energy of mind, than power of conception; and the character of the buildings which he executed indicates the same accuracy of imitation from authentic examples, and the same want of originality and fertility of invention. "But after all abatement is made, it must be granted that to Rickman, more than to any other

in the graveyard of St. George's Church, where a monument, erected by subscription, exists to his memory. At this time of day masons were so little accustomed to work Gothic windows, that no one would give an estimate for work of this kind, consequently no contract for a Gothic Church could be made. As this would not suit Rickman or the Church Commissioners, he had a set of patterns made for cast iron Windows, and these he used for all the windows in St. George's Church, except the east window, which is of stone. St. George's is in the Decorated style.

* The architect here named was the father of the Rev. T. N. Hutchinson, formerly Vice-Principal of the Chester Training College, and now second Master of King Edward's School, Birmingham. The members of the Chester Archæological Society need not to be reminded how thoroughly the architectural tastes of the father are inherited by the son.

man, is due the great advance which within the last few years has been made in the knowledge and appreciation of Gothic Architecture in this country."*

AN ARCHÆOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF
CHESTER, BY THOMAS RICKMAN.†

The Metropolitan Cathedrals of Canterbury and York, and the Episcopal edifices of most of the English sees, have not only been described as beautiful and valuable remains, but many of them have become not undeservedly celebrated over almost every part of the British Empire. Amongst these, however, the Cathedral of Chester has not only been almost entirely overlooked, but, by a late writer in a very popular work, described as "a heavy, uninteresting pile, not worth examining."

Having examined it with some attention, and finding therein a more complete succession of styles than I recollect to have met with in almost any other building, I wish by a few remarks to excite some attention to its beauties. I therefore beg leave to offer a slight sketch of what appears from its present state to have been the order of its construction.

From the situation of those remains of the Norman fabric which are still visible, I have little doubt the present church stands pretty nearly on the same foundation as the Norman did; for these remains consist of the *north* wall of the *Nave* forming the *south* wall of the *Cloisters*, and of the *east* Wall of the *North Transept*.

From the situation of this latter wall it seems pretty clear that the Norman Central Tower was of the same size as the present one, and most likely was not taken down till that was built.

The North Wall of the Nave contains two doors. The easternmost one deserves particular attention, as it is a good specimen of the mouldings and ornaments of the early Norman. The arches remaining in the east wall of the North Transept are evidently those of a

* Article on Rickman in Knight's *Cyclopædia of Biography*.

† It will be observed that, in the following paper, Rickman has distinctly pointed out what he supposes to be the dates of erection of the several portions of the Cathedral building. Having no historical authorities to refer to, he had fixed these entirely from his own notions of the *probable* periods, drawn from his examination of the distinctive characteristics of the several parts. We have it in our power now to verify these dates from authentic records, and to show, as we have done in foot notes, the singular accuracy of Rickman's judgment in fixing them.

Triforium, or gallery over the lower arches, and it seems probable that a future examination may discover some part of those lower arches still remaining.

The oldest portion of the building is the west wall of the Cloisters, and that portion of the north wall which reaches to the door leading to the Grammar School. These appear to have been erected in the latter part of the Norman style, when considerable advances had been made towards the lighter mouldings of the succeeding styles.

The blank door in the north west corner of the Cloister is singular, from the sort of ornamental feathering attached to a round arch; but as the same kind of ornament is used to the openings of the east wall, leading down to the lately opened lower apartments, it is possible that this ornament may have been added at a subsequent period to an ancient round headed door. These lower apartments above spoken of, the Chapter House, and a part now used as a Vestry, the door of which goes out of the north aisle of the Choir, are all of a simple yet beautiful description of the Early English.

The Chapter House is peculiarly valuable, as it remains in its original state, and appears never to have been altered. Its Vestibule is a composition of singular beauty from the simplicity of its formation, and is, with the arches in front to the Cloister (now filled with some wretchedly ill drawn sashes),* of the same style.

The north wall of the Choir (on account of the garden inaccessible on the exterior side) I have not been able to examine, but from some singular appearances visible from the City Walls, I have some reason to suppose that it is nearly of the same date with the Vestry spoken of above, and that the *present windows* in the wall were introduced at a subsequent period.

Next in order of date appear to be some of the walls, buttresses, and interior arches, and perhaps some part of the Lady Chapel; but they have been so altered by and intermixed with the reparation of the Chapel in the Perpendicular style, that it requires close inspection to find them out. But so singularly have these reparations been added, that, in some places, a part of the Early English arch, with its peculiar toothed ornament, is framed into and forms a part of the arches of those reparations.

Towards the conclusion of the Early English style, the piers, and arches, and gallery of the Choir† appear to have been erected; and

* This fault has since Rickman's time been remedied by the substitution of two handsome and appropriate windows.

† The *Presentation Book of the Abbey* says, "The Choir, Steeple and Body of the Church were rebuilt about the time of King John, i. e. 1199 to 1216, Hugh

though the shafts of the piers appear to be nearly similar, there is a curious difference in the mouldings of the arches on the north and south sides of the Choir. At the period when the Early English style had in its parts advanced to nearly the beauty of the next style, two small arches with tracery in front, close to the screen to the Lady Chapel, were placed in the aisle of the Choir. These are of beautiful workmanship, and nearly resemble arches in the galleries of Westminster Abbey.

There are also two arches in the south wall of the Choir, flattish, and of considerably broader dimensions, and having feathering, whose mouldings are very like those of these two arches. From this circumstance I am led to conclude that this wall also, at least as high as the bottom of the windows, is of the same date,—say perhaps, 1280 to 1300.

From appearances, as they now remain, more particularly as there is no trace at present of what was the Norman South Transept, I apprehend the situation of the Church about the year 1300, (Edward I. died 1307) to have been this :—The Nave, North Transept, and great Tower remaining in their original state ; the walls of the North Aisle of the Choir, and the whole of the Lady Chapel, together with those of the Choir as high as the top of the Gallery or Triforium, completed so that service could be performed in the Lady Chapel, and perhaps, with a temporary roof, in the Choir itself.

After the Decorated style* was in some considerable degree established, the building appears to have proceeded, and the walls in the Choir raised ; the Clerestory windows bearing evident marks, amidst the present barbarous tracery, of their having been originally of the early Decorated character, and of good execution.†

The upper part of the Eastern Window still retains what seems to be a portion of its original tracery. At this time also appears to have been inserted the *windows* of the *North* and *South Aisles* of the *Choir* ; and here again the work appears to have stood still, for the next succeeding works are considerably advanced in their execution.

Grylle, Abbot.” The Early English period dates from the accession of John in 1199, to 1272, in which year Henry III died. The work continued languidly through the abbacies of Marmion, Pincebeck, Frind, and Capenhurst, to Simon de Albo Monasterio, who became Abbot in 1265, died in 1289, and was buried in the Chapter House. During this energetic abbacy, says Dr. Ormerod, “the monastery or a considerable portion thereof was rebuilt.

* The Decorated period extended from A.D. 1272 to 1377, or during the reign of the three Edwards.

† Simon de Albo Monasterio was Abbot from 1265-1289, while his important part of the work was in rapid progress.

CHESTER CATHEDRAL.

South-east Bay of Nave.

The next alteration we have to notice is a very considerable one, and appears to have commenced in the reign of Edward III, and perhaps about the middle of it. It is very extensive, including the whole of the wall of the East Aisle of the South Transept, with the tracery of its windows, the whole of the piers of the South Transept, and of the Nave, with the arches resting on them, except the four great piers of the centre Tower. The walls, buttresses, and battlements of both Aisles of the South Transept, and the South Aisle of the Nave, if not completed, were so far finished, that the succeeding architect appears (from some obscure remains of pinnacles, &c., still in existence) not to have deviated from the original design.

At this period a stoppage seems to have taken place, probably during the reign of Richard II., for all the subsequent work is Perpendicular ;* and the new architect seems to have found the tracery of the windows of the West Aisle of the South Transept, and the South Aisle of the Nave not prepared, although the architrave mouldings (which are shafts with beautiful Decorated capitals) were carried up to the springing of the arch, and the arch mouldings completed, except the mullion itself, the courses of which are different from those of the arch mouldings.

It also appears probable that no design had been made for the great South Window, as the wall was carried up very little above its commencement.

The workmanship of the Decorated architect is peculiarly excellent. The tracery of those windows which he completed is uncommonly rich in design, and delicate in execution, notwithstanding the poor texture of the stone, which has rendered it impossible to make out the mouldings of some of the tablets. Enough remains, in parts a little defended from the weather, to show the excellence of the exterior workmanship ; and the capitals of the interior piers are of design, which, if they were cleared of their numerous coats of whitewash, would be equal to many in York Minster.

The succeeding architect appears not only to have carried up to the roof the walls of the South Transept and the Nave, but to have pulled down a part, if not all, of the Norman tower. From the great size of the piers, however, and other circumstances, I think it probable that he did not take the piers down to the foundation, but merely to the springing of the arches, and then, taking away the shafts, cased the old piers with his new work ; and this will account for the Norman remains which are left standing in the North Transept †

* The Perpendicular style ranged from the accession of Richard II. in 1377, to the death of Henry VIII. in 1546.

† Simon Ripley, who was Abbot of St. Werburgh's, 1472 to 1479, is stated to

Another circumstance which leads me to suppose that the piers were not taken down to the floor is the continuance of the stone screen, which is evidently of Decorated workmanship.

And here, perhaps, will be the proper place to mention another and most beautiful relic of that style. This is what is known as the Shrine of St. Werburgh, which,—shorn of its battlements, and having the shafts of the upper arches taken away,—is become the Throne of the Bishop; and though sadly disfigured by many coats of paint is worthy of great attention. Indeed it is one of the purest and richest small specimens I know, exclusive of the extensive works already noticed.

This Perpendicular architect raised the *large windows* of the North and South Transept,* which, though different, are both beautiful of their kind. From various small marks of similarity, I am induced to suppose that at the time those works were carrying on, the present *Cloisters* were all proceeded with. The general design of these is good, but the execution is not quite equal to what appears of the exterior remains of the Church itself; of the latter, though now divested of battlements and pinnacles, and the tower so weather worn, that its design is with difficulty traced, the ornaments of the cornice of the Nave and such of the mouldings as are yet distinguishable show the work to have been very well executed. Of the Cloisters, the whole internal walls, containing the windows and groinings of the roof, appear to have been executed within a short time of each other, though perhaps not quite altogether so. The small arches on the west side most likely contained the lavatories of the Monks, and as the exterior wall of the Cloister is on every side much older than the interior, the different breadths and the various arches still remaining in that outer wall, together with the small arches already mentioned, cause a very great and valuable variety of springings, and modifications of groining, of a much earlier date than perhaps later Early English.

At some period, perhaps not very late in the reign of Henry VII. an architect, apparently a different one from those engaged in the other part of the work, seems to have employed his ingenuity in metamorphosing the Lady Chapel, with as little new work as possible, have rebuilt the *Nave*, *Tower*, and *South Transept*; but in Webb's portion of the *Vale Royal* it is distinctly recorded that, in 1506, in the abbacy of John Birchenshaw "The old steeple of St. Werburgh was taken down," while two years afterwards the same record states that "the foundation and the first stone of the Abbey laid, the Maier being then present." This record has been hitherto connected with the western tower, but Rickman's argument seems to be conclusive, unless indeed, which is quite probable, both were in progress at the same period.

* *Not* the windows which are to be found there now, which were erected at the time of the general repair of the fabric, about 1816, after Rickman's survey.

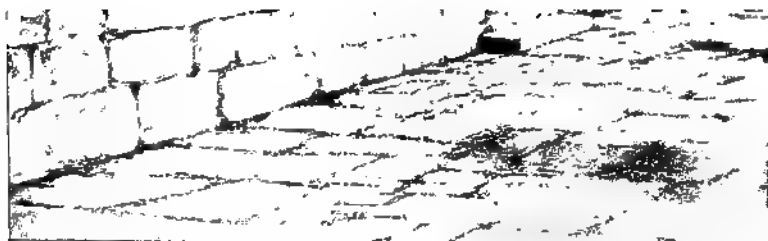


Fig. 1. "y" by "P" 10. 10

Fig. 1. "y" by "P" 10. 10

from the enriched Early English to the Perpendicular style of his own times. With what judgment he has done this in the interior* requires more attention to determine, than I have yet had an opportunity of bestowing.

Of this part of the Building externally, whether from his enlargement of the windows, without sufficient strength in the walls to allow it, or from the weight of its groined roof, or from some other cause, the windows and arches are failing very fast, and the mullions sadly distorted.

The next and final augmentation we have to notice appears to have been begun in the latter part of the reign of Henry VII, though most likely not finished till after the accession of his successor. This augmentation is the West Front, the Consistory Court, and the South Porch. It is possible the Perpendicular Architect before spoken of might lay the foundation, and carry up part of the walls, of this part of the Building, which is clearly distinguished as an augmentation, by the level on which it is built. But the finishing is very different from what remains visible of his work, which, though rich, is simple; while the whole of this part has evident marks of that frittered multiplication of ornament so visible in Henry VII's Chapel. Yet though this work, particularly in the upper part of the Porch, begins to be thus frittered, there is certainly much beauty in the design, and peculiar delicacy in the execution.

The West Entrance, the adjoining niche work, the window above, and the door itself, all deserve minute and attentive examination; for though, from the nature of the stone, much of the original beauty is gone, there are yet parts in which the carvings preserve nearly as much sharpness as when first executed.

With this work the Edifice seems to have been completed, and we will now endeavour to look at it as it then appeared, at which time I believe the view of the South side was free, as those disgraceful erections which now form the narrow passage at the corner of the South Transept were not then in existence.† The Building therefore could be viewed in its whole length, by an observer placed opposite the centre of the South Transept.

* The Dean and Chapter have for some years past been gradually restoring this beautiful structure to its original character; and the Perpendicular work here half-complained of by Rickman has now almost disappeared.

† The erections here so deservedly condemned were the remains of an old cloth hall, originally built for the stranger merchants frequenting the great annual fairs at Chester. These buildings occupied great part of the space now enclosed with railing on the S. W. side of the nave and St. Oswald's Church, and were pulled down about 20 years ago.

At this period I conceive the South View, or, as it may be called, the Show side of the Cathedral, was perhaps but little inferior in real beauty to any one in England,—Canterbury, York, and Salisbury excepted. To prove this, let us examine its parts. The West End newly finished, and the Tower, and the other works of his predecessor and the architecture of the upper part of the Choir, new enough to harmonize therewith, this front view must have presented a very beautiful appearance. Though the battlements are now all gone, enough remains to lead us to suppose that the whole line was finished with rich pinnacles, and battlements.* The buttresses were very fine, and the grouping of those at the corner of the South Transept peculiarly good.

All the Windows appear to have had fine canopies, and what original tracery remains is of great beauty of design, and delicacy of execution; and though now none exists, we may reasonably suppose the Windows filled with painted glass. The picture appeared complete; but it was not long to last, as the funds for its support were soon afterwards absorbed; and tradition avers that during the Usurpation of Cromwell, it was even degraded so far as to become a stable!

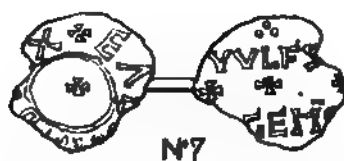
At the Restoration, it was probably in bad condition. The exterior of the Choir appears to have been worse than the rest, for that has been cased; while from the workmanship of that casing, and the present mullions of the Windows, I apprehend these reparations were made since the Restoration. This casing is the last considerable reparation of the walls, but as the roofs have been kept in repair, and the present worthy Dean† is laudably assiduous in giving every reparation the funds of the building will admit, we may hope that no further dilapidations will ensue, and perhaps, after a time, that some restoration may take place. More minute attention than I have hitherto been able to bestow on some particular parts, may enable me hereafter to make some addition to and perhaps corrections of the present rapid sketch of this very interesting Edifice.

I know not how far these observations may coincide with Historical Records; but it is proper to state that they are made up solely from my own examination of the present state of the Building.

* In the print of Chester Cathedral given in Willis' *Survey of Cathedrals*, A.D. 1727, the battlements and rich crocketed pinnacles are shown as existing then. The South end of the South Transept is also shewn to have been richly decorated with niches.

† Probably H. Cholmondeley, who was Dean of Chester, from 1806 to 1815.

COINS
OF
EADYVEARD THE ELDER.



FOUND IN CHESTER.

1862.

J.

ON SOME

Anglo-Saxon Coins

DISCOVERED IN THE FOUNDATIONS OF ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, CHESTER.

BY THOMAS HUGHES.

IN Shrove Tuesday afternoon, March 4, 1862, the workmen employed in excavating for the new Vestibule, at the exterior west end of St. John's Church, came upon a series of cruciform slabs, lying side by side, and forming the original west floor of the nave. While carefully displacing the ancient interments beneath, the men discovered a mass of broken stones, under which, at a depth of about 16 feet from the surface, lay a little heap of thin discoloured coins. Taking them for common jettons or Nuremberg tokens, these coins, some forty probably in number, were considered by the contractors, who happened to be present, as of so little importance, that the parish clerk and labourers were allowed to take possession of them. Numbers of the coins, too, that, by careful handling, might have been saved, were broken up by the rough hands of the workmen, and thus probably more than one rare type will have hopelessly perished.

On visiting the church an hour or so afterwards, Mr. Owens, the contractor for St. John's, informed me of the find. Hearing that the coins somewhat resembled the small Tradesmen's Tokens of the 17th century, long a favourite subject of mine, I induced the clerk of the works to obtain three or four from the workmen for inspection. Judge my surprise, when I immediately recognised in the supposed Nuremberg Counters four very valuable and perfect Anglo-Saxon Coins, of a period earlier than that of any we had before met with in Chester! A little closer inspection shewed them to be personal or contemporary silver coins of King Edward the Elder, who reigned over all England from A.D. 901 to 925. He was the son and successor of the most renowned of all our Saxon monarchs—Alfred the Great—and the father of Athelstan, or Æthelstan, another worthy descendant of the great English lawgiver.

In King Edward's history, and that of his contemporaries, there is much of interest to us in a local point of view, and so much that bears upon the facts and theories opened out by these coins, that we may profitably employ ourselves, at the outset, on a quiet consideration of this branch of the subject.

The sway of Rome over these islands had ceased for some 500 years, and England had, in the interval, been buffeted about at the mercy of successive bands of reckless adventurers. Saxons and Danes, Picts and Goths, Christians and Pagans, alternately ravaged and ruled over the land; while between them the Britons, who were the legitimate inheritors of the soil, had more than they could do to hold well their own. Gradually the Saxons consolidated their power, until, in some form or other, the whole of the southern half of England was practically theirs; the Britons retiring either to the wilds of Cornwall or the mountain fastnesses of Wales, whence they continued to wage a profitless warfare with the invaders of their home.

So far as we locally are concerned—almost within sight of our Walls, the Christian religion had been outraged by its professors in the massacre of the Bangor monks by Ethelfred and the Saxon converts of Augustine,—Offa had made his name terrible to the Britons, from Chester to the Wye, building up that Dyke of offence and defence which still exists and bears his name,—Egbert, the Kentish exile at the court of Charlemagne and the protégé of that mighty conqueror, had returned to his native country, and won for himself the title of the *first* King of England.

The Northmen, on the other hand, had established themselves on our coasts, and obtained fitful possession of the city we now dwell in. The four sons of Egbert, Ethelbald, Ethelbert, Ethelred, and Alfred, had all in succession inherited their father's throne. The Danes from the other side the Humber had carried war and devastation into the southern kingdom. In the words of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, the piratical hordes "rode across Mercia," leaving carnage and sorrow everywhere around them. For a time their truant star was in the ascendant, and the Saxons strove ineffectually to sweep the rolling torrent back.

But the hour of retribution drew near. Alfred, "the darling of England," as he was fondly termed by early historians, could not and would not endure the thralldom of his race. With one stupendous and sudden effort, in 878, he wrested his own birthright and his people's freedom from the Danish taskmasters, and conquered for the England of his love a permanent and a glorious peace!

In peace as in war, in his family as in the great council of the nation, Alfred was recognised by all alike as the head and patriarch of

his people. His children grew up and were educated on his own model, and they inherited many of their father's virtues. Ethelfleda, his daughter, he had married to Ethelred, who, in the light of a petty sovereign and with the title of Earldorman, ruled over Mercia. Edward, his heir, as we shall presently find, succeeded him on the throne, and in most of those qualities which had rendered his own name famous, while his other children were no disgrace to their kingly parent.

But all this time it must not be supposed that their hereditary foe had been by any means idle. On the contrary, in 893-4, the Northmen appeared in force upon our coast, and once more engaged in a trial of strength with Alfred. But again the blood of the Saxon king was aroused, and whether it was in the battle field of Farnham, in 893, or later still in the beleaguered Isle of Mersey, in the troubled city of Exeter, or beneath the walls of our own old city of Chester, Alfred was ever at their heels, driving them before him like chaff before the wind. Of the splendid career, whether upon sea or land, of England's first great King, it needs not that we here speak more at large: every schoolboy should know that from his energetic reign we may fairly date much of that solidity of character, much of that inbred jealousy of our national honour, which has made the English name famous from pole to pole.

At length, in 901, Alfred, the darling of his people, passed away to his rest; and Edward *the Elder*, (as his oldest son is usually called in history) succeeded to the throne. We have now arrived at the period to which the coins found at St. John's more immediately belong.

The 10th century had but just dawned, the courageous Edward was on his father's throne, and a fruitless rebellion of his cousin Ethelwold's had been crushed in the bud. The Danes, though seriously humbled by Alfred's victories, still proved troublesome to his son; and, in another direction, the Welsh chieftains renewed their guerilla warfare with the Saxon conquerors.

But Edward was not left altogether, as had been Alfred, to his own resources. The blood of the great king flowed also in other veins; and in none more purely than in the breast of Alfred's firstborn child and Ethelred the Mercian's wife, the glorious Ethelfleda. Inheriting all her father's energy of character, yielding to him nothing in love for her native land and hatred of the invader, this Amazonian Countess has left an indelible mark on the page of English history. What Boadicea was to the Britons at the first Roman invasion, what Joan of Arc was to *her* people in more mediæval times,—what our own Elizabeth was when the armaments of Spain bore down upon our coast,—such, in every brave sense was Ethelfleda, the daughter of Alfred the "darling of England."

She had in her father's lifetime become the wife of Earl Ethelred, who from what we can gather from him at this remote period, was not unworthy of her, or of the high position he held as Alfred's earldorman or lieutenant in Mercia, to which province Chester then belonged. For twenty years they lived together in the bonds of wedlock, consolidating year by year the Saxon power in that great province over which they ruled.

For some time after the defeat of the Danes before Chester by Alfred, this city seems to have been comparatively deserted; but the Earl and his Countess, having paid a visit to the place, were not slow to perceive that the dismantled fortifications before them were capable of once more becoming what they were of old—the key to the province on its mid-western boundary. Accordingly, Chester appears to have been the first Mercian city fortified and restored by Ethelred. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* says, under date 907,—“This year Chester was repaired;” while *Florence of Worcester* tells us that in the following year, 908, the city called in the British tongue Karlegion, and in the Saxon, Legeceaster (or Chester) was rebuilt by order of Ethelred the earldorman, and Ethelfleda. Doubtless, then, Ethelred and his Countess were actually located here in and during the years 907-8, attending to the repairs of the Walls and of the city, and, like faithful Christians, restoring or rebuilding that Saxon Church, which afterwards gave place to the Norman Abbey of St. Werburgh. What else they effected while resident here, we will give our opinion upon by and bye.

In 910, the Danes, uneasy with so long a truce, made a raid on their ancient foes;—again the hosts of the raven “rode across Mercia,” and Ethelred and Ethelfleda were for a time in considerable strait. But Edward their brother mustered his forces, and, at the battle of Wodnesfield near Wolverhampton, they together drave the Northman once more to his lair, and at once set about, like discreet warriors, to secure what they had won, by the erection of fortresses at all the important points in the great Mercian province. In the words of Speed, our own Cheshire chronicler, “King Edward's monarchy now ascended the horizon, and the sunne of his power beganne to shine very bright; therefore he, seeking to hold what he had got, set his thoughts to secure his towns with castles and walles of defence.”

For the last few years of his life, Earl Ethelred had been a great invalid, and probably deputed much of his earldormanic rule to his spirited Countess; whose name we find often recorded as leader of the Mercian troops, even during her husband's lifetime. While *she* on the one side was inspiring her warriors and leading them forth to battle, the Earl seems to have devoted his crippled energies to the building of fortresses and churches, and the sterner exercises of religion.

In or about the years 910—12, (for chroniclers differ as to the precise date) Ethelred, Earl of Mercia, departed this life, and was buried at Gloucester. *Florence of Worcester* says—"Ethelred, earldorman and patrician, lord and sub-king of the Mercians, a man of distinguished excellence, and not deficient in deeds of merit, died this year."

His widow, Ethelfleda, was suffered by her brother to remain in charge of the Mercian province, which she governed solely for 10 or 12 years, and in such a manner as to entitle her in history to the name of "the Saxon Amazon." London and Oxford alone of the Mercian cities were at this time reserved by King Edward for his own.

In 910 or 911, she built a fortress and monastery at Brimsbury, a place which antiquaries generally have identified with Bromborough, in this county. In 912, she seems to have been conducting similar works on the banks of the River Thames. In 914, says the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle*, "she went with all her people of Mercia to Tamworth, and there built the fortress, early in the summer; and after this, before Lammas, that at Stafford."

In the summer of the following year (915), says *Florence of Worcester*, "Ethelfleda, lady of the Mercians, built the town called Eddisbury, and, at the close of autumn, another called Warwick." Thus, in 914, she was protecting the county of Stafford, while the next year found her establishing a city and fortress on the edge of Delamere Forest in Cheshire. What once was Eddisbury has been for centuries extinct either as a fortress or city; but tradition avers that what is now called *The Chamber in the Forest* is the site of the town which the Mercian princess planted in Cheshire to overawe the Danes. Although all trace, however, of this Saxon camp has disappeared, a Hundred of the county still bears its name, and is a testimony to the truth of the ancient chronicles.

From Eddisbury it would seem that her attention was directed to the erection of castles at Runcorn and Warburton,* both in this county. It will be noticed that these Cheshire fortresses of Warburton, Runcorn, and Bromborough, were all situate on the Mersey banks; and that their erection had been apparently forced upon her by the continued inroads upon her territories from the Danish settlements in Wirral. The Scandinavian names of places still extant all over Wirral are evidences of the hold the Danes had obtained in that north-western point of Cheshire.

We have just noticed with some surprise that, except only in name, we have no positive trace of the Saxon city of Eddisbury. Local historians of a future day will have a similar fate in store for them

* St. Werburgh's Town; spelt *Warburgetone* in the *Domesday Survey*.

with regard to another of Ethelfleda's fortresses in this county. The Bridgwater Trustees, with a view to improve the channel of the Mersey at this point, are about immediately (for the contract is actually signed), to remove the rocky promontory near Runcorn church as being a manifest hindrance to the navigation. In doing this, they will wholly obliterate the Saxon earthworks at Runcorn; and thus an historical position we can actually *prove* to-day, will in a future generation be a matter of simple faith and tradition, just as is, to us, the site of the contemporary city of Eddisbury.

About the time of which we have now been speaking, the Welsh were harassing Ethelfleda on the west side, and Cherbury Castle was accordingly built by her as a menace to the mountaineers. In 917, says *Florence of Worcester*, "Ethelfleda, the lady of Mercia, sent an army into the territory of the Britons to take the castle of Brecknock; and having stormed it, they carried the wife of the British king captive to Mercia, and thirty-four men with her." In August of this year, also, she went in person to Derby, and captured that city by assault, after a determined resistance, in which several of her chief officers were slain. The men of York, too, learning that she was on her way thither, met her with a treaty of peace, and threw open their gates at her approach.

And thus, at all points of her brother's Mercian dominions, wherever danger threatened either his throne or his subjects' safety, there was Ethelfleda to be seen leading on her forces to glory and victory. Defeat was unknown to her arms,—her presence sufficed at all times to clothe her troops with both valour and success.

The year following, viz., on June 12th, 918, says the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle*, (or 919, according to *Florence of Worcester*.) "while King Edward was with his army at Stamford, his sister Ethelfleda, Lady of the Mercians, a woman of incomparable prudence, and eminent for her just and virtuous life, died at Tamworth, eight years after the sole government of the Mercians fell to her by the death of her husband, Earl Ethelred, during which period she ruled them with firmness and equity." Her body was carried in great state to Gloucester; where it was laid, amid much sorrow, by the side of her husband in the east porch of St. Peter's Church, an edifice they had themselves founded a few years before.

King Edward now took Mercia into his own hands, and was perpetually engaged in consolidating his conquests and extending his power. Between 920 and 923, says the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle*, "he repaired after harvest with his army to Thelwall (in this county), and commanded the town to be built, and occupied, and manned; and commanded another force also of Mercians, the while he sat there, to

take possession of Manchester in North-humbria, and repair and man it.—This year died Archbishop Plegmund."

About this time, for the Chronicles extant vary as to date, the Danes had again made their appearance, by way of Davenport, in this neighbourhood, and, in alliance with the Welsh, took forcible possession of Chester. Leofrid commanded the Danes, and Griffin, brother-in-law of Owen, Prince of West Wales, the Welsh. According to Lappenberg's *History of the Anglo Saxons*, "they succeeded in making themselves masters of Chester and the neighbouring lands, and the presence of Edward was necessary for the recovery of that important city. Having reached the enemy in the forest of Sherwood, he divided his army into two bodies, one of which he entrusted to his son Æthelstan, the other to his sons Eadmund and Eadred. Æthelstan, being personally assailed by Leofrid, wounded him with his spear and compelled him to yield. Griffith fell by his younger brothers, and the heads of both leaders were displayed as trophies over the gates of Chester."

This exploit performed, and having received (it may be in this city, for the place is not recorded,) the fealty of three Welsh kings, as well as those of Scotland, Northumbria, &c., he was suddenly seized with illness, and, as the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* says, "a few days afterwards died among the Mercians at Fearndun," which modern historians have identified with Farringdon in Berkshire. Were it not that *Florence of Worcester* states that this Fearndun was "a royal vill," I should be inclined to believe that our own Cheshire Farndon, on the Dee beyond Eaton, was the place where Edward died. The mortal disease attacked him immediately after, if not indeed before, his departure from Chester; and as Farndon on the Dee is on the line of Roman road, there would be nothing improbable in the suggestion. His body was conveyed to Worcester, and there interred in the new minster with becoming formalities. Æthelstan his eldest son, who had been reared and educated in the court of his uncle and aunt, Ethelred and Ethelfleda, succeeded him.

And now to a consideration of those coins so strangely brought to light, and then a few words more for the story which, to my mind, they silently but eloquently teach.

Coins of Edward the Elder are of acknowledged rarity. They are but seldom met with in excavations of the present day, and when they do occur are eagerly bought up by collectors. The find at St. John's, Chester, therefore, is not without interest to the numismatic world, as one or two of the rare types of Edward's coins have been thereby secured to us.

So far as can be gleaned from conflicting statements, there would appear to have been altogether about 40 coins discovered at St. John's. Many of them, however, were broken in pieces by the workmen upon the spot; as, until I saw them, they were supposed to be merely German counters, and of no interest or value. Of the wreck, not more than 20 at the utmost can be traced, and these in many different hands. Five were secured at the time by the Rev. W. B. Marsden, Vicar of the parish. The industry of Mr. John Peacock enabled me to exhibit before the Society, from the various holders, 10 of the more important coins, ingeniously framed between two sheets of glass, by means of which both sides of the coins might be readily seen, without subjecting them to the risk of breakage. Mr. Peacock has also generously come to my aid in another direction, having with great care and fidelity, and, I think it will be acknowledged, with some artistic ability made fac-simile drawings of the coins, as accompanying illustrations to this paper.

Dividing them into three distinct classes, the first to enlist our attention are six which bear on the obverse the name and style of the reigning monarch, EADVVEARD REX,—Edward the King. (Plate 1, Nos. 1 to 6.)

The first coin of this royal series is a very interesting one. The cross in the field of the obverse is larger than is usual upon Edward's coins, and the two Ds in EADVVEARD are considerably diminished in height so as to make room within the circle for the concluding title, REX. The reverse is particularly worth notice, from the gracefully designed cross, arranged *en saltire* across the field, terminating in the centre with a sort of eight-petalled rose. Two wedge shaped crosses, one in chief and the other in base, with the name CVTFERI (for *Cuthbert*) arranged fess-wise across the field, complete the description of this interesting coin. Now, it should be noted here that Cuthbert was a moneyer not only in the reign of Edward, but in the yet more stirring times of Alfred his father. In the celebrated hoard of coins brought to light at Cuerdale, Lancashire, in May, 1840, some 130 of Alfred's coins alone occurred with the name of this mint-master, variously spelt, upon the reverse. From these Cuerdale pennies, too, we learn that Canterbury was the city where Cuthbert's mint was situated in the reign of Alfred: doubtless therefore the specimen now under review, bearing the name of King Edward, came from the same Kentish mint. The Cuerdale find also included several varieties of Edward's coins, struck by Cuthbert, bearing upon the obverse the scarce portrait of the king; but of this type none occurred in the discovery now under notice.

The next coin to be described is one of those secured by the Rev.

REVERSES OF EADVVEARD'S COINS,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THOSE FOUND AT

ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, CHESTER.

N°1



N°2



N°3

N°4

N°5



N°6

N°7



N°8

N°9

N°10

NO. 1. OBYERSE FROM SNELLING.

NO. 2. IDENTICAL WITH NO. 4, FOUND AT ST. JOHN'S.

NOES. 2, 3, 5. FROM MR. J. RASHLEIGH'S COLLECTION.

NOES. 4, 6, 9. FROM CAPTAIN MURCHISON'S COLLECTION.

NOES. 8, 7, 10. FROM MR. BERGHE'S COLLECTION.

✠_x

Vicar of St. John's, but unfortunately so chipped at the edge as to have lost the first letter of the moneyer's name. It reads thus:—

EADVVEARI REX=(E)ADVOLD HO

Eadwold or Eadwald, as his name is indifferently spelt, occurs along with Cuthbert as a moneyer at Canterbury on several of Alfred's coins in the Cuerdale hoard; and in the same deposit we find him again figuring, contemporaneously with Cuthbert, as a mint-master for Edward, but without any named place of mintage. It is worthy of remark *en passant*, that with the exception of two pennies of this Chester find, to be noticed by and bye, and one single instance, Bath, from the Cuerdale collection, the place of mintage has, so far as I can ascertain, never been traced upon any of Edward's coins.

The third coin of our royal series reads EADVVEARD on the obverse; but on the reverse we find an uplift hand, possibly the symbol of Providence in the act of blessing;* for on another type of Edward's, not belonging to the Chester find, the two middle fingers of the hand are depressed, just as is the hand of the Jewish rabbi even in the present day when, standing up in the synagogue, he gives his blessing to the people. The letters on either side of the hand, which seems to be just emerging from the clouds, run thus:—

EA RE
DM DO.

Now *Dorovernia* was the ancient name of Canterbury, and occurs as such on numberless Saxon and early English coins. This legend extended, therefore, will give us both the coiner's name and place of mintage, viz:—EARED MONE'TARIUS DOROVERNIÆ, or "Eared moneyer at Canterbury."

The fourth to demand our attention is still more interesting. The obverse is again in effect the same; but in the field of the reverse we are introduced to a Saxon house of some pretensions, from which also we can glean a notion of the then prevailing style of domestic architecture. It appears to be a house of three or four stories, the second bearing to my mind a notable resemblance to our Chester Rows, with

* With respect to this coin of the "hand" type, I have been favoured with an interesting communication from J. Rashleigh, Esq., of London, a gentleman who has long made Saxon coins his especial study. He considers that the "hand" on the Chester coin, which has all the fingers extended, is emblematical of Providence, specially as the God of *Peace*; while those which show the two forefingers only extended, and the rest closed, indicate the God of *Blessing*. Another form appearing on Edward's coins, with the hand entirely open, and holding a shield, he believes to be symbolical of the God of *Protection*. (See *Supplementary Plate*.) It will be observed that in the Chester example the fingers are pointed *upwards*, whereas all other varieties known to me exhibit the hand, more appropriately, pointed *downwards*, or as if descending out of the clouds.

the front to the street supported upon arches, as is still the case in several instances around us. But be that as it may, we have here the ornamental timber gable of the 17th century plainly shewn upon a coin of at least the beginning of the 10th century, a fact worthy the attention of our architectural secretary, Mr. Harrison, and palpably bearing out the words of Solomon that "there is nothing new under the sun."* The legend runs as follows, arranged upon either side of the house:—PALTER EO—the Saxon P being frequently, as in this case, synonymous with W. It was at first thought the final EO might stand for *episcopo*, but there was no English bishop named Walter living in the reign of Edward. I am now satisfied that the EO represents the first and last letters of *Eboraco*, and that to Walter, the royal mintmaster at York, we owe the very beautiful coin I have attempted to describe.†

The fifth and sixth of the series fell also to the lot of the Vicar of St. John's, the Rev. W. B. Marsden. The obverse of the former resembles those already described, but on the reverse we have the moneyer's name and title in two lines across the field,—DIORAMONE. Now, unless this is a contraction for *Diorvald Monetarius*, this specimen, like No 3 and 6 of the Chester series, gives us the name of a mintmaster, who had not previously occurred upon any known coins of this period.

Number 6, which is unfortunately broken into three pieces, is altogether a peculiar variety. In the first place the engraver, who was apparently a novice at his work, forgot to reverse the king's name and title upon the die, owing to which blunder the inscription on the obverse is made to read the contrary way of the coin. The letters upon the reverse are still more tantalizing, it being next to impossible to make anything out of them. "Our artist" has reproduced them as

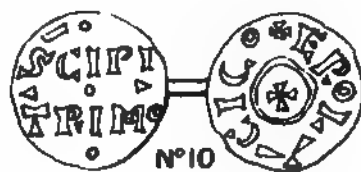
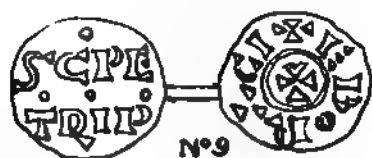
* The same friendly correspondent is of opinion that the "house" in question may be more properly described as the "tower of a Saxon cathedral." Other authorities, Mr. Bergne for instance, consider it to represent "a castle." Mr. Rashleigh possesses two varieties of this type; one shewing the end and transepts of a religious edifice, and the other almost identical with the Chester found specimen, and bearing the same moneyer's name. I am indebted for this highly valued correspondence to a report of the Chester Archæological Society's Meeting at which my paper was read, published at the time in the columns of the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

† In the belief that the reader will be interested to see and compare other specimens of the "house" and "hand" types, side by side with those discovered at St. John's church, I have, with the aid of Mr. Rashleigh, Captain Murchison, Mr. Bergne, and other eminent collectors, obtained actual casts of several important varieties, one or two of which are up to this moment, I believe, inedited. Mr. Peacock's friendly pencil again serves me in good stead, by reproducing these kindred examples on a supplementary plate.

ECCLESIASTICAL COINS

St EDMUND.
— OF EDMUNDSBURY. —

St PETER
OF YORK.



FOUND IN CHESTER.

1862

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faithfully as the strictest fac-similist could desire, and to his drawing I would refer all who may wish to try their hand at this numismatic puzzle. Divested of certain ornaments or flourishes, it would seem to read TDID ME VEIO, being possibly intended for TEDID ME FECIT, (Tethid made me.)

Upon the reverse of the 7th and last of these royal coins, which has been struck on an imperfect circle of silver, we have the mint-master's name in two parallel lines—VVLFSIGE MO—*Wulfsige monetarius*. Even if numismatists had not already clearly shewn to which of the two Saxon Edwards these types were assignable, this coin and those of Cuthbert and Eadwold, already described, would have established the fact; for whereas the two former coined for Alfred his father, as well as for Edward, this same Wulfsig in like manner occurs also as a moneyer on a coin of Æthelstan, son of Edward the Elder, figured in Snelling's *View of the Saxon Coinage of England*; and I am inclined to think, after a comparison of the two, that the same die was used by Wulfsig for the reverse of both Kings' coins (father and son) struck at his mint.

Not the least important feature in Edward's coins is their average weight,—24 grains. Two of the more perfect specimens from this Chester find have been tested in the scales, and found in each case to weigh exactly one pennyweight Troy,—thus pointing at once to the primary application and remote use of that now almost unmeaning term. A few only of Alfred's later coins, nearly the whole of Edward's, and a large proportion of the pennies of Æthelstan, Edmund, and Edred, his three sons and successors, weigh 24 grains, or one pennyweight: whereas the pence of all previous and later reigns fall considerably short of that standard, thus tending to shew that the origin of the term penny-weight is to be traced to the reign of King Edward the Elder.

Of the second of the three classes of coins, into which we have divided this Chester deposit, we have only one specimen, but that a very perfect and curious one. (No. 8, plate.) It reads upon the obverse, SCEAD, which, when first submitted to me, I conceived was a coin of St. Ceadda (or St. Chad), Bishop of Lichfield, to which diocese Chester once belonged. But as St. Chad died two centuries previously, and no coins bearing his name have ever been known to exist, I turned to my friend Mr. Hawkins' work on the *Silver Coinage of England*. It there appeared that the letters in debate were a contraction of *Sanctus Eadmundus* (St. Edmund, King and Martyr), who, having been murdered by the Danes in 870, just before Alfred succeeded to the throne, was afterwards canonized, coins being struck in his honour in the next generation, it may be at his royal

vill of Edmundsbury (now called Bury St. Edmunds). The peculiarly shaped A in the field is, I believe, only found on these coins of St. Edmund, and had probably some special signification, unknown to us of the present day. The legend on the reverse reads, the contrary way of the coin, CIPICI, the two first or last letters being possibly intended for *civitas*; but, if so, what city the remainder of the legend refers to I have not at present the most remote idea.

I have designated this find of coins, in general terms, as "Edward the Elder's;" but fully half of those preserved are, strictly speaking, not coins of that monarch at all. His name does not occur on any of the specimens of this latter or third class, of which we have in all nine varieties in the St. John's deposit. Six of these, and I think, by intention, the other three also, have on one side, in words and letters more or less contracted, the following legend in two parallel lines: "*Sancti Petri Episcopo.*" One type, (No. 12) and the only one in the collection belonging to me personally, reads SCT. PETR. M.—the final M standing for *Monetario*, instead of *Episcopo*. The O's on this coin are particularly worthy of attention. On seven of these types the reverse of each contains in effect the one uniform word in a circle, EBORACO. Two or more have also, as will be seen by referring to the plates, the additional letters CI for *civitas*; while others seem to read DEI. V. DEAI, the signification of which is obscure.

The following is a complete list of the readings on these coins as far as their distorted legends will admit of a description.

9. SCPETRIP	= EBORACI
10. SCIPITRIMO	= ERORACICO
11. SCIPETRIIS	= EBORACECI
12. SCT ^T PERM	= EBORACECI
13. PE.....IOEP	= DEI. V. DEAI (retrograde)
14. SCPETRIP	= EBORACECI
15. SCIPET ^{TE} *R	= IBRACI *
16. SCIITIIR	= EBORACEC
17. IIEIEIOEP	= DEI. V. DEAI (retrograde)

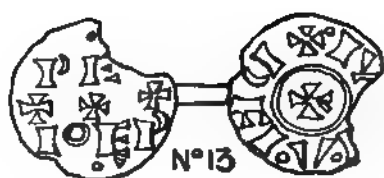
What then are these latter coins, found side by side with those of the great Edward? They belong, like that of St. Edmund, to the rare class usually termed Ecclesiastical or Sanctal Coins, from their bearing the name of some saint, such as Peter, Martin, &c., on the obverse of the coin. The St. Peter's Coins, to which series the six

* The obverse of this coin is perhaps the most curious of the nine here grouped together. Compare the T above the line with a similar letter on No. 12: note also the resemblance between the wedge-like ornament in the base with that on the reverse of Edward's coin No. 1, from Cuthbert's mint.

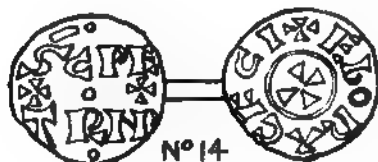
ECCLESIASTICAL COINS.

ST. PETER
OF YORK

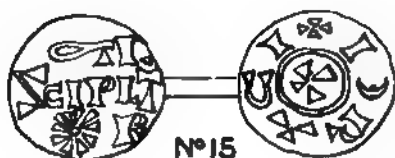
— Continued. —



Nº 13



Nº 14



Nº 15

FOUND
IN CHESTER.
1862.

Ⓐ.

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found at St. John's uniformly belong, were all struck, under state sanction, at the Abbey or Minster of York, either by the bishop of that see, or his authorised moneyer, as the legends on these coins collectively declare.

Numismatists have hitherto been unable to say positively in what reign these St. Peter's Pence, as they are sometimes, but erroneously, called, were struck. Our honorary associate, Mr. E. Hawkins, in his valuable work on *The Silver Coinage of England*, already alluded to, conceives them to have been contemporary with the reign of Eric,* King of Northumbria, from their general resemblance to the coins of that prince, who ascended his feudal throne in 927. And that this conclusion was within 20 years of the truth, this find at St. John's seems to me satisfactorily to prove. These Chester coins, no two of which are from the same die, have evidently never been in circulation, for the letters, &c., upon them are as sharp and fresh as when they were first struck. They are found here side by side with the money of *one* King only, and that King, Edward the elder, who died in 925. The only other variety is the half-penny of St. Edmund, who died in 870, and in honor of whom money bearing his canonized name was issued either in the latter days of Alfred, or the beginning of Edward's reign.

Place these facts together, and what is the result? What but that the coins of St. Edmund and St. Peter were manifestly contemporaneous with those of Edward the Elder, and that they were all struck prior to 925, the date of Edward's death? The premises admit of no other conclusion; and this is one of the historic doubts, the solving of which we owe to the coins discovered at St. John's. It will be seen, ere we conclude, that I presume to fix their date at least 15 years earlier than 925, and for reasons which will then appear.

Let us now proceed. As the 10th century dawned, the condition of Chester appears to have been pretty much as follows. The Roman walls were standing in more or less their original condition, saving the wear and tear, and the warlike ravages of some 400 years. The Abbey of St. Werburgh, or rather the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul, probably a wooden or simply "wattle" structure, had existed, for say 200 years, as the mother church of the city, and a spare population of Saxon soldiers and civilians lived within its Walls. Ethelred and Ethelfleda find their way to the place; and, struck with its natural position, and perhaps also with its antiquarian beauty, set their hearts

* Bradshaw, the Chester poet-monk of the 15th century, assures us that the "noble kyng Offa" who

"Of Englande first toke the hole monarchie,
Gave *Peter pens* vnto the court of Rome."

on its restoration. With commendable religious zeal, their first task seems to have been to repair or rebuild the sanctuary which was lying waste, or at least exhibiting signs of age and decay. This renewed foundation of theirs was dedicated to St. Werburgh, the remains of that saint having but a few years before been removed thither from Hambury, from fear of spoliation by the Danes; and in after ages it became a sharer in the miracles which were boldly affirmed to have been done at her shrine.*

The City Walls, we may presume, are now put into a satisfactory state; the garrison is strengthened, and the city itself is enlarged by one third upon its southern side, so as to take in the Castle, which had stood before that time out-side the Walls. Ethelred and Ethelfleda are specifically connected in history with the extension of the City Walls; and there is altogether little doubt that Ethelred's home and court, if anywhere in Mercia, was in his favorite city of Chester. In that case his nephew Æthelstan must have in his youth resided here also; and this will account for the honor he, when king, afterwards conferred upon Chester, by making it one of the few cities privileged to coin money,†—a privilege that never entirely ceased until the reign of William and Mary. One other city, Gloucester, seems to have enjoyed the special favor of Earl Ethelred: *there* he founded the great Church of St. Peter, and there, as founder, his body and that of his countess in the fulness of time rested from their labours.

My own opinion,—and it is comforting to find that Bishop Tanner, the Church historian, shares the same view,‡—is, *that to Earl Ethelred we owe the foundation of St. John's Church!* “Oh! but,” we shall be told, “it was *King* Ethelred, who reigned from 675 to 704, and *not* this tenth century Earl of the same name, who, by the concurrent testimony of early and later historians, first raised a Church upon this spot.” Let us, however, see what history and tradition may have to say upon the point.

* Ethelfleda seems to have acquired a special veneration for Sts. Werburgh and Oswald. Besides dedicating to the former the great Abbey at Chester, she named also the new town of Warburton in her honor. To St. Oswald again, whose body she had translated to Gloucester, she dedicated an oratory at Chester, now the parish church of St. Oswald, as well as a Priory in the first named city.

† The Assay Office, which has for several centuries been an appanage of the Chester Goldsmith's Company, is believed to be an existing relic of this monarch's regard for the city of his boyhood.

‡ Noticed also by the Rev. F. Grosvenor, at pp. 5-7 of his *Historical Account of the Collegiate Church of St. John*, a paper read at the Archæological Institute's Meeting at Chester, in 1857.

I have examined every early historian within my reach, but have utterly failed to find one single notice which would connect Ethelred the *King* personally with Chester. He was indeed King of Mercia, in which state Chester was included ; and he may possibly have visited the place, especially if his niece, St. Werburgh, ever really resided here. Even this, however, is more than doubtful ; for from the incidents of her life that have come down to us, it is not at all clear that the saint herself was ever during her lifetime personally associated with Chester. Beyond this, there is really nothing of a local character in relation to King Ethelred to be gathered from any historian living within 500 years of his time.

On what foundation, then, does the tradition rest that King Ethelred was the founder of this Church of St. John's ? On the sole authority of Monk Henry Bradshaw, who lived in the Monastery at Chester, in the reigns of Henry VII. and VIII., and who wrote a curious, but certainly not always trustworthy "*Lyfe of Saynt Werburge*," "very frutefull" as he modestly assures us, "for all Christen people to rede." But we will quote our monkish poet's own language in support of his theory :—

"The yere of grace syxe hundreth foure score and nyen
As sheweth myne auctour, a Bryton Giraldus,
Kynge Ethelred, myndynge moost the blysse of heuen
Edyfyed a collage chyrche notable and famous
In the subbarbes of Chester pleasaunt and beauteous,
In the honour of god, and the Baptyst saynt Johan,
With helpe of bysshop Uulfryce and good exortacyon."

We here see that Bradshaw gives *Giraldus Cambrensis*, a Welsh historian of the 12th century, as the authority for his statement. But, strange to say, the pages of *Giraldus* have been consulted again and again, the uniform result being that no such record is to be found therein. He does, indeed, recount some particulars of his visit to Chester, naming incidentally St. John's Church and the Hermitage there ; but of the presumed date of the foundation of the Church he says, so far as I can learn, absolutely nothing !

It is therefore probable, and something more, that the only Church existing in Chester in the 9th century was that dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul ; and that it occupied the site whereon or adjoining which was afterwards to be built, by Ethelred and Ethelfleda, the great Abbey of St. Werburgh.

Passing now from the domain of romance and tradition, we come to a period when the lamp of reliable history lights us on our way. Alfred is gathered to his fathers, Edward reigns in his stead, and over the great province of Mercia, Ethelred and Ethelfleda rule as his lieutenants. Again quoting Monk Bradshaw, we read

That tyme the realme of Merciens was translate
 By the kynge, and gyven to duke Ethelrede
 A noble man of auncetre politicke and fortunate
 Whiche married his syster lady Elfede
 Doughter to the forsaide valiant kynge Alured
 The sayd gentilman was wyse and vertuous,
 Sad and discrete, pacient and famous.

This lady Elfede, duchesse of Merciens,
 Had speciall loue and singular affection
 To blessed Werburge and true confidence
 Wherefore she mynded with great dilectacion
 To edifice a mynstre, a place of deuocion
 To this holy virgin for profite of her soule
 Enlargynge the church of Peter and of Paule.

She moued her husbnde with great mekenes
 To supplie the same dede of his charite
 And diuers other nobles of theyr goodnes
 For aide in that cause after their degree
 Joyfull was the duke of the mocion gostle
 Glad were the nobles within all the shire
 To founde a mynstre after her desire.

They send for masons upon every syde
 Counnyng in geometrie the foundation to take
 For a large mynstre longe, hie, and wyde
 Substantiall wrought the best that they can make
 To the honour of God for saynt Werburge sake
 At the est ende taken theyr sure foundation
 Of the apostoles church ioynynge both as one.

And the olde church of Peter and of Paule
 By a generall counsell of the spiritualte
 With helpe of the duke moost principall
 Was translate to the myddes of the sayd cite
 Where a pairesse church was edified truele
 In honour of the aforesayd apostoles twayne
 Whiche shall for euer by grace diuine remayne.

Afterwards, referring more particularly to the acts of Princess Ethelfleda, the same author proceeds:—

The yere of our lorde IX hundreth and VIII
 This noble duchesse with mycle royalte
 Reedified Chestre and fortified it full ryght
 Church, house, and wall decayed piteousle
 Thus brought unto ruyne was Chestre cite
 First by Ethelfride kyng of Northumberlande
 And by Danes, Norwaies vexyng all Englande.

Also she enlarged this sayd olde cite
 With new mighty walles strong all about
 Almost by proporcion double in quantite
 To the forther byldynge brought without dout

She compassed in the castell enemies to hold out
 Within the sayd Walles to defend the towne
 Agaynst Danes and Walshemen to dryve them all downe.

After the deth of her husband Ethelrede
 She ruled the realme of Mercelande manfully
 Buylded churches, and townes repared in dede
 As Staford, Warwike, Thomwort, and Shirisbury ;
 Of newe she edified Runcorn and Edisbury :
 The body of Saynt Oswald also she translate
 From Bardeney to Gloucetur there to be tumulate.

For these statements we have, in the main, positive—we might almost have said contemporary—evidence, as may be seen by reference to the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle*, *Matthew of Westminster*, *Florence of Worcester*, *Hollingshead*, *Fox*, &c.

The works undertaken by Earl Ethelred at Chester were not works completed in a day, or yet a year. It is more than probable, then, that, as warlike leisure served, Chester was long his favourite home : and here, to my mind almost conclusively, after completing St Werburgh's Abbey and the city walls, he dreamed that pious dream which tradition has handed down to us, and on the outskirts of our city, on the spot where he captured a white hind in the chase, there he founded the proud minster of St. John.

Historians writing three hundred years afterwards, dealing with tradition as they found it, and aided only by written records both meagre and obscure, may well be forgiven for having failed to discriminate between the two Saxon Ethelreds. It has been reserved for us in a later age to apply the antiquarian broom to this historic cobweb, and, thanks to a lucky discovery of high archæological interest, endeavour to give the honour to whom honour is due, by making Ethelred the *Earl*, and not Ethelred *King* of Mercia, founder of the great Church of St. John, at Chester.

We may imagine the formalities which would accompany the ceremony of "laying the foundation stone,"* and may count upon some who were likely to have been present. First, there were Ethelred and Ethelfleda, the joint founders ; near them might stand their royal ward, Æthelstan the etheling, heir to his father's throne. Prominent in the group, we may suppose, would be Plegmund, the Archbishop of Canterbury, a native of Mercia, and, but a few years before, a modest recluse at the hermitage of Hoole, that "island of Chester" of which

* It is not improbable that the "mass of broken stone," referred to at the commencement of this Paper as lying upon the coins when found, was once in reality the "foundation stone" itself. In that case it would, had it been perfect, have exhibited to us the "cross" usually cut into the stone by the hand of the bishop officiating at the ceremony.—*Archæologia*, Vol. 26, p. 219.

we of this Society have so lately been reminded. But Chester belonged then, as now, to the arch-diocese of York, and we may well believe that Ethelbald, the northern primate, or some eminent deputy, would be present at the ceremony. In that case, the St. Peter's and St. Edmund's coins, already noticed, would in all probability be deposited under the foundation stone as a freewill offering on behalf of the Church, while those of King Edward the Elder would be laid there in like manner by Earl Ethelred, his kinsman, as the representative of the State.

Edward came to the throne in 901, and Ethelred the Earl died in 911; so that, if these coins are actually "foundation coins," as I believe them to be, then St. John's Church must have been in the first instance built somewhere between those years—901 and 911.

It were much to be wished that these now scattered coins, the relics of an age long passed away, should again be united in an available form. If the several holders consent to such an arrangement, the Chester Archæological Society, by their responsible officers, will afford the coins a prominent place in the Museum. All then who felt an interest in the subject might see for themselves these valuable types of the circulating medium of England in its infant days; and either endorse or reject the arguments and theories upon which this memoir has been based.

To sum up, then, in one short, final sentence. I conceive that these coins, which have come to us fresh from their respective mints, and have evidently never been in actual circulation, were, without reasonable doubt, the foundation coins of St. John's, and of the types current either in the Church or the State at the date of the ceremony; that they escaped recognition when the Norman edifice of stone replaced the Saxon one of wood; that the same happy fate awaited them when the nave was cut down in the reign of Elizabeth; and that, after lying dormant in the soil for nearly a thousand years, they have reappeared in this year of grace, 1862, as if purposely to remove a cloud of historic dust from our eyes, while, at the same time, they prove, in language which cannot lie, the remote antiquity—yea, the Saxon origin—of that venerable structure.

It remains to add a few words on the subject of "foundation stones," and on the custom of depositing current coins beneath them. This is the more necessary, as some of my antiquarian brethren who heard this Paper read, or who saw a digest of it, shortly afterwards, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, have questioned the existence of such a religious ceremony in Anglo-Saxon times.

That the Romans, who were pre-eminently a numismatic people, and reckoned time solely by the reigns, long or short, of their emperors, would early employ coins to mark the dates of their public edifices, might fairly enough be assumed, even in the absence of actual proof. But happily we are not left quite to hypothesis in this matter. Tacitus,* the Roman historian, informs us that "the Emperor Vespasian delegated to Lucius Vestinus, a man of high authority, the management of the reconstruction of the Capitol. He first assembled the augurs in consultation, who directed that the materials of the former temple should be previously deposited in the marshes, and the new one erected on the original site, the Gods being also unwilling that the form of the building should be altered. On the 11th of the calends of July, the day being clear and serene, the whole space allotted to the temple was circumscribed with fillets and garlands. Such of the soldiers as bore names of good fortune were admitted into the above space, carrying in their hands what were considered as felicitous branches of trees. Next came the vestal virgins, and a troop of boys accompanied by their parents. These were employed in cleansing the ground with water obtained from the purest sources. The Prætor Helvidius Priscus, preceded by Plautius Ælianus the high priest (the ground being hallowed by the sacrifice of a swine, a sheep, and a bull, and their entrails, laid upon the turf), called first on Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, and then on the Gods who protected the empire, to prosper the undertaking, and preserve by their divine power the Temples which the piety of man had erected in their honour. Helvidius then touched the bands or fillets, to which a stone together with several ropes had been attached. At the same time the other priests, with the magistrates and senators, assisted by the greater portion of the spectators, and with intermingled joy and desire, *drew the large stone to the foundations*, first scattering over them as donations *quantities of gold and silver coins*, with pieces of virgin metal that had not passed through the furnace or received the usual stamp, the augurs having declared that the work was not to be polluted with stone or metal that had been destined to any other purpose." †

Another description from Godwyn‡ is to the like effect. After describing other ceremonies of dedication he writes:—"This being done, the Prætor touched certain ropes wherewith a great stone, being the first of the foundations, was tyed. Together with that, other

* *Hist. lib. IV.*, cap 53. † *Archæologia*, Vol. 26, pp. 216-7.

‡ *Rom. Ant.* p. 22, ed. of 1633, quoted by the Rev. F. Trench in *Notes and Queries*, 3rd series, Vol. IV, p. 450.

chief magistrates, priests, and all sorts of people did help to pluck that stone, and let it down into its place, casting in wedges of gold and silver, which had never been purified or tried in the fire. These ceremonies ended, the Aruspes pronounced with a loud voice,—‘*Ne temeretur opus saxo aurove in aliud destinato:’ i.e.* Let not this work be unhallowed by converting this stone or gold into any other use.”

This religious ceremony of the Romans, like many others of a similar class, became part and parcel of the ritual of their successors in this as in other countries. The instance now claimed for St. John’s, at Chester, is perhaps the earliest in date which has hitherto been recorded in England. But in Venice, nearly a century before, viz:—in 827, the Doge Justiniano Particiaco bequeathed to his brother and successor John, a sum of money to build a church in honour of St. Mark. This was accordingly accomplished by him in 828 or 829, on which occasion an inscribed stone was placed by him in the foundations, assisted by Orso Badoaro, Bishop of Olivola. In the year 976 the original church was destroyed by fire, and the present one soon afterwards erected under the Doge Peter Urseolo. It is very possible that, in clearing away the rubbish of the old church, the original foundation stone was discovered; * but be that as it may, the stone was certainly exhibited before the Society of Antiquaries, London, in 1834. The stone is of circular form, 6½ inches in diameter and half an inch thick, and appears to have been originally inserted in the cavity of a larger stone. In the centre is a rudely designed head, supposed to represent St. Mark, surrounded by a sort of nimbus, and beyond that by an inscription in Latin which runs as follows:—*ECCL(ESIÆ) S(ANCTI) MARCI PRIMAM PETRAM POSVIT DVX IO(HANNES) PARTICI(ACO).*

It is not recorded whether any coins were found beneath this Venetian stone, but it may be pretty safely assumed that there were; and that, as too frequently happens under similar circumstances now, they were abstracted by the workmen, and dispersed. This, indeed, would likely enough have been the fate of those found at St. John’s, had they not been mistaken by the workmen for mere German counters, or, as they themselves termed them, “only little bits of brass!”

* *Archæologia*, Vol. 26, p. 221.

It is but fair to state that the miscellaneous coins of Edward, occupying the 4th Plate attached to this Paper, were sketched by Mr. Peacock from *gutta percha* or sealing wax casts, and not from the coins themselves: hence alone any slight inaccuracy of detail, should such chance to be discovered on comparison with the originals.

FOUNDATION STONE
OF THE
ORIGINAL CHURCH OF ST MARK,
VENICE.

ACTUAL SIZE,
DIAMETER --- $6\frac{1}{4}$ INCHES
THICKNESS --- $\frac{1}{2}$ AN INCH.

⦿.

ON THE
Roman City of Uriconium,

AND ITS

REMAINS AT WROXETER, SALOP.*

BY MR. HORATIO LLOYD.

NEAR the village of Wroxeter, which is about five miles east of Shrewsbury, a large and imposing mass of masonry, presenting unmistakable characteristics of Roman work, has long attracted the attention of every visitor to that locality. Its massive nature, and its evident age, have made it in itself an object of much interest; and that interest has been greatly enhanced by the supposition, which has been long entertained, that it was a portion of one of the large and important towns of Roman Britain.

Many of these towns, for some reason not perhaps easy to explain, stood on the western side of Britain. Mr. Wright (a gentleman whose name requires no introduction in an Archæological meeting) suggests that "commercial interests may probably have had something to do with this distribution, especially on the borders of Wales; for the Romans profited largely by the mineral and other products of that mountainous district, whilst it is likely that they carried on a considerable trade with Ireland." However this may be, we learn from the *Itineraries* that the city of *Uriconium* stood, not only on the road up the border, now called the "Watling-street road," and forming the line of communication between the several stations from the Bristol Channel to the Wroxeter Ford, but also on the great military road running from London to North Wales. The junction of the Roman border road with the "Watling-street" running from London to Carnarvon (*Segontium*), occurs close to the present village of Wroxeter, and at a very short distance from the "old wall."

The map of the district, on the opposite page, shows the outline of the city, and its position with reference to these two great roads. The road from London approached the city from the east, and some traces

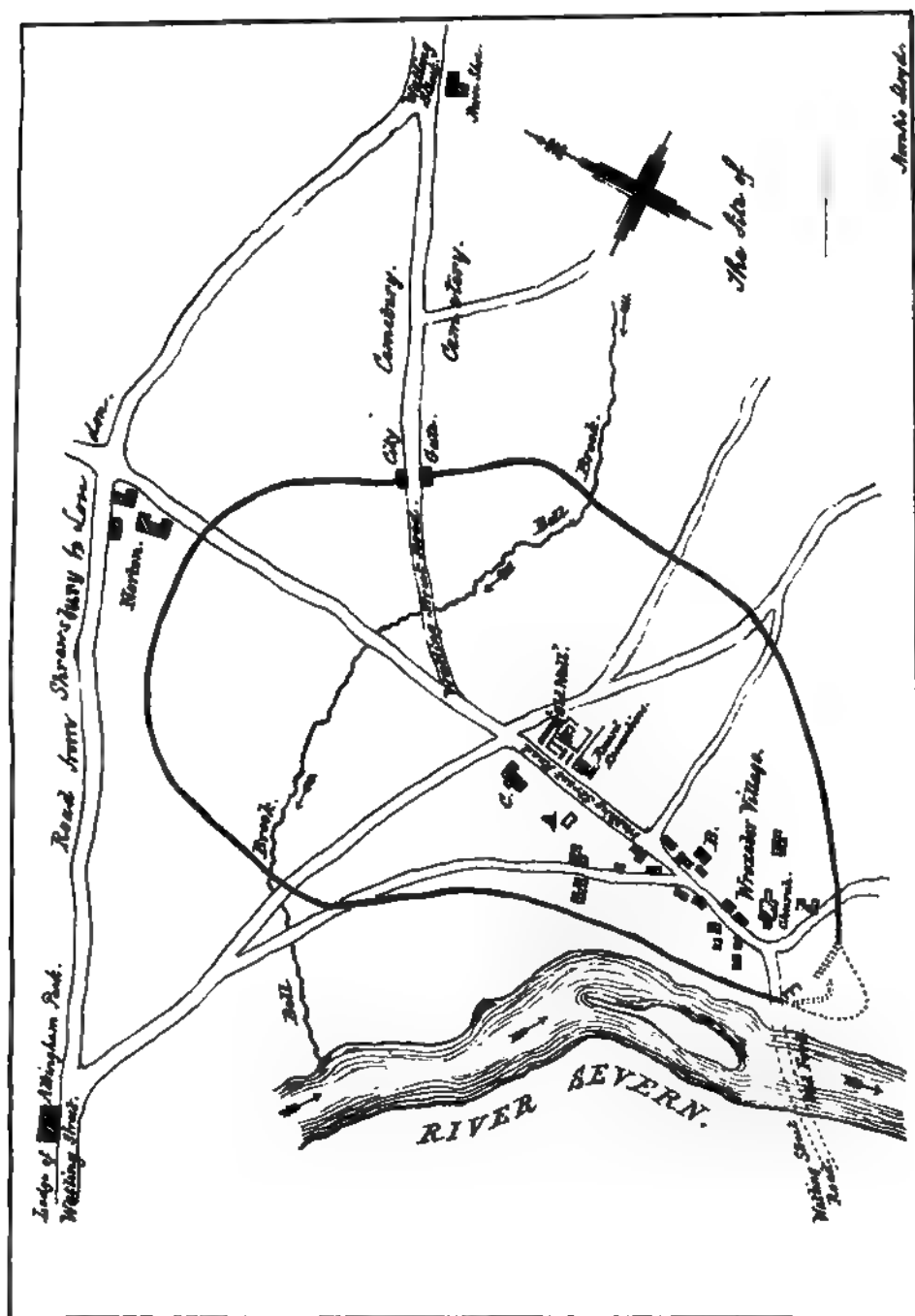
* Read at a Meeting of the Society, Oct. 9, 1862.

of an entrance gateway have lately been discovered. The road probably passed across the city, and rejoined the present Shrewsbury road near the lodge of Attingham Park, for the old Roman road which came to Chester is considered to be almost identical for some distance from this point northwards with the present road. The little diversion which now occurs to the north of the site of the old city having been doubtless made to avoid the ruins in which *Uriconium* for several centuries lay.

This is undoubtedly the site of ancient "*Uriconium*." I say 'undoubtedly,' notwithstanding a strong opinion to the contrary given by a writer in a recent number of the '*Gentleman's Magazine*.' He asserts that the Roman town at Wroxeter is not *Uriconium*, which is placed by Antoninus on Iter II., but *Bravinium* on Iter XII. *Bravinium* is mentioned in the road books as the last station on Iter XII. (or Border road), and its site has never yet been satisfactorily identified. In order to make out his case, the writer attempts to show that all the stations on Iter II. have hitherto been wrongly placed, including of course that of *Deva* (Chester.) In support of his theory he places *Uriconium* at or near Eccleshall in Staffordshire, where some remains of a Roman road have been discovered: he then goes on to express an opinion (which I think will not find much favour *here*) that the site of the ancient *Deva* is at Frodsham, on the River Weaver; relying on the eligibility of its position, and a similarity in sound of the names of *Deva* and Weaver, and ignoring the strong evidence in favour of Chester, contained in the *Itineraries* and elsewhere, as to the XXth Legion being so long stationed here, and the relics of that legion which have been continually found at Chester. I think it will not be found easy to discard the opinions entertained by most antiquaries, past and present, that Wroxeter is the site of *Uriconium*.

The line of the town wall may be traced by a low and almost continuous mound, forming an irregular oval of rather more than three miles in circumference, and in several instances, where this mound has been pierced by trenches, traces of the walls have been found. The Watling-street road, there is good reason for believing, occupied in a part of its course the line of one of the principal streets of the city. It crosses the River Severn, where there is an old ford, and there was doubtless a bridge in Roman times, for what appear to be the remains of one have been recently discovered a little lower down the river.

The "old wall" stands as nearly as possible in the centre of the city, and it probably formed part of one of its principal buildings. It is the only portion of the old city which is above ground, and is a solid mass of masonry about 20 feet high, 70 feet long, and of a



uniform thickness of a little more than 3 feet. It has the usual string courses of flat red bricks so common in Roman work, and the masonry much resembles that in the ruins of Dover Castle, one of the most interesting Roman relics in this country.

At various times during this and the last century, in draining the land and in carrying on other agricultural labours within the circuit of the town wall of Uriconium, antiquities and remains of the Roman period have been met with ; and it has been more or less the custom in that neighbourhood, when building materials were required, to dig for them, and large quantities of stone and other materials have been thus obtained. Valuable relics also have been from time to time discovered, and "treasure hunters" were not wanting in earlier days. The frequency with which articles of value were met with possibly gave rise to the legend, which is part of the tradition of the locality,

"By the Brook of Bell there is a well,
Which is richer than any man can tell."

The Bell Brook runs through the supposed site of the city.

Before proceeding to describe shortly the nature of the discoveries already made, I would say a word on the probable date of the city of 'Uriconium,' its origin, and the time during which it is supposed to have flourished.

The site of the city is within about three miles of the far-famed Wrekin, and antiquaries differ in opinion as to whether the camp on the Wrekin, which of course is anterior to Uriconium, is to be regarded as the origin of the city. We know however that the hill fortresses, which are the earliest relics we have of the ancient inhabitants of this country, were no sooner taken possession of by their Roman conquerors than they selected, at no great distance from the British settlement, an eligible site for their fortified station ; and it would seem to be not at all improbable that the Wrekin, affording as it would so good a point of observation (the surrounding country in every direction being visible from it for many miles), may have had something to do with the selection of the site. It has been remarked by Mr. Scarth (the author of several valuable papers on this subject, to which I am indebted for much information*), that the situation of Uriconium appears to have been admirably chosen for security. The Border fortress on the Wrekin, and the fortified city of Uriconium which succeeded, possessed great advantages as military stations. On one side protected by the River Severn—the adjoining district is intersected by large streams, and anciently abounded in extensive meres. There were many marshes and peat lands which were dangerous to pass over, and on the north and north-west there are

* Papers on Uriconium.—*Archæological Institute's Journal*, 1859—1860.

still morasses, which must in the early part of the Roman occupation have rendered the district nearly impenetrable. That a considerable portion of the land in the neighbourhood was formerly waste, and probably marshy and uncultivated, may be gathered from a rent roll of the manor of Wroxeter, temp. Edward III., and year 1350, which has been recently published.* It appears from that document that, although the parish of Wroxeter consisted then, as now, of nearly 5,000 acres, little more than 600 were even at that time under cultivation. Probably however a portion at least of the site of the town (which was within the parish), would be then so filled with ruins of buildings as to be left wild; but this would only account for about 300 acres, the remainder therefore must have been waste from some other cause.

But whatever may have been the reason for placing this great city in this spot, here it doubtless stood; and the time at which it was built is also a matter involving very little doubt. It seems to be generally thought by those whose opinions upon such matters are valuable that Uriconium was built during the first century. It is clear that it existed in the time of Ptolemy, who is supposed to have written about A.D. 120;—and he is the first writer of antiquity by whom it is mentioned. It is alluded to also in the *Itineraries* under the names of Viroconium, Uriconium, and Uriconium, and it was evidently in the time of Ptolemy a large and important place, although it had probably not then arrived at the size it subsequently attained.

Several circumstances have been mentioned by different writers as evidence of the age of Uriconium. Some little time ago a coin of the reign of Trajan (A.D. 98—117), in good preservation, was found in the mortar of the old wall, and it has been put forward as a proof that the wall was built during that reign. Another matter is, that among the inscribed monuments that have been found in the cemetery of the city there is one to a soldier of the XIVth Legion. This legion was withdrawn from Britain in A.D. 68, after being employed in the war against Queen Boadicea; and it is said therefore that this soldier must have been buried here before that year. Considering however that the Romans occupied Britain for about 400 years afterwards, and that the XIVth Legion was still existing and long stationed in Germany, it is not difficult to suppose that a Roman soldier might have found his way to Britain, even without his regiment being there. In themselves therefore these incidents are not worth much; but taken all together, and more especially considering the fact that Ptolemy, in or about A.D. 120, mentions Uriconium as one of the

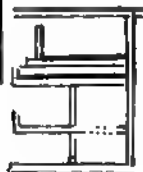
* *British Archaeological Association's Journal*, Sept., 1860.

Street.

Supposed Site of the Forum.

Walling Street Road.

Roman Street.



a.d. 100. Tommellated Burren, found.
d. 100. Herring Bone Burren.

4 10 100
1000

nd Plan
of
ms. Wincles.
under 100.

St. Mary's.

chief cities then existing, there cannot be much doubt that this station was founded in the first century.

The city of Uriconium would appear, according to the best authorities, to have been plundered and burnt by some invaders of the Roman provinces, probably the Picts and Scots (for succour against whom the Britons had sent ambassadors to Rome in A.D. 396), about or a little before the middle of the fifth century; so that the period of its existence extended over about 350 years.

That it flourished after the Roman period, and was occupied by the Saxons even as late as the ninth century, which has been argued by some, has been pretty conclusively shown to be incorrect by the recent excavations. Human skeletons have been found where the individuals to whom they belonged had probably sought shelter when the city was plundered. One of them was that of an old man who was found crouched in a corner, and near him a heap of 132 Roman coins (extending from Claudius to Valens, *i.e.*, from about A.D. 52 to 379), many of them being of the Constantine period and presenting the appearance of being fresh from the mint, while later coins were apparently much worn. Mr. Roach Smith (than whom there cannot be a better authority), says that stores of the Constantine coins were hoarded up in Gaul, and that they were from time to time sent over to Britain. As after the Romans abandoned Britain these would of course no longer be imported, and could no longer be found in such a condition, it would seem to follow that the destruction of the city was not long subsequent to the last importation of these coins. Mr. R. Smith considers that these facts afford us an approximation at least to the time at which Uriconium must have perished, and point to the latest period previous to the Anglo-Saxon establishment. But that the Saxons did not occupy Uriconium may be gathered from the fact that no Saxon relics are found, while Roman antiquities are so numerous.

The time of the destruction of the city is thus placed within very narrow limits.

Before offering some observations on the manner of the destruction of Uriconium, I propose to take a glance at the results which have attended the labours of those who have conducted the investigations made during the recent excavations.

As I have already said, at various times during this and the last century, in carrying on agricultural pursuits within the mound before alluded to, relics and antiquities have been met with, which have to some extent corroborated the idea that has always prevailed that here the old Roman city stood.

In the year 1788, the tenant of the field marked "A" on the map

having occasion for some stone to repair a building, and believing from the dryness of the ground that there must be ruins at no great depth, began to dig, and soon came to a floor and a small bath. Leave was given by the proprietor of the soil to open the ground further, and with the following result, as we find from a communication made by the Rev. F. Leighton to the Society of Antiquaries in 1789 :* Coins of both the upper and lower empire, bones of animals (some of which were burnt), fragments of earthen vessels of various sizes and shapes (some of them black and resembling Wedgwood's imitation of the Etruscan vase), and pieces of glass, were found in various places, and the whole of the ground opened was full of charred substances. The bath had two seats running along the sides, capable of holding four persons. In close proximity to this a hypocaust was found, and another bath, from which, leading in a direction southward, there was found a piece of leaden pipe, and a channel, or groove, cut in large stones, falling 3 inches in 12 feet. To the north of these buildings were small apartments, some with hypocausts; and beyond these again a larger enclosure with a tessellated floor, made of pieces of brick, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch square, in a simple chequer, the tessellæ being all red. All these buildings were contained in a rectangle of 50 by 30 feet. Whether they belonged to private mansions, or more extensive edifices, can only be decided by further excavations.

In 1827, a handsome tessellated pavement was found under a stack yard at the point "B" on the map; and again, in 1855, in digging the foundations for the buildings near the point "C," a row of four pillars, standing about twelve feet apart, was discovered. An interesting feature of these pillars is a vertical groove which appears on each side of them, and evidently intended for the reception of a railing which had extended from pillar to pillar. Considering the position of these pillars with reference to the buildings now discovered on the other side of the road, it is at least possible that they formed the limit, on the west side, of the enclosure of the *forum*.

Some doubt having been expressed as to the precise course of the walls of the town at the south-west corner, and as to the exact situation of the principal entrance to the city from the river, an investigation of that locality was made about three years ago.

At this corner the mound by which the wall is traced all round is lost; and the ordnance map lays down the course of the wall as indicated by the *single* dotted line on my map. There is however an old map in the British Museum which gives it the form of the *double* dotted line, and leaves an entrance of a form by no means uncommon

* *Archæologia*, Vol. IX., and Mr. Wright's Paper in the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, Sept., 1860.

Paravents. Uriconium.

plates, 8 feet by 11 feet.

area, about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch square.

Found in the North
Corridor of the Basilica.

Herring Bone Paravent.

in Roman fortifications. In the wall at Richborough, and I believe other places, there are gateways of a similar character. At this corner the ground rises, and was found to be filled with stone and building materials, all Roman; and a square room attached to a continuous wall was discovered. This is supposed to have been a tower at the entrance gate. A head sculptured in stone, and belonging to a highly ornamented building, was found, with coins and other things. These interesting relics, which had been thus at different times brought to light, were rightly regarded as only an earnest of what remained to be disinterred; and accordingly about three years ago arrangements were made for a systematic exploration of the ground, and of the extensive remains which were believed to exist.

For many reasons the immediate neighbourhood of the 'old wall' was selected as the place where the investigation should begin.

The foundations of the 'old wall' were found 14 feet below the present surface of the ground. Trenches were dug on the north side, and three walls running parallel to it were successively met with. The old wall was then traced to the west as far as the Watling-street road, and after considerable trouble the plan of the buildings was found to be a parallelogram, composed of a central area and two side aisles. The central compartment being 30 feet and the side aisles each 15 feet wide, and the whole building 226 feet long. The inner walls were probably not continued above the original surface of the ground, but are supposed to have been the base upon which columns rested. Some years ago it is said that several large columns were found in the field adjoining the wall, and were dug up and used for coping-stones. The central portion of this building was neatly paved with the well known herring bone pavement, and the side passages had tessellated pavements of rather fine mosaic.*

At the west end of this building, where probably was the principal entrance, the basements of two columns were found, and fragments of pillars, stone plinths, and capitals found near showed that the building was not devoid of architectural ornament. About the middle of the north wall there is a break, which may represent another entrance, and along this north side a paved street ran; so that this building stood at the angle made by the junction of this street with the Watling-street road.

This building is believed to have been the *basilica*, or town hall, an edifice common to all Roman towns. It served as a hall of justice, and sometimes as an exchange, or place of meeting for merchants. The plan of the basilica at Wroxeter is very similar to the one at

* For a description of these pavements, see Mr. Maw's Paper in the *British Archaeological Association's Journal*, June, 1861.

Pompeii, though the latter is in better preservation, the external walls, ranges of columns, and tribunal of the judges being still tolerably perfect on the ground floor. The building at Pompeii furnishes an example of the *chalcidica*, which were appurtenances of the basilica, and used as retiring chambers of the judges, or vestibules. An enclosure to the east of the basilica at Uriconium is supposed, apparently with some reason, to occupy the site of the *chalcidicum*.

It appears to be doubtful whether there was any upper portico to this edifice. At Pompeii the staircase which led to it was on the outside of the building; but I believe that no traces of such a staircase have been found at Wroxeter.

The *forum*, or when more than one, that which was in the most frequented and central part of the city, appears to have been always selected for the site of the *basilica*, and hence classic writers not unfrequently use the words *forum* and *basilica* synonymously. The building discovered at Wroxeter occupies as nearly as possible the most central spot in the city; and the space to the west, which the pillars discovered on the other side of the road show to have been here about forty yards wide, was most probably the *forum*.

The excavations were next carried on to the south of the 'old wall,' and an extensive range of hypocausts and baths was here exposed, containing a series of five or six rooms running from west to east, in better preservation I believe, and certainly on a more extensive scale, than any remains of that character yet discovered in this country. The hypocaust first met with lay to the west of the range, and had heated a considerable room, 35 by 25 feet; and the pillars, in many instances perfect, were formed of Roman square bricks; and, numbering 120, were about 3 feet high. The wall of the north end of this hypocaust was semicircular, and large portions of the cement were still adhering to it, both internally and externally. We find from this that the Romans plastered and painted their houses outside as well as in, for the external plaster was painted red, with stripes of yellow. Portions of this cement are now in the museum at Shrewsbury, and the colours are to this day wonderfully fresh and bright. The entrance to this range of baths would probably be from the Watling-street road, but the hypocausts were apparently approached by a staircase on the north side, at the bottom of which there was a platform and an arched entrance to the hypocausts. This platform seemed to have been used as a receptacle for the sweepings of floors and passages, for the dust and earth, of which there was a considerable depth on the floor, was literally filled with articles such as coins, hairpins, fibulæ, broken pottery and glass, and the bones of animals and birds which had been eaten.

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Human skeletons, of which a considerable number were met with in and about the hypocausts, and which were no doubt the remains of persons who had sought safety by hiding themselves there, and had so perished, bear testimony to the massacre of the inhabitants which is supposed to have taken place at the destruction of the city. Close to the semicircular end of the first hypocaust five skeletons were found, and also the skull and some of the bones of a very young child. It was in a corner of this hypocaust that the skeleton of the old man, to which I have before alluded, was found. The coins were lying in a little heap, and a few small iron nails and some traces of decomposed wood near them show that, at the time this old man took refuge here, they were contained in a little wooden box. Mr. Wright says that some estimate of the relative value of money at this period may be formed from the care with which these small copper coins (for only one of the 132 found near this skeleton is of silver) seem to have been hoarded up, and from the anxiety displayed by their possessors to preserve them, even in the midst of so frightful a calamity as it is probable was at the time befalling them.*

To the extreme east of this suite of hypocausts there is a little enclosure very neatly paved with herring bone; and just to the north of it a bath, the bottom of which is composed of white tessellæ, glazed and very perfect. The room nearest to this preserves upon the surface of the walls traces of the flue tiles, so closely arranged as to render this room capable of being brought to a very high temperature. This may have been the *sudatorium*, or vapour bath. On the west side of the range of hypocausts a system of flues for heating has been laid open; and as we know that the Romans did not content themselves with a single bath, but generally went through a course, the agency of air as well as water being applied, the other contiguous chambers were probably kept at different degrees of heat, to prepare the bather for the *sudatorium*.

This range of buildings, which there can be no doubt were the *balneæ*, or public baths, occupied a piece of ground about 160 feet square, bounded on the north by the *basilica*, and on the south and west by an ambulatory or cloister, which extended eastward beyond the space at present excavated.

The whole of the ground between the hypocausts and the "old wall" has not been explored, for fear of damaging the wall; but as the old wall has on its face arches, which are apparently the springings of vaulted roofs, and transverse walls answering to these arches have been seen, a series of vaulted chambers has evidently been there;

* Wright's *Guide to Uriconium*, page 41.

and in one of them which has been partially examined a quantity of wheat, blackened and charred by the action of fire, was found.

Near the hypocausts, and abutting on the Watling-street road, a building was uncovered, consisting of a room which is nearly a square of about 30 feet, and which had two entrances from the street. In one corner a forge, or furnace, built of red clay, was found; and there was a cavity in the upper part, the internal surface of which was completely vitrified, and had probably at some time been occupied by a fierce fire. Close to this there was a small stone table, and in the centre of the room a larger one. This room is supposed to have been used by a worker in metals or glass, as fine specimens of glass, and fragments of metal, were found scattered about.

To the south of this chamber a building was discovered, which presented sufficient evidence of having also formed part of the side of the street. In the wall which ran in a line with the street were two entrances leading into a quadrangular court about 40 feet square, paved with herring bone. There were two entrances from the street, one of 12 feet wide, probably for horses and carts; the other 5 feet wide and approached by steps, the interior of the enclosure being here 2 feet higher than the street. Inside the court, forming the northern side, there were four rooms of about 12 feet square; in one of which a quantity of charcoal was found. On the south side there were four similar rooms, and quantities of bones of various animals, and stag horns were discovered in them. A number of weights were picked up here, and various articles made of bone. Five recesses in the eastern wall are said to look like stalls, and Mr. Wright thinks that this building has been a market of some kind. It is suggested by others that it may have been a large private dwelling, possibly that of the chief magistrate, the general arrangement bearing some resemblance to a Pompeian house, a restoration of which may be seen at the Crystal Palace.*

Passing on to the south we come to another paved street running east and west, which appears to have furnished another entrance to the public baths; and on the other side of this street another large building has been partially excavated, which, so far as any opinion can at present be formed, seems to have been a private mansion.

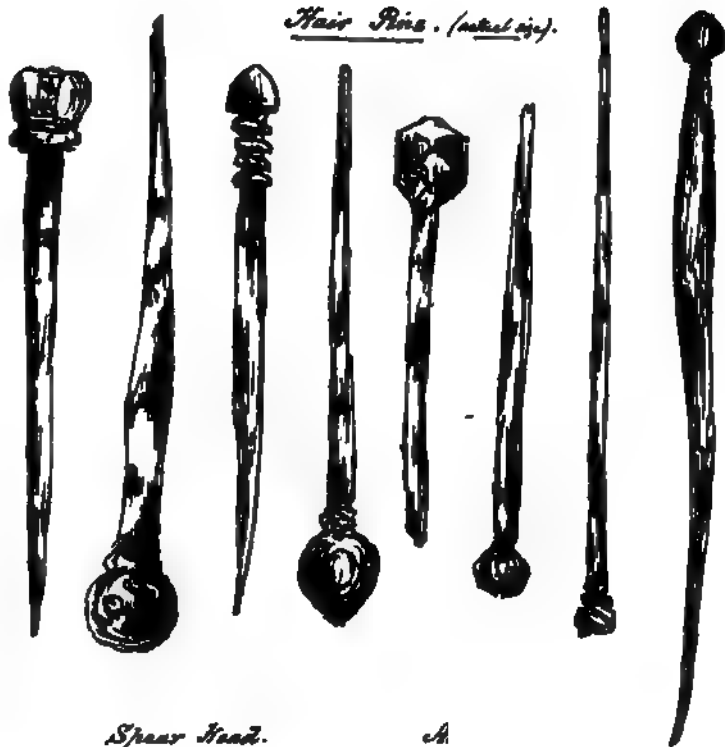
In all directions throughout the ruins already explored, great quantities of pottery, of which there appear to be four kinds, are found scattered about; and implements and articles of almost every description, warlike and domestic,—including spear-heads, keys, bronze statuettes, fibulæ, hairpins, a horse shoe and bit, a chariot wheel, a pick or adze, weights, ornamented combs, and personal ornaments of

* *British Archaeological Association's Journal*, Sept., 1859.

Needles.

Combs. (actual size.)

Hair Pins. (actual size.)



Spear Head.

A.



bone and bronze,—are indiscriminately met with. A very curious medicine stamp was found near the “old wall” some years ago, one of the kind supposed to have been used by Roman empirics and *ocularii*. It has an inscription, which has been explained *in extenso* thus,—“J(*ulii*) B(*assi*) Cl(*e*)m(*entis*) Dialba(*num*) ad omne(m) Δ(*ιαθεσιν*) uno ex o(*vo*)” or “The Dialbanum of Julius Bassus Clemens, for every disease of the eye, to be used with egg.” Another reading suggested is, “Tib(*erii*) Cl(*audii*) M(*edici*) dialiba(*num*) ad omne vit(*ium*) o(*culorum*) ex o(*vo*)” “The Dialibanum of Tiberius Claudius, the physician, for all complaints of the eyes, to be used with egg.”* This curious relic and almost all the articles which have been discovered in the neighbourhood are now deposited in the museum at Shrewsbury, and form one of the most interesting collections of Roman antiquities which we possess. Some of the pavements found in the *basilica* and elsewhere are also to be seen at the Shrewsbury museum, and Mr. Maw, an authority on these matters, says that he has not been able to find that any English or Continental tessellated pavements equalled those at Uriconium in size, although many are superior in design. The fragments found at Uriconium, though small in proportion to the space originally covered, were fortunately so situated as to enable the plan of the whole to be made out without difficulty. The green stone, of which the greater portions of the pavements are composed, is found at the Wrekin. The other colours Mr. Maw supposes were imported, and these have been in several instances subsequently repaired with the green, probably when the better stones were not easily procurable.†

I have now run over the excavations on this part of the site, so far as they have proceeded up to the present time. Three or four buildings, more or less of a public character, have been the result of the researches; but if, as is generally believed, one side of the *forum* of the ancient city is being excavated, most interesting discoveries may yet be anticipated. Uriconium was larger than Pompeii;—probably therefore its *forum* was larger. At Pompeii there were twelve public buildings in and round the *forum*. At present we have only investigated one side of that at Uriconium, and we have as yet only found its *basilica*, its public baths, and probably its market-place. Pompeii

* A notice of this and of other Empirics' stamps, by Mr. Albert Way, appears in the *Archæological Institute's Journal*, vol. vii., p. 358. See also Professor Simpson's paper in the *Journal of Medical Science*, 1851—p. 235.

† “*The Pavements of Uriconium*” by Geo. Maw, F.S.A., F.L.S. A paper read at the Shrewsbury Congress of the *British Archæological Association*, 10th August, 1860.

had an amphitheatre and two theatres within its walls, but no such building has yet been found at Uriconium.*

The result however of the excavations, as far as they have proceeded, has not disappointed expectation. But much remains to be done. Viewed in reference to the extent of the site, the excavations can only be said to have commenced; but the commencement has been most auspicious, and it is to be hoped that every facility will be given to those who have been so indefatigable in prosecuting the researches, and that their efforts in exploring so promising a field will not be in any way impeded.

But it is time that I noticed some discoveries on another part of the site, which have more recently occupied the attention of the committee.

We know that with the Romans the practice of burying the dead within the city was, except in certain cases, forbidden; a penalty and confiscation of the ground in which the burial had taken place being attached to a breach of the edict.† It was therefore assumed that the cemetery of Uriconium would be found without the walls of the town, and as, some years ago, a few inscribed stones had been discovered in a field on the north east side of the city, it was determined to dig trenches through this land. There can be no doubt, from the results which have been already obtained, that this was the site of the principal cemetery of the town,—the “Street of the Tombs” of Uriconium.

The only portion of building that has yet been found there consisted of a few feet of rectangular walls about 18 inches thick, but with no great foundations like those at the other excavations. It was possibly a tomb, but if so, it had been robbed of everything indicating

* The area described by the Walls of Uriconium was more than double that of *Deva* (Chester.) When estimating the respective sizes of the two cities, it has to be borne in mind that Chester Walls were extended very considerably, to the southward, in Saxon times; whereas the ground plan of Uriconium is to-day simply what it was when the Roman citizens hurried away from its burning ruins.

† And yet in Chester at three different places, all within the original walls, viz.:—in the Infirmary Field, in St. Oswald's Church Yard, and on the high ground just behind the present Dee Stands on the Roodeye, Roman interments or sepulchral memorials have quite recently been found. The Infirmary Field or, to give it its mediæval title, the Barrow Field, was evidently an important cemetery in Roman times. Even so late as the close of 1863, while laying a deep drain through the centre of this field, the workmen cut through a large and perfect Roman grave, formed of the usual flat red tiles, and containing the skeleton of a full grown person. Messrs. Huxley, lessors of the field, with commendable prudence and good feeling, at once communicated with the officers of the Chester Archæological Society; but before they could arrive at the spot, the men employed had, in the absence of the lessors, broken into the grave, and left there nothing but a heap of broken human bones.

GRAVESTONE OF A ROMAN SOLDIER,
Discovered in the Cemetery at Uriconium.

(See "Chester Archaeological Journal, Vol. II., pp. 331, 429.")

that purpose. But in all parts of the ground cinerary urns, of various sizes and different coloured clay, were dug up in abundance, some entire; and burnt human bones were found contained in them. Wood ashes were met with in several places; doubtless the ashes of the piles used at the burning of the dead. There were also found flask shaped glass bottles, generally called *lachrymatories*, or tear bottles, which had probably been thrown into the funeral piles, as they were partly melted. Dr. Johnson (the active and zealous secretary of the excavation committee), who has carefully examined these bottles, inclines to the opinion that they contained *unguents*, as offerings to the dead; one of them being found on examination to contain sand, carbonaceous, and oily matter. Some lamps were found, and, as in ancient times most funerals took place at night, there is no difficulty in accounting for their presence here. Glass bowls, presenting a considerable amount of artistic skill, were also found; and, very recently, a large tombstone, the inscription upon which remains, I believe, at present an archæological puzzle.*

* With a view to the ultimate solution of this "archæological puzzle," the Editors append a photograph of the stone, the letters upon which it will be seen are in some parts seriously defaced. Mr C. Roach Smith, F.S.A., one of our honorary associates, and Dr. McCaul, of Canada, have each suggested probable readings of the inscription, Mr. Wright inclining strongly to that of Mr. Smith. Any attempt, however, to supply the wanting letters in the three or four final lines must be at least hazardous: the reading now offered, agreeing in the main with Mr. Roach Smith's, must be taken as simply an approximation to the truth. With the photograph alone to guide us we seem to read as follows:—*Aminius T(it)i Pol(liæ) Fa(miliæ) (An) norum xxxv Stip (?) xxii Mil(es) Leg(ionis) v (?) ii C(or G)em* militavit aq (aquilifer or atque) nunc p(ositus) h(ic) s Legite et felices vita plus (?) e (?) iusta (vi?)n nqm teg h Tan . . nt ditis. Vivite dum sp vitæ dat tempus honeste.* This may be taken to read, *anglicè*, thus:—"Aminius the son of Titus, of the Pollean family, of the age of 45, a soldier of 22 campaigns, (*who*) served a veteran centurion, standard bearer of the 7th (? 2nd) Legion, here lies buried,—(or, "served as standard bearer of the 7th (or 2nd) Legion, called Gemina, and here lies buried" The first three lines are tolerably clear, then, from serious difficulty, and the same may be said of the seventh and part also of the sixth line, which, commencing with the word *vivite*, may be regarded as an hexameter, and taken to stand as follows:—

"Vivite dum spatior vitæ dat tempus honeste."

Mr. Roach Smith considers the two or more preceding lines to be hexameters also, but on this head, with the doubtful evidence before us, we hesitate to give any opinion. This presumed poetical inscription at Wroxeter reminds us of the fragmentary Altar, now in the Chester Archæological Society's Museum, bearing, in fine Greek characters, the graceful hexameter,—

"ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΙΑΤΡΟΣ ΒΩΜΟΝ ΤΟΝΔ' ΑΝΕΘΗΚΑ."

* Either *Centurio Emeritus*, or *Geminus*.

Several inscribed stones have been from time to time, in former years, met with in the immediate neighbourhood of what is now believed to be the cemetery of the city. A detailed account of them would however be beyond the scope of my present object, and I cannot do better than refer for a description of them to a paper by Mr. Wright, which, with illustrations, appears in the *British Archaeological Journal* for December, 1859.

A number of human skulls have from time to time been discovered in various parts of the site of the city, and many of them have been found to be distorted in form. Some have thought that this is due to congenital deformity, or the result possibly of a distortion in infancy, while others attribute it to posthumous pressure. The former say that pressure would break the skulls, not distort them, as they are absolutely inflexible, and that it is impracticable to bend them in the least degree. Dr Johnson (whose name I have already mentioned), read an interesting paper on the subject a short time ago before the Royal Society, but it is not yet published. He has paid some attention to this question, because the idea that he originally entertained, that the deformed appearances were caused by pressure, was somewhat shaken by the fact that most of the deformed skulls were found at comparatively little depth, and under light earth; while some which were found at treble the depth, and under heavy rubble, were noticed to be perfect in shape. The idea occurred to him that some chemical agency was at work in the former case, which did not appear in the latter. On analysis, he found in the light soil the presence of free carbonic and nitric acids, which were not to be detected in the deeper ground. That carbonic acid is capable of dissolving bone (that is, carbonate and phosphate of lime) is abundantly proved by experiment. Dr. Johnson himself has made several experiments, the result of which he was good enough to show me.* Amongst others, a dried and weighed slip of bone was put into a bottle with distilled water highly charged with carbonic acid gas, and in a *month* it had lost weight and become somewhat flexible. He has therefore come to the conclusion that the distortion of the skulls found at Wroxeter was posthumous; but that pressure was probably

* This seems the proper place to acknowledge the courteous attention and friendly interest accorded to the Editors by Dr. Johnson of Shrewsbury, and Mr. C. R. Smith, while these sheets were passing through the press. The antiquarian world owes a debt of gratitude to the Uriconium Excavation Committee, and to none more so than to their learned and indefatigable secretary, for the labours of the last few years. Mr. Roach Smith, referring to the doubtful reading of the inscription given on the previous page, very justly observes that "nothing is more difficult than to attempt, off hand, the interpretation of an inscription, which is in itself so defective, that every line, nay almost every word, needs a comment."

Pottery, Uriconium.



1. Linenware Vases. 2. Lachrymatories.

3. Bowls and Dishes. 4. Glass do. —

5. Bottles. 6. Lamp.

not the only cause of the deformity, as on microscopic examination the apparently bent bones turned out to be really broken, many minute cracks or fissures being visible on several of them. The interesting question therefore which has been raised may thus be to some extent, if not entirely, avoided.

I have now endeavoured to convey a short description, and it has been necessarily a very imperfect one, of the discoveries up to this time made at Wroxeter, and I am not aware that any relics have been found there that I have not either directly or incidentally alluded to. But I may perhaps be forgiven if I add a word or two on the general appearance of the ruins; the condition in which they were found; and the conclusions to be drawn therefrom.

Many of the walls and buildings, and articles found, bear evident traces of fire, and the remains of burned and charred substances are abundant. Objects of almost every kind, scattered in all directions—bodies lying where they fell—all these speak of the sudden catastrophe which doubtless was the cause of the destruction of this once powerful and flourishing city.

Of the nature of this catastrophe there does not seem to be much room to doubt. The Romans having withdrawn their forces and abandoned Britain, affairs fell into disorder and confusion, barbarians invading it on the one hand, and the inhabitants breaking out into factions on the other. *Camden* says the Britons lived for about forty years in consternation, apprehensive of the Picts and Scots, and of attacks from those Romans who remained here. The Saxons were sent for, but they, instead of being auxiliaries, turned out enemies, and dispossessed the poor Britons of the most fruitful parts of their ancient inheritance. In the doleful words of *Gildas* the Briton, quoted in *Camden's Britannia* :—"The Romans being drawn home, there descend in great crowds a duskish swarm of vermin, or hideous crew of Picts and Scots, somewhat differing in manners, but all alike thirsting after blood, who finding that their old confederates (the Romans) were marched home, and refused to return anymore, put on greater boldness than ever, and possessed themselves of parts of the kingdom as if they were the right native proprietors."*

And our Malmesbury historian writes :—"When the tyrants had left none but half foreigners in our fields, Britain became a prey to its neighbours who gaped after her destruction. Immediately after, many lost their lives by the incursions of the Picts and Scots, many villages were burnt and cities demolished, and all things turned topsy turvy by fire and sword."†

* *Six Old English Chronicles*, Bohn's Edition, 1848, p. 307.

† *William of Malmesbury's English Chronicle*, Bohn's Edition, 1847, p. 6.

The invaders of Uriconium, influenced possibly as much by a love of destruction as by a desire of plunder, and unprovided as they would be with the means of conveyance, would carry off only the portable articles of value that they could readily lay their hands upon; and the plundering of a town like Uriconium would necessarily be a hasty and imperfect operation. There would no doubt be a massacre of the inhabitants; the survivors may have been taken prisoners; and the town left in flames. Judging from the massive character of the walls, the flames would probably be partial in their effect, destroying the upper stories, which may have been of timber, and the roofs, but leaving the ground floors comparatively uninjured. The whole area would be covered with a stratum of ashes, filled with roofing tiles and debris of buildings; the blackened walls alone standing out of the mass of burnt matter. This would soon decompose, and become capable of vegetation, which would be of a very rank description, rapidly forming an accumulation on the surface of the ruins. The Saxons would avoid so desolate a spot, preferring for their settlements other places in the vicinity: and we can thus understand how a ruined city like Uriconium was allowed to remain for so long a time untouched.

The practice of breaking up Roman ruins to furnish materials for the churches, and castles, and the numerous monastic houses, which sprang up during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, became then very general. At that time the ground would be already raised several feet above the Roman floors: and the mediæval builders, finding plenty of material above ground, cleared away the walls down to the then surface of the ground, and did not care to seek them further. This will account for the condition in which we now find the walls, that is, tolerably perfect up to what was the surface of the ground at the time the remainder was removed; and the difference between the tops of the walls as they are now seen, and the present surface of the ground, is the accumulation since.

In confirmation of this theory, which has been adopted by Mr. Wright and other antiquaries, it should be mentioned that the roofing tiles and other things, which would fall during a conflagration, are now found on the old Roman floors; whereas the fragments of the plaster and broken stones, which would be the effect of the breaking up of the walls for materials, are found at a higher level. This double accumulation of debris, and the frequency with which two distinct layers of blackened and burnt materials are met with, has induced some persons to adopt the suggestion that the city had been burnt twice. This however could hardly be the case. A second burning would seem almost necessarily to imply a rebuilding after the first, and the rebuilding would of course remove the first layer of burnt material. The theory

already suggested, on the other hand, accounts satisfactorily for the presence of the two layers.

Such is the best account that I am enabled, within the limits of this paper, to give of the discoveries made upon the site of ancient *Uriconium*. Some of the members of this society are doubtless familiar with the investigations which have been so successfully commenced ; but my object on the present occasion has been to bring the subject before the members generally ; to sum up the results which have been already attained ; in the hope of awakening an interest in the work which the Committee have in hand, and which, I regret to say, the means at their disposal do not enable them to carry out in a manner commensurate with the zeal and energy they have displayed in prosecuting the researches. It is much to be hoped that relics which throw so much light on our national history will be duly appreciated, and that the investigation of a locality fraught with such peculiar interest will receive a larger share of public consideration and assistance.

The researches already made at Wroxeter, yielding so abundantly remains illustrative of the civilization and general history of Roman Britain, are not exceeded in importance by any discoveries yet made in this country. In reviewing them we cannot fail to remark that the amount of civilization in this country under the Roman rule appears by no means to have been overrated. From the insight which we have gained into the condition of the inhabitants, we see "to what extent they enjoyed the luxuries and comforts of life. We see that they possessed many of the refinements of modern society—far more than can be traced among the population of the middle ages. We are taught even the character of their food by remains of edible animals. The comparison of other objects enables us to judge of the state and extent of manufactures and commerce. We learn from inscriptions on their sepulchral monuments and altars the names and occupations of some of the inhabitants of the ancient town, and the races to which they belonged ; and from this partial information we are enabled by induction to obtain a general view of the whole. We are thus enabled to form a truer notion of the manner in which this country has been inhabited and governed during four centuries ; and we have the further hope of eventually discovering monuments which will throw some light on the more particular history of this neighbourhood in these remote ages. We learn, finally, from the condition in which the ruins of *Uriconium* are now seen, and the numerous remains of human beings which are found scattered over its long deserted floors, the sad fate under which it finally sank into ruin ; and thus we are made vividly acquainted with the character and events of a period of history which

has hitherto been but dimly seen through the vague traditions of writers who at best knew them only by hearsay.*

All this is evidence of no little value as subsidiary to history, and should lead us to regard Uriconium as a national monument, and the work now in progress there as well entitled to public support and consideration. In the hope that it will receive a share of that support in this city, so rich in contemporaneous relics, I commend the subject to the attention of this Society.†

[Reference has been made at the commencement of this Paper to an extraordinary article, contributed by Mr. Francis R. Carroll to the *Gentleman's Magazine* for May, 1862, and entitled "Roman Roads, the Stations of Antoninus, and Wroxeter." It is perhaps only fair, under the circumstances, to give that gentleman's remarks in full, so far at least as they come within the topographical limits of the Chester Archæological Society.

After rejecting Tadcaster in favour of Newton Kyme as the site of the Roman *Calcaria*, Mr. Carroll thus proceeds,—“If a line be drawn, on Newton's *Map of the Roman Roads in Yorkshire*, from Newton Kyme to Manchester, it will be found to pass over Leeds, Cleckheaton, and Castleshaw.” To the two latter places he appropriates respectively *Cambodunum* and *Mamucium*; and thus continues:—

“The next station is *Condate*, which, I think, stood on the present site of Manchester. Next we arrive at *Deva*, which I place at or near Frodsham, on the river Weever: the distance, twenty miles, suits; and Frodsham, standing on an eminence, is altogether suitable for a Roman town. There is also a great similarity in the sounds of the names of Weever and Deva, which is worthy of attention. Remains of antiquity have been found at Frodsham, but I cannot make out that anything Roman has yet been discovered there. Turning to the southward, and travelling ten miles, which is exactly the distance of the *Iter*, we come to Chester, where I place *Bovium*.

“We now turn to the eastward, and travel twenty miles further, and this brings us to Kinderton, a village close to Middlewich, where I place *Mediolanum*.

“From *Iter II.* it appears that *Mediolanum* is fifty miles from *Condate*, whilst *Iter X.* makes it only eighteen miles from it. It is, then, quite clear that *Iter II.*, in passing from *Condate* to *Mediolanum*, must have made a great circuit and sudden turns, so as to make it

* Wright's *Guide to Uriconium*, p. 81.

† The excavations at Uriconium, carried on with so much energy and success in 1860—62, were, owing to we believe entirely to the want of funds, not continued in 1863,—a reflection alike upon our Government, and on the public spirit of the country.

possible for *Mediolanum* to be fifty miles from *Condate* in one Iter, and only eighteen in the other. By placing *Condate* at Manchester, and *Mediolanum* at Kinderton, this difficulty is got over, and itinerary distance found to be correct: also Iter X., termed by Professor Phillips, in his excellent work on Yorkshire, the most perplexing of all the Iters, is rendered intelligible and easy. Hitherto *Mediolanum* has been placed at Meivod, in Wales, and certainly, so long as it is held to be there, Iter X. will not be very tractable. At Kinderton are the remains of a Roman camp, and some antiquaries have placed *Condate* there.*

"I now turn to the southward, and place *Ritunium* at Chesterton, near Newcastle-under-Lyne. Here I am supported by distance, and the name of the place, which is decidedly Roman. I believe that Richard of Cirencester placed *Mediolanum* at Chesterton. At or near to Eccleshall, Staffordshire, according to my system, stood *Uriconium*. Remains of antiquity are to be found near Eccleshall, and a Roman military way is mentioned in Salmon's *Survey of England* as passing by Eccleshall, Newcastle-under-Lyne, and Newport. Salmon says that Newport and Portway are frequently found to mean a Roman way. Gibson says that in the vicinity of Eccleshall there was, or is, a high paved way. From Eccleshall, Iter II. passes through Newport, and joins the great road from London to Wales at Wellington, when it turns to *Uxucona* (Okenyate), and thence proceeds to London. Such is my system of placing the stations on Iter II., from York to Okenyate in Shropshire.

"I now proceed to make a few remarks on Iter XII., which, as most antiquaries agree, comes northward from the Bristol Channel to Wroxeter Ford. *Bravinium* is placed at Rushbury in Salop, and *Uriconium*, the last station on the Iter, at Wroxeter; it is therefore the general opinion that, after passing Wroxeter Ford, Iter XII. joins Iter II. According to my system, Iter XII. does not join Iter II. till it arrives at Wellington. Agreeably to this, *Bravinium* is at Wroxeter. and Iter XII. joins the Shrewsbury road at the Horse Shoe, and proceeds eastward as far as Wellington, where it branches from the London and Shrewsbury road, and proceeds through Newport to Eccleshall, where I place *Uriconium*, which is the termination of the Iter.

"In the summer of 1859 I paid a visit to the excavations at Wroxeter, and after examining the Roman road which passes through the station, was more than ever convinced that my previously formed opinions respecting Wroxeter, and the roads connected with it, were reasonable. By placing the stations on Iter II. as I propose, Iter X., hitherto so intractable, becomes quite manageable."

The stations on Iter X. the writer we are quoting allocates as follows:—*Mediolanum* at Kinderton (Cheshire), *Condate* at Manchester, *Mancunium* at Blackrode, *Coccium* at Ribchester, *Bremetonacim* at Overborough, *Galacum* at Ambleside, *Alone* at Papcastle, *Galava* at Ellenborough, and finally *Clunovolta* at Bowness in Cumberland. Mr. Carroll goes on to say,

* The reader is referred for an excellent article on the site of *Condate*, by the Ven. Archdeacon Wood, to the "Chester Archæological Society's Journal," Vol. I. p.p. 44-50.

"I may here remark that *Mancunium*, on Iter X., has been fixed by almost all antiquaries at Manchester, and so far as I can make out, merely on account of a similarity in the names.

"*Mamucium*, on Iter II., has also been thought to be the same station as Mancunium, but for what reason I could never make out. It appears to me that so long as these two stations are considered to be the same, and placed at Manchester, so long will the stations on Iter II. and X. remain in inextricable confusion. Itinerary distance on Iter II. will by no means allow *Mamucium* to be placed at Manchester; and as to *Mancunium*, it is quite out of the question.

"In placing *Condate* at Manchester, the high antiquity of the city is by no means lessened, but the importance of the place is heightened; as the learned Burton (I think it was) thought *Condate* was a Roman colony, and consequently of more importance than an ordinary station. The several Roman roads which branch from it prove its importance in Roman times; and as to the name, it is probably from *Mancunium*, the next station to the northward. No modern name of a place retains so much of the Roman name as Catterick (*Cataractonem*); yet from remains, &c., there is great reason to believe that the station of *Cataractonem* was not exactly at Catterick, but at Thornborough, a township close by. Undoubtedly, Catterick took its name from the Roman, although there is reason to suppose that the station was not exactly there; and may it not be the same with Manchester?

"The chief difficulty in this scheme is the displacing of *Deva* from Chester.

"Iter II. informs us that the 20th Legion was stationed at *Deva*: and at Chester, in 1663, an altar was found, and the inscription on it mentions the 20th Legion, which seems greatly to confirm the other reasons for placing *Deva* at Chester. Distance is, however, most decidedly opposed to the claims of Chester, and by placing *Deva* there, the stations on Iter II. cannot be reconciled to itinerary distance.

"I will now proceed to make some remarks on Iter XI. The stations on this Iter, *Segontio*, *Conovio*, *Varis*, and *Deva*, are now, I believe, placed at Carnarvon, Caerhen, Bodvari, and Chester. Distance is, however, most decidedly opposed. The distance from Chester to Bodvari is about twenty miles, and the distance from *Deva* to *Varis*, according to the Iter, is thirty-two miles; distance, therefore, being so unfavourable, and thinking that Frodsham now occupies the site of the Roman *Deva*, it appears to me that Iter XI. took a northerly direction. From Frodsham, where I place *Deva*, I proceed northward across Warrington Ford, where Roman remains have been found, and place *Varis* at or near Preston: distance suits. Nineteen miles further we arrive at Lancaster,—remains found, and name decidedly Roman,—where I place *Conovio*; and twenty-four miles further we find Sedburgh, where there is a Roman camp, and there I fix *Segontio*: which completes Iter XI.

"The name of Sedburgh is more Roman, and is more like in sound to *Segontio*, than Carnarvon."]

... SOUTH WEST VIEW OF
...
... (1900) ...

... 1900 ...

THE
Collegiate Church of St. John the Baptist,
CHESTER.

BY JOHN HENRY PARKER, F.S.A.*

IT is probably well-known to all whom I have the pleasure to address this evening, that from the time of the first Norman bishop under William the Conqueror to the Reformation, the three dioceses of Chester, Coventry, and Lichfield were united,—perhaps, because the endowments were too few to support three bishops—and that Chester was originally fixed upon for the seat of those united dioceses.

ST. JOHN'S CHURCH was his Cathedral, and was commenced on the same grand scale that the Norman Cathedrals usually were; and although the principal seat of the bishops was removed to Coventry, and subsequently to Lichfield, this church continued to hold the rank of a Cathedral for the diocese of Chester proper, and to be occasionally occupied by the bishop, who had a palace near to it, until the time of Henry the 8th.

This Cathedral, too, had its own Dean and Chapter until the suppression of the Monasteries, when the Church and Conventual buildings of St. Werburgh's Monastery were given to the Dean and Chapter of Chester, and the Cathedral, or seat of the bishop, was transferred to them. This was probably also owing to the want of an adequate endowment for the Dean and Chapter of St. John's, who do not appear to have ever received much addition to the original endowment in the time of the Conqueror. The property recorded in the *Domesday* survey is nearly the same as that enumerated in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, or *Liber Regis* of Henry VIII.: at both periods the chapter consisted of a Dean and seven Canons, each with his separate house. They had always been, and continued to be, a body of Secular Priests, and not a Monastic Establishment. They had no common

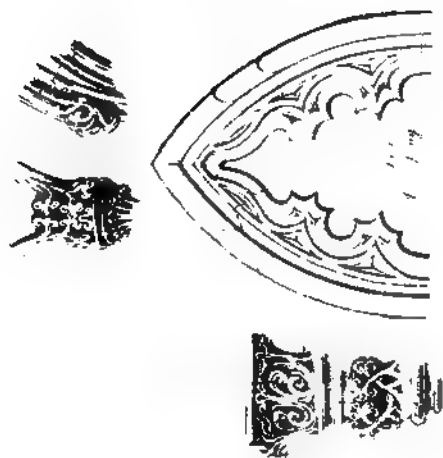
* This Paper was read at the Society's Meeting held on Dec. 2, 1861.

Dormitory or Refectory, nor the other usual offices of a Monastery. Each Canon occupied his own small house, and the Dean a large one, within the close or enclosure round the Church, probably where St. John's House and the Rectory now are. This arrangement was usual when the Cathedral was not a Monastic Church, and remains can be traced of it in many places, as at Hereford, and especially at Wells, where the Deanery and the separate Canons' houses of the fifteenth century are still preserved,

Before proceeding to the strictly architectural history, it may be useful and may make it more generally interesting if I say a few words on the subject of the distinction between the Regulars and Seculars, and the continual struggle between them, of which we read so much in the history of the Middle Ages generally, and especially in this place, where a perpetual rivalry was carried on for centuries between these two bodies.

The Regulars, or Monks, were persons who separated themselves from the world, by taking the vows of celibacy and obedience to the head of their order and to the Pope. They had given up all secular employments, and considered themselves as in a great degree independent of the civil power and the state. They lived together in separate establishments in Monasteries, sleeping in one large hall, called the Dormitory, which was divided into a number of small cells, one for each monk, with an open passage down the centre; and dining together in another large hall called the Refectory: this latter was of course not divided, but was very similar to the hall of a nobleman, or of a Manor House of the same period, with its screens and offices at the lower end. The only distinction is, that in the Monastic Refectory there was a reading pulpit on one side, with a staircase to it in the thickness of the wall, of which there is a fine example at St. Werburgh's, now the King's School, belonging to the best period of architecture, the thirteenth century. These monastic buildings were arranged round a cloister or quadrangle, with a covered passage round it, one side of it being formed of the nave of the church, and sometimes part of another side by one of the Transepts.

These Monks were originally very good and pious men, and did much valuable service to the cause of Religion in their early days. This made them very popular, and they retained their popularity long after they had lost the good qualities by which they had acquired it. The principal nobility and gentry of the day rivalled each other in the profusion with which they endowed the Monasteries. Conscious of the wickedness of their own lives, after they had acquired princely fortunes by violence and rapine, and slaughter, they were easily persuaded by the monks, who acted as their Confessors, and made their wills, to



*Carved of light or very soft
 wood by the 2. class
 . sculpt on the 2. order of the temple and on the*

bequeath large possessions to the monasteries ; which, they were taught to believe, was the best mode of making their peace with Heaven. The property of that day consisted almost entirely of land, plate, and jewels, all of which were bestowed with no sparing hand on the Monasteries. The altars and images glistened with gold and precious stones, and even the screens or railings were sometimes of silver instead of iron. Their landed possessions were also enormous : manor after manor was given to them by successive benefactors, until it was estimated that, before the suppression, one third of the soil of England belonged to the Church and the Monasteries.

It would be remembered, too, that Church property was, from the nature of things, always stagnant property, from the want of family interests as a motive for improvement. But this only became visible in the latter days of the monasteries : in their early days they greatly improved the estates that were given to them ; their lands were for a time better cultivated than any others ; and they built magnificent homesteads upon them, called Granges, of which there are considerable remains at Ince, and at Saughton, Cheshire. These were in fact both homesteads and farm houses, but they were something more ; and belong more to the class of Manor houses, for the lords of manors also usually cultivated a part of their own land. The Monastic Granges were often called Priories or Cells, and had a small establishment of monks left in charge of them, often only two or three. They served also as country houses, for the Abbot and the other monks to visit at times, and consume the produce on the spot ; for all rents were paid in kind, and it was not easy to transport the produce of the farms from one place to another. Even our Kings at that period were continually moving from one Manor-house or Palace to another, in order to consume the produce of the land upon the spot.

Some of these remarks will apply indeed equally to the Seculars, when the Chapter happened to be richly endowed, but this was not commonly the case ; they were not generally so popular as the monks. At St. John's, the endowment of the Chapter was always very moderate, equal to about £1,600 a-year of our money, for the support of the Dean and seven Canons. The Dean's share was usually two Canonries, so that the income would probably be about £150 a-year for each Canon, £300 a-year for the Dean, and £250 a-year for the Vicars and other expenses, and the repairs of the fabric,—a very small sum, and quite inadequate for so large a building.

It should be mentioned that the Latin word *monasterium* does not always mean a monastic establishment. Its proper equivalent in English is the old word "Minster," a large church, with the establishment properly belonging to it, and this does not always imply either a Mon-

astery, or a Chapter of Canons. A parish church, unless the parish was a very small or poor one, commonly had an establishment of six persons belonging to it, a priest, deacon and sub-deacon, a sacristan or sexton, and two acolytes or choir boys,—and even now, with all our paring down of the supposed enormous wealth of the church, we cannot have the service decently conducted with a smaller establishment. We are obliged to have a Vicar and Curate, a Parish Clerk, a Sexton, and one or two pew-openers or persons to clean the church. We have changed the names, without materially changing the nature of their offices, and have cut down their pay, perhaps somewhat unmercifully, in many instances.

The historians of St. John's have commonly translated the word *monasterium* as the Monastery ; but I cannot find the slightest original evidence that there ever was any monastic establishment connected with it. The Dean and Canons were the natural heads of the Seculars or Parochial Clergy, each of whom lived in his own house, or in his own parish ; for each of the Canons usually had a parish, and resided at the Cathedral only a part of the year. In most Cathedrals they had Vicars, or Minor Canons, to supply their places and chant the daily services for them. At St. John's, the Canons had the assistance of seven Vicars, two Clerks, and four Choristers, with Sextons and other servants.*

In 1547, Richard Walker, the last Dean of St. John's, surrendered his College to the crown, and seven years afterwards was appointed Dean of the Cathedral of St. Werburgh, with a better endowment. The Canons were allowed to retain their property for their lives when the College was suppressed, as appears by leases granted by them after the suppression.

It may appear presumptuous to differ from all previous authorities in asserting that there never was any Monastery of St. John's, Chester ; but when I look at the dates of those authorities, the periods at which those writers lived, I do not attach much importance to them. I am aware indeed that many people make no distinction between modern writers and original documents. For instance, many people will quote David Hume as an authority for some fact in the history of England : they might just as well consider Walter Scott or Shakspeare as an authority. He is an equally agreeable writer, and equally careful or careless about the real authorities on which his ingenious historical romances are founded. I need hardly say that the only real authority for any fact must be an eye witness of it, or one able to testify to it of his own knowledge ; the next best authorities are the contemporary

* *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. 6, p. 1447.

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writers or those nearest to the time. Modern compilers are of more or less value in proportion to the care with which they have investigated their original authorities.

The earliest writer who mentions the *Monks* of St. John's, Chester is, I believe, Godwin, whose excellent work on the Lives of the Bishops is most valuable, because it is full of quotations from contemporary documents, and entirely based upon them. He was a Canon of Wells, and wrote in the time of James I.; but he was not very well acquainted with this part of England, and does not seem clearly to understand the union of the three dioceses, and he sometimes loses sight of the wide distinction between Monks and Canons, as most modern writers do. He says that in the thirteenth century "a great controversy was raised between the monkes of Chester and the cannons of Lichfield about the election of their bishoppe, which ever since the removal of the see from Chester had belonged unto the monkes. After the spending of much money upon this sute in the court of Rome, the matter was ordered there by deffinitive sentence in this sort. It was agreed that they should choose alternately, the monkes one time, and the cannons of Lichfield the next. But in all elections, as well at Lichfield as at Coventry, the Prior of Coventry was allowed to give a voice, and it must be the first voice."* It appears to me clear that the persons here mentioned at Chester are not the Monks of St. Werburgh's, but the Canons of St. John's. It was natural that at first the Chapter of Chester should have continued to nominate the bishop, but that the two other Chapters should soon rebel against this, and thus the alternate nomination was the natural and equitable solution of the dispute.

It is very remarkable that, although a second magnificent Cathedral had been built for the three Dioceses at Coventry, when the seat was removed from Chester, it did not last more than a century, as the seat had been removed for the third time to Lichfield at the time of this dispute, A.D. 1224.

Of the once magnificent Cathedral at Coventry, the foundations are all that now remain. That at Chester would also have perished entirely, had not the parishioners obtained a grant of the ruins from Queen Elizabeth, and so preserved about a fourth part of it as their parish church. Lopped off at the four extremities, but still magnificent is what remains to us, and a most remarkable and valuable example of the munificence and good taste of our remote ancestors.

Some notion of the grandeur of the ideas, and of the acts of the men of those days may be formed from the large sum which has been

* Godwin's *Catalogue of the Bishops*, 4to, 1601, p. 258.

required for the restoration of the fragment which remains to us; amounting already to upwards of six thousand pounds for necessary repairs only, and requiring at least two more to put this parish church into a proper state. I believe I am within the mark when I say that the entire Cathedral must have cost upwards of a hundred thousand pounds of our money. And when we remember that this was only one of hundreds of similar magnificent churches which were building in all parts of the country, we need not be surprised that the kingdom was impoverished,—that Henry the 3rd had great difficulty in raising funds to carry on his wars with the Welsh,—and that they were not subdued until the time of his successor.

I fear that I have wandered from the record rather too much, but my excuse must be that “bricks and mortar” *alone* afford rather a dry subject. My friend, Mr. Grosvenor, has already collected all that is extant of real history and legend, so that I could not honestly do otherwise than read a part of his *History*,* for which I have his kind permission. But this course appears to me to be needless, as you are already familiar with his valuable essay, and I will therefore not occupy your time by repeating so much that you already know full well.

St. John's Church was probably one of the earliest stone buildings erected in this part of the country, after the departure of the Romans. We must remember that the Romans themselves were more accustomed to build of brick than of stone; and when they did build of stone, usually employed layers of brick or tile at intervals to serve as binding tiles, having more confidence in their own bricks than in stone, the quality of which they had not tried. It is true that part of the Wall of Chester is Roman, but it is a small part only; and the earliest work built upon those Roman foundations is the Norman Gatehouse (now the Powder Magazine), which is of the time of Henry II., or nearly a century later than St. John's.

There was in all countries a considerable interval after the fall of the Roman Empire, extending generally to some centuries, during which the people who succeeded to them were accustomed to build of *wood*. Consequently, the arts of building in stone or brick had died out for want of practice, and when the fashion of erecting substantial buildings was revived, the people had to learn these arts afresh by copying the Roman buildings that then existed. The different Roman

* The Memoir alluded to was entitled “*An Historical Account of the Collegiate Church of St. John the Baptist, Chester*,” by the Rev. Francis Grosvenor, Curate of the Parish. It was read at the Annual Meeting of the British Archæological Institute, held at Chester, July, 1857. The article was afterwards published in full in Mr. J. H. Parker's *Mediæval Architecture of Chester*, 8vo., London, and Chester, 1858.

St. John's Church Chester
Looking North East
as it appeared in 1861

structures which remained in various places served as types or models each to its own neighbourhood ; and in this manner a provincial character was formed in different countries and provinces, as is evident from a careful examination of different Roman buildings still existing in many parts of the Continent, and comparing them with the provincial characteristics of their respective neighbourhoods.

In England we had no Roman buildings left to serve for models, and were driven to copy the wooden buildings of the Anglo-Saxons, when the building mania first spread to England. This great revival of the arts took place in the beginning of the eleventh century, and we are told by a cotemporary historian that the number of new stone buildings that was being erected was so great, that "it seemed as if the world was putting on a new white robe." When this new fashion of building first began, the work was necessarily very rude and clumsy; The arts of digging stone from the quarries, of cutting it or squaring it, and of turning some of it into lime, had all become extinct from want of practice, and had to be learned afresh.

The buildings of the early part of the eleventh century were built of rubble stone only, and at first without mortar. They gradually became better, but it took three generations to form perfect masons; and it is not until quite the end of the eleventh century that we find really good masonry. The pier arches of St. John's are a good example of the degree of perfection to which masonry had attained in the time of William Rufus. This was considerably in advance of what it had been at the time of the Norman Conquest, thirty years before : a new generation had come into play, and had profited by the experience of their predecessors.

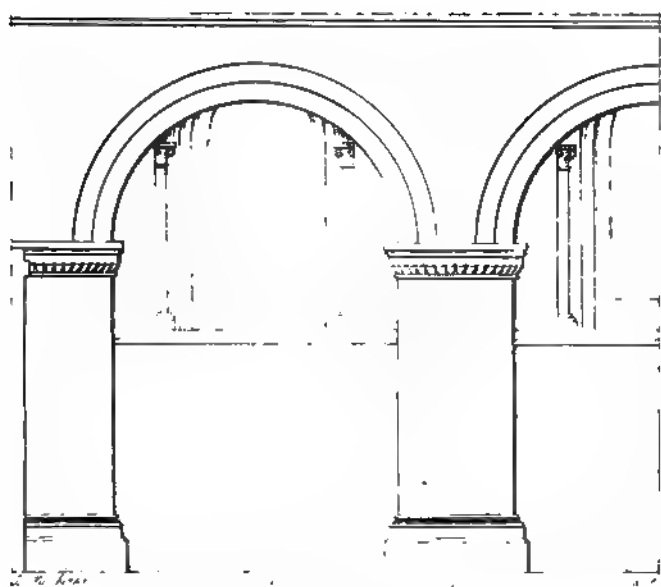
The masonry of the original parts of the churches built by the Conqueror at Caen in Normandy, that of the Abbey-buildings of Edward the Confessor at Westminster, that in Gundulph's work at Rochester and at Melling in Kent, and that of various buildings in France of the same period, is all very inferior to that of St. John's. The capitals; also, in these earlier buildings are not so much advanced in style : they are merely what are called cushion capitals, that is, square blocks of stone with the lower angles rounded off,—sometimes also called cubical capitals. Whereas those at Chester are scalloped (that is; grooved like a scallop-shell), a fashion which did not come in till near the end of the eleventh century,—the period to which the design of these arches may fairly be attributed, although the actual workmanship may be of the twelfth. They are not all of exactly the same time : the nave has evidently been begun at both ends, and the arches in the middle are therefore a little later than the others. This is in accordance with the usual practice of the middle ages : the Choir, which

was necessary for the daily service, was the first thing to be built: after that was completed, the Nave was begun; and the west end with the western doorways were the earliest parts of the Nave to be finished,—the eastern bay, being necessary to support the central Tower, was also built at the same period. There was frequently a considerable interval of time before the rest of the Nave was completed, as this depended upon how the funds came in.

The side aisles were not built until after the pier arches were completed, and at St. John's these belong to the end of the twelfth century, or nearly the same time as the beautiful Triforium and Clerestory were built. The mouldings of the windows, and the capitals of the window shafts, are quite of late transitional character, of the end of Henry the Second's time, or perhaps of the time of Richard Cœur de Lion. The south wall has unfortunately been obliged to be re-built; the foundations having been completely undermined by digging a number of graves close against them during the last century,—a very common, though a very stupid practice, by which many of our old churches have been destroyed.

Both the north and south walls were built long after the Transepts: these belonged to the early work of the end of the eleventh century. The side walls are built against the Transepts in such a manner as to shew that the original work had been stopped there for a considerable period; and though these walls were part of the original design, and toothing stones had been left for them, these had become weather worn before the wall was built up to them: the base mouldings, also, do not exactly fit. It has been said that the foundations of this wall must have been very bad, for it to have given way to the thrust of the roof, which had pushed it over so much as to become dangerous. But it does not appear to me that the foundations were worse than usual with other buildings of the same period; and, if they had not been disturbed, the old wall might have been standing now and for centuries to come. The new wall is better built than the old one, and likely to last at least as long, if it has fair play. I may mention that at Canterbury Cathedral, during some repairs a few years since, it was found that the lowest stones of the foundations had been laid upon the actual turf, on the surface of the ground, without any digging at all, and the same thing has been observed in other places. If the soil is of a hard and solid nature, such walls may stand as long as any other, provided only that the ground is not disturbed.

It is probable that the roof, which had been put on in the time of Elizabeth, was not constructed on such good principles as the early one, for early roofs are remarkable for having no thrust upon the side walls. The roof over the Nave was no doubt originally bound together



St. John's Church, Chester
 North side of nave

by horizontal tie beams which made the weight fall vertically, and with out any side thrust. These tie beams were concealed by a flat boarded ceiling, which was painted in the style of the age, and harmonized well with the building. The only example that has been preserved to us of this original arrangement of the roofs of our Norman churches is in Peterborough Cathedral, where it is much admired, and it has lately been copied in Waltham Abbey. At a later period in real Gothic work, when the art of construction had been brought to perfection, the skeleton of a church was so skilfully contrived as to be quite independent of the walls. The pillars and the buttresses with the arches connecting them were so well constructed that the thrust of one arch resisted that of another, and the intermediate spaces might be filled up with glass only, without interfering with the stability of the building. The whole weight and thrust of the roof, and even of a groined stone vault, was carried down to the ground, and did not require the support of the side walls. In such cases, the wooden roofs may be left open to the rafters, and the ridge piece and the whole construction shewn with safety, but in the earlier stages this is not the case: ceilings were always used and were required, and these ceilings were made as ornamental as the open timber roofs. Even if the ceiling was flat and plain in construction, a mediæval artist would only say that the flat surface was a fine field for painting upon. And this was sometimes the case in very late work also, as in Milan Cathedral, where the whole of the church is covered with ceilings painted in very clever imitation of groined stone vaults, with their ribs and bosses.

I do not know what sort of roof is intended to be used in St. John's: I believe the old one is to be used again, but my remarks are intended to be general. I consider that young England is caricaturing Gothic Architecture in many ways; and in none more than in the extreme to which the rage for open timber roofs is now carried. Because our fathers went to one extreme in their love for flat plaster ceilings, which they thought warm and comfortable, and spoilt many fine churches by introducing them, wishing to make a church as much like a modern comfortable dining-room as possible, and we can see the error and folly of this,—therefore we now consider it necessary to go to the opposite extreme. We shew the actual construction, even to the ridge of the roof; although it may be a mere barn roof, and the walls may be so lofty that the additional height may be uncalled for, and no advantage! Reason, moderation, and common sense are guides which some modern architects seem to lose sight of altogether.

I rejoice that so remarkable and valuable an historical monument as the venerable Church of St. John's, Chester, has been put into such safe hands as those of Mr. Hussey, who is not surpassed by any

architect of the day for accurate historical and archæological knowledge, and the most scrupulous and conscientious care to restore the building in every minute detail to the same state in which the original architect left it, or intended it to be. The work here was so much decayed, especially the exterior of the beautiful clerestory, that great skill and sagacity and experience were required to ascertain exactly what it had been originally. And here we see the advantage of employing such a man as Mr. Hussey, who has completely succeeded in the most perfect restoration possible; while many a dashing young architect would have substituted some smart and pretty design of his own, bearing very little resemblance to the original, and would have called that a *restoration*,—a word which often means the destruction of every ancient feature.

But it is time now to proceed with our architectural description of the church of St. JOHN'S.

Peter, Bishop of Lichfield, who was consecrated in 1067, removed his episcopal see to Chester, where he died and was buried in 1086. His successor, Robert de Limesey, translated his see from Chester to Coventry: it is probable, therefore, that the early Norman part of this church belongs to the period between 1067 and 1105. The massive piers and semicircular arches of the Nave belong to this period, but the Triforium and Clerestory built upon them are of transitional character, and belong to quite the end of the twelfth century. It is evident on examining the arches, as there has been a better opportunity of doing during the repairs, that those arches had been built and exposed to the weather for a considerable period, before the Triforium and Clerestory were built upon them. The arches are some inches out of the perpendicular; while the upper part is quite vertical, shewing that the settlement had taken place before the upper part was built, and that the builders disregarded it.

It appears that when the second Norman bishop, Robert de Limesey, removed the see to Coventry, and abandoned the plan of making this church the cathedral of the three united dioceses of Chester, Lichfield, and Coventry, the fabric of the church was left very incomplete; and the funds on which its completion depended being thus removed, the Canons of St. John's were left in a very forlorn state, with a large church commenced, and little more than commenced. It is true that the work had been carried on for about 20 years; but that was comparatively a short period, according to the custom of that age, when a large church was commonly a century in the course of erection, and the rebuilding in a new style was often commenced before the original plan was completed,—as was probably the case in the rival church of St. Werburgh's.

Before the bishop deserted St. John's, the whole of the foundations

100-100-100

One Bay of the Choir

ST JOHN'S CHURCH, CHESTER.

100-100-100

Janb and Bill of old West Window.

had been laid, but no part finished,—unless, possibly, the Choir, which was afterwards rebuilt. The portions which remain of the early Norman work are the arches and piers of the Nave, which are not exactly alike, and were evidently built at two or three different periods, though from the same grand design. The mouldings and details of the bases vary considerably : as usual, the Nave was probably begun at both ends, and the central arches are the latest. The piers are round, and extremely massive, with scalloped capitals, and the arches merely recessed, with square edges, but without any mouldings. The four great arches which carried the central Tower have shafts attached to the piers : these arches are of precisely the same character as those of the Nave, and one bay of the Choir, with its aisles.

On the north side this bay of the aisle is turned into a modern vestry, but over it is one of the arches of the Triforium arcade, which is of the same plain, early character as the Nave. On the south side, the first bay of the aisle is tolerably perfect, and is richer work of rather later date than the rest. There is an ornamental arcade at the foot of the wall, and a window over it ; these are of very good, pure Norman work, but not quite so early a character as the Nave arches. The arches opening from the Choir to the aisles are also enriched with bold round mouldings, while those of the Nave have none. In the aisle the springing of the Norman vault may be seen, but it does not appear to have been completed. I am happy to say that this one bay of the south Choir aisle,—happening to have been the burying place of the family now represented by my worthy and excellent friend, Mr. Warburton of Arley Hall, he has undertaken to restore it at his own expense, and I have no doubt that he will do it thoroughly well, and in the best possible taste.

The outer wall of this aisle is continued along a second bay, with a continuation of the small arcade, and a second window of the same pattern as the one in the first bay. On the exterior this window is richly ornamented with zigzags and shafts, and is turned into a doorway (see plate) : the exterior of the first window is hid by a modern chimney, but is probably the same. The Transepts were entirely destroyed at the Reformation, when the size of the church was reduced to adapt it for parochial use only.

From these slight indications we must infer, that whatever work the Canons did during the century after they were deserted by their bishop was chiefly confined to the Choir, which was most probably completed during that interval ; and they were then enabled to turn their attention to the Nave, which had so long remained unfinished. Their predecessors had built the pier arches only ; they now, having collected funds for the purpose, set to work to build a Triforium and Clerestory

in the very best style of their age: this was the beautiful period of transition, about 1190, and a finer specimen of a Triforium and Clerestory combined does not exist, than this of St. John's, Chester.

The Choir originally extended five bays farther to the east, and was terminated by an apse, which had been rebuilt in the fifteenth century, as shewn by an ancient ground-plan preserved in the British Museum. The two Chapels at the east ends of the aisles had also been rebuilt in the fourteenth century, and there are remains of some very beautiful work of that period, though in a very decayed state. Over each of these two eastern Chapels a chamber had been erected, probably in the time of Henry VIII., when parts of the ruins were converted into dwelling-houses: a staircase to lead to each of these chambers was made against the pier of the eastern arch on each side. In the southern Chapel the lower part has also been converted into a dwelling-room, and fireplaces have been made in this and in the upper chambers. The whole is now merely a picturesque ruin.

The Nave has been shortened at the west end two bays, and a thick wall built across it, forming the present west end of the church. This wall is so thick, and the surface of it is so much decayed that, when I examined the church a few years since, I thought that the Nave had never been completed, and that this wall was run up as a temporary measure, and afterwards suffered to remain for want of funds. But during the recent repairs it has been ascertained that this wall is built chiefly of fragments of those parts of the church which have been destroyed, and is clearly part of the work of the sixteenth century. It is recorded that the parishioners "obtained a grant of the church from Queen Elizabeth in 1581, and immediately began to build up part of it."

The whole church was evidently then in a very bad state of repair, little more than a ruin: the lead with which it had been covered in 1470 was stripped off by order of the Royal Commissioners in 1548, and Towers had fallen down in 1572 and 1574. There is some little obscurity about these Towers. King says that "in 1574, two quarters of St. John's steeple did fall down from the top to the bottom, and in the fall brake down a great part of the west end of the church."* This has been supposed to mean the present Tower, a considerable part of the outer case of which is supposed to have fallen down and been rebuilt on the south and east sides next the church. In the interior of these two sides the Norman work remains to a considerable height from the ground, including the jamb of the Norman tower arch, and the Norman

* *Vale Royall of England*, 1656, Part 1, page 87. This portion of a valuable Cheshire work was written by William Smith, "rouge dragon poursuivant of arms," a native of this county, and living at the date of the occurrence he thus chronicles.

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Town-ard.

ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, CHESTER.

Bottom and Window, West End of Nave.

staircase in the south-west corner turret: the north and west sides have been entirely rebuilt, and not merely cased, in the time of Henry VII. In the Norman walls, which are seven feet thick and appear perfectly sound, there are several of the original long narrow windows, slightly splayed only, so that they appear almost like passages through the wall. These are covered with a sort of vaulting, the form of which and of the openings is the one so common in mediæval work, but which has long wanted a name. It is sometimes called the Carnarvon arch, because it is the usual form in that castle, but this is no guide to those who have not been there. I called it in our *Glossary*, twenty years ago, the "square-headed-trefoil," and that name has been commonly adopted. But within the last two or three years, I was informed that the Duchess of Northumberland had suggested the name of the "shouldered-arch" for it; and this appeared to me so very descriptive, as the form exactly gives the idea of a man's shoulders with his head cut off, that I at once adopted it, and have used it in my *Introduction to the Study of Gothic Architecture*.

The Tower which fell upon the west end of the church may have been the south-west Tower, of which I discovered the foundations a few years since. I thought at that time that it had never been completed; but it may have partly fallen, and the remainder have been pulled down. The paneling on the south and west sides of the present Tower, and the figure in the niche on the west side can hardly be later than the time of Henry VII., probably about 1470, when the church was covered with lead. This west side is ornamented with rich paneling and sculpture, but the stone is so very soft and crumbling that it all requires to be cased again, and is hardly safe in its present state. Browne Willis says that "the tower or steeple was removed from the middle on account of the falling down in 1574, and set at the west end in 1581, *as every author tells us*. It is probable enough, from the badness of the material and the want of necessary repairs, that the central tower may also have partially fallen, and the rest been taken down to the level of the roof; but as the four arches of the central tower are perfect, it can hardly have fallen down altogether, and it is clear that the central tower could not have fallen upon the west end of the church.

The beautiful Early English Porch had probably been commenced before this alteration of plan had been decided on, as it opens partly into the sort of lobby thus formed. This porch is fine Early English, but early in the style, belonging almost to the same work as the Triforium; it has two lancet windows on each side, an outer doorway much decayed, and an inner doorway tolerably perfect, with a fine suite of arch-mouldings and shafts in the jambs.

We must now turn our attention again to the Choir and the eastern

portion of the church. The wall was built across at its present position in the reign of Elizabeth, and old windows of the time of Edward I. were used up again and built in—one of which remains at the end of the south aisle, and should be re-opened; the others have been modernized. The following passages from King's *Vale Royal* and Mr Ormerod's *History* will best illustrate this part of the subject:—

“1470. This year St. John's Church in Chester was covered with lead.”—King's *Vale Royal*, part i. p. 74.

Lysons mentions (p. 622) an agreement recorded on a brass plate, without date, that “the Dean and Canons, in consideration of the cost which the inhabitants had been at in building the steeple, allow them to have the use of the bells for all dirges and anniversaries, paying only a small fee to the clerk, and on condition that the bells should not be rung during divine service.”—[This must have been shortly before the Reformation, and probably applies to the present west tower.]

From the report of the commissioners in the time of Edward VI.:—

“Md. The bodye of the same church thoughte sufficient to serve the said parishioners, with the charge of xxli., so that the whole chancell with the two aisles may be well reserved for the King's Majestie, having upon them lead to the quantities of xxxviii. fothers.”

Whereupon the chancel and two aisles, having upon them thirty-eight fothers of lead, and four bells, were sold for the benefit of the king.

“In 1581 the parishioners obtained the church of the Queen, and began to build up part of it; also the west and south sides of the tower. They cut off all the chapels above the choir, and the church was included within an oblong enclosure.”

In an old plan of the church, it is called “the chambers of the church's priests;” and Lysons (p. 623) considers that it was most probably the habitation of the vicars choral. The entrance at present is on the first floor, through the Norman window of the south aisle of the choir, before mentioned, turned into a doorway. (See plate.) There are remains of a small doorway of the thirteenth century immediately under this window, concealed by the present external steps.

*Copy from a Record of the dissolved Colleges of St. John and Fraternity of St. Anne.**

“Be yt had ever in mynde, yt the Deane and Chanons of this Colledge Church have granted by their Chapter seale to the Parishioners of the same for ever, that they for such costes y^e have been att in the buyldinge of the Steple shall have the belles ronge freely at all Diriges and anniversaries for the inhabitants of the same without payinge any thinge to the Sextone, or any other, so yt the Clarke, yf he fynde ryngers, shall have for fyve bells viij^d., iij. or iiij. bells, vj^d., for ij^o., iiij^d.; and yf the parishioners fynd ryngers of their owene

* Hanshall's *History of Cheshire*, p. 248.

ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, CHESTER.

Window of the South Choir-aisle.

Q. 175.

costes, then the Clarke to have ijd. Also y^e parishioners bynd themselves that the belles shall not be ronge to dysturbe the Devyne service; also parishioners bynd themselves to amend all faultes and charges of bells and steple within one quarter of a yeare's warninge, except the stone worke and belles to be caste, which must be done by the Deane and Chanons, and the parishioners indifferently, as doth more playnely appeare in the composicion which does remain in the treasure-house of this cittie."

I cannot conclude without calling the attention of the inhabitants of this city and county to the admirable example which has been set by the noble patren of the living of St. John's. He has already given three thousand pounds towards the restoration fund, and now offers another thousand pounds on condition that half that sum is raised in addition among the gentlemen of the county and city of Chester. If others will only come forward with the same spirit in proportion to their means, there will be no lack of funds for the restoration and preservation of this very remarkable historical monument, one of the chief glories of the county of Chester. We should all bear in mind the spirit of our ancestors and predecessors, and remember that the whole of the possessions of the clergy were originally the free gift of the laity for the honour and glory of God. Our magnificent Cathedrals were especially considered as appertaining to the laity, who kept them in repair by their free offerings. This antient fabric never had sufficient endowment to keep it in repair, and was robbed of the little that did belong to it under the pretext of reforming abuses. The English reformers never intended that such wholesale robbery and spoliation should have been made in the name of religion: they were honest and pious men, who simply intended to revive real religion, to remove drones and substitute working bees. But the opportunity was taken advantage of by the courtiers, the nobility and gentry of the day, and their descendants or successors now profit by their rapacity. It is really a debt which such persons owe to the cause of religion to take every opportunity to contribute to its support. We have here a large and poor parish crying out for additional church accommodation, combined with one of the most remarkable Historical Monuments of our country. When the people of England see the large sums which the people of France have expended in the last ten years for the preservation of those Historical Monuments which are the glory of France, they may well feel stirred up to emulate their antient rivals.

THE Editors of the *Chester Archaeological Journal* think it advisable to supplement Mr. Parker's valuable Lecture with some account of the important discoveries that have been made since its delivery. To this

end they have enlisted the services of Messrs. Owens, the intelligent contractors for the work now in progress at St. John's, to whom they are indebted for the remarks that follow.

The premises known as the "Priory House," upon the south side of the Church of St. John's, have been for many years in private possession, and the house is now rented from the proprietor by the Marquess of Westminster. This step was taken for the purpose of preserving the interesting groined chamber of the house, and many other valuable relics of ages gone by. On the west side of this house, and adjoining the Churchyard, there stood a garden, or yard, several feet higher than the level of the Church floor, a source of great injury to the Church wall; and as the south aisle had just been restored and cleared to its base, this wall became all the more unsightly. Lord Westminster obtained the permission of the proprietor to remove the soil from this yard, as well as the objectionable domestic buildings that had been erected so close to the walls of the sacred fabric; and his Lordship gave orders, in the early part of 1862, for their entire removal, and for rebuilding the wall dividing the open Church yard from this private property. At the commencement of these excavations in the yard, it was clearly seen, on the removal of a very thin layer of mould and gravel, that this raised ground was entirely composed of the remains of the fallen portions of the Central Tower, and of the Transept that was demolished by the fall of that Tower. On the first indications of anything of interest coming to view, the work was very carefully watched, so that there might be nothing disturbed that could in any way clear up the mystery about the general *plan* of this portion of the ground and Church. First, there was observed a large quantity of gray gravelly mortar, used hereabouts in the 11th and early part of the 12th century, interspersed with stone fragments of a building that had evidently fallen upon this precise spot. Some masonry then appeared standing nearly at the surface of the ground on the eastern face and close to the door of the "Priory House:" this masonry was the key to all the future discoveries. The interior angle of a building was first cleared, at 31 feet 7 inches from the wall of the present south Transept, and the eastern face of the same wall was cleared along this entire distance. In this east wall was found a deep recess, with an entrance 12 feet wide, 8 feet 7 inches wide at its extremity, and 5 feet 3 inches deep into the wall.

On the south side of the recess there was revealed a Piscina, the lintel of which was slightly fractured, but otherwise it was quite perfect, with the bason and drain in position. On the south of the recess was an Aumbry or *locker*, in a tolerably perfect state, the remains of the door hinges and the mortice for the lock being visible. As the works of excavation advanced, and when the ashpit of the house had been removed, it became quite evident that the space being so cleared out was the ancient South Transept of the Church, and after hundreds of loads of rubbish had been removed, the floor was eventually reached. This floor did not cover the entire area,—not much above one-fourth indeed remained in its position,—but what remained was very interesting: it consisted of tiles, from four to six inches square, some

red, some black, but mostly incised tiles, the patterns being filled in and with various colours, and deeply glazed. The dates of these were various, some being very early, and some as late as the 15th century. In places the floor had been much worn, and had been repaired with the plain coloured tiles, or with tiles differing from the general design. (The level of this floor is the same as the level of the Nave now restored.) The whole of the walls that were revealed are very pure Norman work, and of excellent design and workmanship, being precisely of the same character as the portions remaining in the ruined Choir of the Church. The surface had been coloured, and enriched with a pattern, almost a *fleur-de-lis*, which, judging from its great uniformity, must have been done by stencilling. The fleur de lis ornament was of a bright red colour, with some gilding touched in, upon warm grey ground. In the recess before described, this wall decoration was not carried down to the base, but was stopped against a line of something that had been removed *before* the general destruction. This "something" must surely have been an *Altar*, and the *Piscina* would then be in its proper position, at the right of the Altar, and the Aumbry more on the right still, but in the eastern wall. Adjoining the wall of the present Transept, on the east side, was found a square projection, a simple door jamb, with the hole for the bolts visible. At first this jamb and its purpose could not be well understood, but on clearing out further a passage, or rather one side of a passage, was plainly defined; and at the easternmost end of it a circular turret stair was revealed, several of the steps and the circular surfaces of which were perfect. "Surfaces" we say, for there were *two*, as if the design had been changed, and a smaller stair commenced within a larger one: for both appeared of contemporary work, and with similar mason's marks upon the stones in each case. Before quitting the *interior* of this work, it may be remarked that the small remains of the west wall of this Transept do not seem to have received any surface decoration beyond the grey ground work, or what some perchance would call whitewash.

On continuing the excavations on the *outer* side,—that is upon the south of this ancient Transept, the bases of the wall were uncovered, giving the thickness of the south wall as about 7 feet 6 inches; and on progressing further towards the east (but still within the limits of this private property), the bases and bits of the wall masonry of some large turrets were uncovered, and also what appeared to be an outer entrance from the east into one of the larger turrets. All these were very fine, but very simply designed, and exactly similar to the interior masonry before described. While this work was in progress, some exceedingly fine bases were discovered, attached to the "*Priory House*," but were not found along its entire length: they had probably been destroyed or removed. This last discovery was very valuable, as it showed the exterior work of the groined chamber (the kitchen of modern adaptation), and also its extent in an eastward direction. It does not seem probable that the eastern wing of this house was at all a portion of any building anciently erected upon this site; it was more likely a thing of recent date,—*put up* between the south wall of the Norman Choir and the east wall of the Early English groined chamber,—whatever its purposes might have been.

The bases turned round double angle buttresses, one south and

one east, and they ran against this modern wing, and were indeed buried by it. This base resembles in *character* the bases of the Chapter House and of the Lady Chapel of Chester Cathedral, but is very much finer than either. It consists of an upper string-like moulding, three other weathered mouldings, and then a plain plinth course, but there is a plain vertical course between each moulded course.

Some traces of buildings seem to be indicated on the south of these last excavations, but they were beyond this private property, and they were not cleared further than that boundary. It would appear that there was a building close to the eastern angle of the ancient Transept, as there were some plinth courses coming in contact,—in fact one exterior *vis-a-vis* with another exterior.

Lord Westminster wished all these walls and flooring to be carefully preserved, and they have been preserved, not a stone removed from its position in any wall, not a tile moved or destroyed unless by accident. The masonry of the ancient Transept, the Altar recess, with the Piscina and Locker, have been covered over with a roof-like cover of stone, to prevent the wet getting into the old walls. The tiles are covered over by a flooring of bricks on edge, and a drain formed to take off the water falling upon the entire area. The west corner of the masonry has been a little pinned on one side, and a broad coping fixed on to protect it from the weather. The positions and the sizes of the different walls and turrets are marked out in the brick paving, so that they can be described by any one conversant with the subject.


Amongst the rubbish were found some very curious fragments of masonry, of very early character, consisting of moulded and carved jambs, moulded, carved, and plain arch stones, pieces of carving of various dates, a masked head carved as a corbel, corresponding with that now remaining in the altar recess, some large springers of arches, and several very fine tiles and pieces of tiles; and last though greatest, a most beautiful tombstone of very clever design and workmanship. Every fragment that was worth preserving was taken into the Chapel on the south side of the ruined east end of the Church, where they may now be examined.

The boundary walls were rebuilt, so as to preserve the private property apart from the Church yard, as it had been before these clearances took place. All these works were undertaken by Lord Westminster, but formed no part of the immediate restoration of the Church. Independent of the great interest he had taken in the matter, his Lordship paid the whole of the considerable cost of these works out of his own private purse, although only a yearly tenant of this property. Careful notes and measurements have been preserved of the foundations, walls, turrets, and other details not now in sight.

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ON THE
Emblems of Geoffrey Whitney,
OF NANTWICH,
IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

BY THE REV. HENRY GREEN, M.A.

UCH, as given in the accompanying photo-lithograph, is the title of the first Book of Emblems published in the English Language. Perfect copies of the work, with the title page, are extremely rare; for which it is not difficult to assign a reason. It was not printed in England, but by the celebrated Christopher Plantyn of Antwerp and Leyden, printer to that Philip of Spain who projected the Spanish Armada. It came out too the very year, 1586, in which Archbishop Whitgift issued the decree against "sondry bookes from tyme to tyme set forth in the partes beyond the seas, by such as are addicted to the errors of poperie." The prelate declares them to be "no fit bookes to passe through every man's hands freely"; and orders that none "be shewed nor dispersed abroad, but first brought to mee, or some others of her majesties priviee councile, that so they may be deliuered, or directed to be deliuered furth unto suche persons onely as by vs, or some of vs, shall be thought most meete men vpon good considerations and purposes to have the reading and perusall of them."*

For this reason it is probable only a few copies of Whitney's *Emblems* would at first be brought into England; and what were brought would be kept rather as curiosities of literature than as books for the people at large. The work indeed has not the slightest tinge of "poperie" in it, but at that especial time "the house" where it was "imprinted" would be sufficient for its condemnation; and for the

* See Ames' *Typographical Antiquities*, pp. 554, 555.

same reason, of the copies which exist, the title page is generally wanting.*

Whitney entitles his work, "A Choice of Emblemes and other devises." A later, and at one time a very popular, author in the same walk of literature, Francis Quarles, has pithily defined the word; "an Emblem is but a silent Parable." What Whitney himself meant by Emblems is well expressed in his Preface "to the Reader." "It resteth now, he says, "to shewe breeflie what this worde Embleme signifieth, and whereof it commeth, which thoughte it be borrowed of others, and not proper in the Englishe tonge, yet that which it signifieth: Is, and hath bin alwaies in vse amongst vs, which worde being in Greek *εμβάλλισθαι* vel *επεμβληῖσθαι* is as muche to say in Englishe as *To set in*, or *to put in*: properlie ment by suche figures, or workes, as are wroughte in plate, or in stones in the pauementes, or on the waules, or suche like, for the adorning of the place: hauinge some wittie deuise expressed with cunning woorkemanship, somethinge obscure to be perceiued at the first, whereby, when with further consideration it is vnderstood, it maie the greater delighte the behoulder. And althoughe the worde dothe comprehende manie thinges, and diuers matters maie be therein contained; yet all Emblemes for the moste parte, maie be reduced into these three kindes, which is *Historicall, Naturall, & Morall*. *Historicall*, as representing the actes of some noble persons, being matter of historie. *Naturall*, as in expressing the natures of creatures, for example, the loue of the yonge Storkes, to the oulde, or of suche like. *Morall*, pertaining to vertue and instruction of life, which is the chiefe of the three, and the other two maye bee in some sorte drawn into this head. For, all doe teende vnto discipline, and morall precepts of liuing."

Soon after printing had been discovered the engraver's art was called into requisition to adorn and illustrate books of every kind, not so profusely indeed as in modern times, but often with a marked superiority of genius. Dante's "*Inferno*," published at Florence in 1481, was one of the first books thus embellished. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the art was carried to a very high degree of excellence;—in Italy, by Marc Antonio, who died in 1527; in Germany, by Albert Durer, down to 1528; and in Holland, by Lucas Jacobs, better known as Lucas van Leyden, until his death in 1533. Emblematical pictures on title pages then became very common; and

* Probably, however, much weight is not to be assigned to these reasons; for the work is dedicated to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leycester, contains several eulogiums on Queen Elizabeth and her government, and devotes many of its Emblems to illustrious men who enjoyed high dignity both in the Church and in the State.

Whitney's book, like all the works which issued from Christopher Plantyn's office, bears on the title page this device,—a hand holding a pair of compasses and describing a circle with them, the entwined motto being, "LABORE ET CONSTANTIA."*

Previous to the time at which Whitney's EMBLEMES appeared, 1586, there had been only a few similar publications; they are nearly all summed up in a curious work that was exceedingly popular as a school book in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I.,—"Wit's Commonwealth," by Thomas Meres, author of "*God's Arithmetic*." In this book he gives "a comparative discourse of our English Poets with the Greeke, Latine, and Italian Poets," and says on our particular subject,—“As the Latines have these emblematisers, Andreas Alciatus, Reusnerus, and Sambucus, so we have these, Geoffrey Whitney, Andrew Willet, and Thomas Combe.”†

Thomas Mere's book was published in 1598, and is the earliest notice of Whitney's EMBLEMES, being given only twelve years after their appearance. The next mention made of them was in 1612, and occurs in "*Minerva Britannia, or a Garden of Heroical Devises, and adorned with Emblems and Impresa's of sundry natures, newly devised, moralized, and published by Henry Peacham, Mr of Artes*." This work is dedicated "to the Right High and Mightie Heurie, eldest sonne of our Sovereigne

* This device, with its motto, still remains over Plantyn's House, in the *Place du Marché de Vendredi*, Antwerp, where also are preserved his types and printing presses, which were used, I was informed, on the occasion of Queen Victoria visiting Antwerp a few years ago, Her Majesty herself working the press. When in Antwerp during the summer of 1863, I endeavoured to obtain a view of the printing offices, but the proprietor, Moretus, who ranks among the nobility of Belgium, a descendant of Plantyn's, (whom Baron Grobel, of Antwerp, described to me as "a misanthrope," and whom a priest that I accosted, as he came out of Plantyn's gateway, told me was *malade*,) never grants admission. From each of these gentlemen I learned that Moretus is entirely under the influence of two or three of his household servants, and that a *douceur* to them would obtain what the master himself would refuse. I could not consent to enter any house on this condition, and my curiosity to see the very presses and types which Plantyn used continues unsatisfied. In this connection I may mention that I made diligent inquiry in the Public Libraries of Bruges, Ghent, Brussels, and Antwerp, for a copy of Whitney's *Emblems*, but could not find one. I experienced the greatest courtesy from the Librarians, and especially from the keeper of the Archives of the city of Antwerp (M. Fred. Verachter); but Whitney was almost an unknown name in the country, famed in former times for its wealth in Emblem Books. I learned from M. Verachter that Dibdin had endeavoured to discover the wood-blocks that were employed in Whitney's *Emblems*, but had not succeeded, and that it is almost a certainty the blocks are not now in existence, though Plantyn's types are.

† See *Censura Literaria*, by Sir Egerton Brydges, Bart.—Vol. IX. p. 39.

Lord the King;" and in the address "To the Reader" speaks of Whitney as one of the earliest of English authors in this branch of literature. "I have heire (kind Reader)," writes Henry Peacham, "sent abroad unto thy view this volume of *Emblemes*, whether for greatnes of the chardge or that the Invention is not ordinarie: a Subiect very rare. For except the collections of Master *Whitney*, and the translations of some one or two else beside,* I know not an *Englishman* in our age, that hath published any worke of this kind: they being (I doubt not) as ingenious, and happy in their invention, as the best French or Italian of them all. Hence perhaps they terme us *Tramontani Sempii*, simple and of dull conceipt,—when the fault is neither in the climate, nor as they would have it, in the constitution of our bodies, but truly in the cold and frozen respect of learning and artes, generally amongst us: comming far shorte of them in the iust valewing of well deserving qualities." Peacham has borrowed, with acknowledgment, one of Whitney's most beautiful Emblems,—that of Death and Cupid.

To give even the titles of the Emblem Books of the sixteenth century would occupy more space than we have at command. For a

* Among "some one or two else beside," was a rare volume to which the title is, "*The heroicall Devises of M. Claudius Paradin, canon of Beaujeu, where unto are added the Lord Gabriel Symeon's and others. Translated out of Latin into English, by P. S.*" 1591, 24mo. Can P. S. be Sir Philip Sidney, and this Translation published after his death? The original Paradin was in French, not Latin, and the first edition in 12mo. was printed at Lyons, in 1557. It was afterwards printed by Plantyn, and a copy which belonged to Whitney himself, and bears his own motto "*Constanter et syncere*" and his own autograph, "*Gulfridus Whytney: Cestreshir*," is in the library of the late J. B. Yates, Esq., of Liverpool; the title is "*LES DEVISES HEROIQUES De M. Claude Paradin. Chanoine de Beaujeu, Du Seigneur Gabriel Symeon et autres Auteurs. A ANVERS De l'Imprimerie de Christophle Plantin M.D. LXII. AVEC PRIVILEGE.*" A photo-lithographic fac-simile of the title page and of Whitney's hand writing accompanies this number of the *Chester Archæological Journal*. Other editions were issued from Plantyn's office in 1563 and in 1614. The Latin edition, from which the English of 1591 was translated, was from Plantyn's press; in July, 1863, I consulted a copy in the *Bibliotheca Hulthemiana*, or *Royal Library*, of Brussels, bearing the title "*Symbola Heroica M. Claudii Paradini et D. Gabr. Symeonis, multo quam antea fidelius de gallice ling. in lat. conversa.*" Antv. Christ. Plantin, 1583, in 16mo." Some of the wood cuts of this Latin Edition are used in Whitney's *Emblems*. If not from Whitney, Shakspeare, in *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*, Act ii. Scene 2, adopts three of the Emblems and mottoes which the Knights present, from Paradin's *Devises Heroiques*, or from the English Translation. The subject here hinted at has been followed out in a Paper read before the Meeting in Chester, April 27, 1864, to celebrate the Tercentenary of Shakspeare's birth; it is entitled "*Shakspeare and the Emblem Writers of the sixteenth century, particularly Geoffrey Whitney of Cheshire.*"

Constantin LES *et fynere*
DE VISES

HEROIQVES,
De M. Claude Paradin, Chanoine
de Beaujeu,

Du seigneur Gabriel Symeon ~ an-
tres Auteurs.

A A N V E R S,

De l'Imprimerie de Christophe
Plantin,

M. D. LXII.

AVEC PRIVILEGE.

Gulfridus Whitney: Cestreshir

WHITNEY'S AUTOGRAPH
FROM A BOOK BELONGING TO N.M.

scholar-like account of such works we gladly refer to a paper read before the Liverpool Literary and Philosophical Society in 1847; it is entitled "*A sketch of that branch of Literature called 'Books of Emblems,' as it flourished during the 16th and 17th centuries, by Joseph Brooks Yates, Esq*" The author possessed a most rare and valuable collection of Emblem Writers, from which to illustrate his subject, and it is to be hoped that the collection will not be dispersed. We would here acknowledge our obligations to it for most welcome aid in our inquiries respecting Whitney and his contemporary Emblematisers.

It will perhaps be useful to make a brief mention of the early English writers of Emblems. Dr. Andrew Willet's praise is recorded by Fuller, in his *Worthies*, Vol. I. p. 238; he was author of "*Sacrorum Emblematum Centuria una*,"—A Century of Sacred Emblems;—it was printed at Cambridge, probably in 1598, and is dedicated to the Earl of Essex. Of Thomas Combe, nothing is known beyond Mere's single recording line; his work is not in the British Museum, and Mr. Yates says, "I have been unable to learn anything of him." Contemporary with Whitney was Abraham Fraunce, who in 1588 published in London, "*Insignium Armorum Emblematum Hieroglyphicorum et Symbolorum quæ ab Italis Imprese nominantur*." This work, however, is rather a book of Heraldry than of Emblems. Peacham's "*Minerva Britannia*" appeared in 1612; and in 1618, the "*Mirroure of Majestie*," of which only two copies are known to exist. Quarles' *Emblems*, the most popular of any in English, was published in 1635; and the same year George Withers gave to the world, with fine copper plates by Crispin de Passe, a "*Collection of Emblems, antient and moderne, quickened with metrical illustrations, both moral and divine, dispersed into Lotteries*;" and 1641 first saw Thomas Stirry's satire against Archbishop Laud,—"*A Rot amongst the Bishops, or a terrible tempest in the Sea of Canterbury, set forth in lively Emblems to please the judicious reader*." Hugo Hermann's "*Pia Desideria, Gemitus Vota suspiria animæ pœnitentis, &c.*;" Pious Aspirations, or the Groans, Vows, and Sighs of a Penitent Soul, was published in London in 1677; and in 1686, a work now extremely rare, "*The Protestant's Vade Mecum, or Popery displayed in its proper colors in 30 Emblems*." This date is just a century after Whitney, and it is unnecessary to name any works of a later time.

Of the year and the exact place of Whitney's birth there is no certain information. A Cheshire man undoubtedly he was, and educated at Oxford. In his "*Athenæ Oxonienses*" (Vol. I. 230, Edition 1721), which first appeared in 1691, Anthony Wood informs us that our author was "descended from those of his name of WHITNEY in Herefordshire, the son of a father of both his names," and "was born at Namptwich in Cheshire, spent some time in this University, but

more in another, and whether graduated or not, I cannot tell." "The said *Geff. Whitney* hath devised and published *A choice of Emblems and Devices, Leyden, 1586*, in qu. (4to.) for the most part gathered out of sundry writers, and by him *Englised* and moralized." "Fables or Epigrams*—printed much about the same time as the former, in qu., and every page hath a picture wrought from a wooden cutt. What other things he hath published I cannot tell, nor anything else of him, only that he was living at *Leyden* in fifteen hundred eighty and six, at which time he was in great esteem among his countrymen for his ingenuity."†

From a MS. in the British Museum (Bibl. Cotton. Claudius c. iii. Plut. xxi. F.) of Names and Arms of Knights, made from 1485 to 1624, amongst those "that receaved the honorable Ordre of Knighthode in the tyme of the reigne of Queene Mary" was "Sir Robert Whitney," whose arms are given in the margin of the MS.; and amongst those that were "aduaunced to the honorable Ordre of Knighthode in the godly, quyet, and fortunate reign of Queene Elizabeth," was also a

* I believe that no trace whatever exists of such a work. Probably Anthony Wood confounds the *two Parts* of Whitney's *Emblems*, and treats them as separate works; both parts contain Fables.

† Just as the present sheet was about to be printed off, the Editors of the *Chester Archaeological Journal* were favoured with some further particulars of Whitney, which they now append as a note to Mr. Green's interesting Paper. The information was communicated by Mr. C. H. Cooper, of Cambridge, having been collected by him in his capacity as joint Editor of the *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, a work similar in character to Wood's magnificent history of the sister University of Oxford:—

"Geoffrey Whitney, born at Nantwich, Cheshire, and the son of a father of the same name, was educated in the school at Audlem, in his native county, and afterwards spent some time at Oxford, but more at Magdalen College, in this (Cambridge) University, where he had for his tutor Stephen Limbert, afterwards master of Norwich School. He does not appear to have taken a degree here. In 1580 he occurs as under-bailiff of Great Yarmouth, and about 1584 became under-steward of that town; but in 1586, on the appointment of the famous John Stubbe to that office, Whitney was required to leave unless Mr Stubbe chose to retain him as his clerk. In the same year we find him at Leyden. A dispute between him and the corporation of Yarmouth was settled in 1587, by their paying him £45, on condition that he made no further claim for any other duty, and certified his acquittance to the Earl of Leicester, high steward of that town.

He is author of:

1. Account in Latin of a *Visit to Scratby Island*, off Great Yarmouth, 2 August, 1580. Translated in Manship's *History of Great Yarmouth*, p. 106.

2. *A Choice of Emblemes and other Devises, &c. &c.* Leyden (Plantyn.) 4to. 1586. Dedicated to Robert Earl of Leicester, from London, 28 Nov., 1585, with an epistle to the reader, dated Leyden, 4th May, 1586. The author speaks as if this were a second edition; if so, no other is now known. A writer in the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana* terms this work a very remarkable imitation of *Alciati*.

3. *Fables or Epigrams*.

4. English verses in commendation of Doussa's *Ode Britannicæ*, 1586.

5. Translation of verses to the Earl of Leicester, 1586."

TO THE RIGHT HONO-

RABLE, MY SINGVLER GOOD
Lorde and Maister, ROBERT Earle of LEY-
CESTER, Baron of Denbighe, Knight of the
moste noble orders of the garter, and of saincte
Michael, Maister of her Ma^{ties} horse, one of her
Highnes moste honorable priue Counsaile, and
Lorde Lieutenant and Captaine Generall of her
Ma^{ties} forces in the lowe countries.

SOVLDIOR of Kinge PHIL-
LIP, of MACEDONIA,
(Right honorable) suffering ship-
wracke, and languishinge through
necessitie and extreme sicknes, A
Macedonian mooued with compas-
sion, moste louinglie entertayned,
and longe cherished and releued

Brasilius lib 1.

him. Who being well recovered, promised at his departure if
he might come to the presence of his Soueraigne to requite his
friendship. At the lengthe cominge to the court, the souldior
made reporte of the shipwracke, but not of the kindnes of the
Macedonian: and contrariwise, so incensed the Kinge against
his louinge countryman, that he obtained a graunt of all his li-
uings: But afterwarde his ingratitude and trecherous practise
being discovered to this good prince, he reuoked his graunte, and
in detestation of his dealinge caused him to bee marked with a
botte iron: The Emperor CLAVDIUS reduced all those
to their former bondage, who neglecting the bountie and loue
of their Lordes, in enfranchisinge them: requited them in the
ende with anie unkindnes. This foule vice ingratitude hath
been common in all ages, and yet so odious to the vertuous and

Idem.

"Sir Robert Whitney." The MS. gives his crest (the head of an ox), and records that he was "dubbed at wynesore." This Robert Whitney was probably of the Herefordshire family. But another Robert Whitney, whom, from the EMBLEMES themselves, we know to have been our Geffrey's, "agnatum Coolensem," kinsman by the father's side, resident at Coole, near Nantwich, is mentioned in the "Visitation of Cheshire, 1580,"* containing the names of all and singular Knights, Esquires, Gentlemen, and Freeholders in Com. Cestriæ.; the entry is "Robert Whitney, of Colle." The edition of Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, by Philip Bliss,† also affirms that Whitney's family was "of very ancient date in Herefordshire. In 1378 Robert Whitney was sheriff for the county. Roger Ascham wrote a lamentation on the death of Master John Whitney, which was afterwards translated by Kendall, and published in his *Flowers of Epigrammes* (12mo. 1577, fol. iii. b.) This was, perhaps, our author's uncle, as Ascham, or rather his translator, speaks of his dying young."

"Yong yeres to yeeld suche fruite in courte
Where seede of vice is sowne,
Is sometye redde, in some place seen,
Amongst vs seldome knowne."

From the "CHOICE OF EMBLEMES" itself, as well as from an autograph in a book which once belonged to Whitney, we learn that he was a native of Cheshire. The Emblems. p. 177 and 172, also assure us that he was born at or near Nantwich, and that he was educated in one of the ancient Grammar Schools of the county of Chester—that at Audlem, a parish in Nantwich Hundred. From the 173rd Emblem, "*Doctissimo viro D. STEPHANO LIMBERTO Nordouicensis Scholæ Magistro*," some have supposed that he was also at another of our old Grammar Schools, that of Northwich, or rather Witton, founded by Sir John Deane, priest and prebendary in Lincoln, in the year 1558; but this conjecture turns on the meaning of the word *Nordouicensis*, which may denote either Northwich, in Cheshire, or the city of Norwich, in Norfolk. From the Rev. Augustus Jessop, the present Head Master of King Edward's School, in the city of Norwich, I have ascertained that *Dominus* Stephen Limbert was master of King Edward's School, Norwich, from 1570 to 1602; consequently at the very time when Whitney used the word *Nordouicensis*. This fact determines the sense of the word, and unless other evidence were adduced, we must give up the notion that Whitney was ever at Northwich School, of which the statutes expressly provide that the scholars "a weeke before Christmas and Easter (accordinge to the old

* A.MS. 1424. Plut. 56, i. in the British Museum.

† London, 1813, Vol. I. p. 527.

custome) barre and keepe forthe of the schoole the schoole-master, on such sort as other schollers do in great schooles."

Anthony Wood and Philip Bliss derive Whitney's descent from a Herefordshire family; but this is not correct, if they intend more than a family connexion, for the Lysons tell us (*Magna Britannia*, Vol. II. p. 473) that in the township of *Coole Pilate*, about five miles S.S.W. from Nantwich "were two halls, with considerable estates annexed, one of which belonged to the Whitneys, who became possessed of it in the reign of Richard II., and had a seat there for many generations. This estate was purchased in 1744 of Mr Hugh Whitney, by whose death the family is supposed to have become extinct."

This last conjecture of the Lysons is however unfounded. Towards the end of the eighteenth century a Mr. Silas Whitney, also a poet, or writer of verses, who came from the neighbourhood of Nantwich, and was a relative of the celebrated Josiah Wedgwood, carried on business in Knutsford as a cotton manufacturer. Political feeling then ran high and fierce about the *first* French Revolution, and he was said to have emigrated to America. The name Whitney is borne by many families in the United States,—and there probably we might find the lineal representatives of the Cheshire Whitneys.

When the "EMBLEMES" were published several members of the family were living near Nantwich. As we have seen, there was Robert Whitney, of Coole Pilate,* to whom the Emblem p. 91 is dedicated, with the motto "*Tecum Habita*"—Dwell with thyself, or Examine thyself. The Emblem is Jupiter on his throne, with the eagle by his side, various animals around, the stag, the horse, the ox, the ass, the lion, and a snail in the midst; and the verses are—

"A Solemne feaste great IVPITER did make,
And warn'd all beastes and creatures to be there:
The presse was muche, eache one his place did take:
At lengthe, when all weare in there cheifest cheare:
At seconde course, the snaile crepte slowlie in,
Whome Iovꝛ did blame, cause hee so slacke had bin.
"Who aunswered thus, oh kinge behoulde the cause?
I beare my house, wherefore my pace is slowe:

* William Smith, one of the authors of the *Vale Royal of England*, writing in 1586, the very year in which the "CHOICE OF EMBLEMES" was published at Leyden, names this "Robert Whitney" in the list of Cheshire gentry appended to his work. From the same source we find the arms of the Cheshire Whitneys blazoned as follows:—"paly of six, or and gules, a chief vaire argent and azure." Webb, a somewhat later author in the *Vale Royal* (part 2, p. 65), thus refers to Coole, the family seat of the Whitneys:—"Broomhall, a great Township, the greatest part whereof hath been the lands of the Lord (of) *Shavington*, in the edge of *Shropshire*, now Sir Robert Needham's, and near where unto is scituate a Demean of the *Whitneys*, called the Mannour of *Cole Pilate*."

Which warneth all, in feasting for to pause
 And to the same, with pace of snaile to goe :
 And further telles, no places maie compare,
 Vnto our homes, where wee commaunders are.

*Admonet hoc, sectanda gradu conuiuia tardo,
 Atque domo propria dulcius esse nihil."*

To place together what the "EMBLEMES" teach respecting the Whitney family in 1586, and by the same means to give an idea of the nature of the work, we will refer particularly to the notices taken of his kinsfolk by the author. Emblem p. 164 contains two vessels, one of brass, the other of clay, floating together on a troubled stream.

"Aliquid mali propter vicinum malum.

To my Father M. GEFFREY WHITNEY.

Two pottes, within a runninge streame weare toste,
 The one of yearth, the other, was of brasse :
 The brasen potte, who wish'd the other loste,
 Did bid it staie, and near her side to passe.

Whereby they might, togeather ioyned sure :

Without all doubt, the force of flood indure.

The earthen potte, then thus did answeare make,
 This neighborhood doth put me much in feare ?
 I rather choose, my chaunce farre of to take,
 Then to thy side, for to be ioyned neare,

For if wee hitte, my parte shalbe the wurste,

And thou shalt scape, when I am all to burste.

The running streame, this worldlie sea dothe shewe

The pottes, present the mightie, and the pore :

Whoe here, a time are tossed too, and froe,

But if the meane, dwell nighe the mighties dore,

He maie be hurte, but cannot hurte againe,

Then like, to like : or beste alone remaine."

Did the elder Geffrey contemplate an alliance, matrimonial or otherwise, which was distasteful to the younger Geffrey ? The Latin quotations placed by the side of the above verses almost countenance the supposition ; as Virgilius,

Mantua, vae miseræ nimium vicina Cremonæ.

Et Angel. Politianus in Manto suo.

Tu tamen ô, miseræ nimium vicina Cremonæ,

Quid fles amissum : quid fles meæ Mantuæ campum

Pascentem niueos herboso flumine cycnos &c.

Et etiam apud Plautum, pauper Euclio recusat affinitatem cum divite Megadora, facetissime.

Ecclesiast. 13. Et ditiori te ne socius fueris : Quid communicabit cacabus ad olla ? quando enim se colliserint, confringetur, Diues iniustè egit, & fremet : pauper autem læsus, tacebit, &c.

Ouid. 3. Trist. 43.

*Vive sine invidia, mollesque inglorius annos
Exige, amicitias & tibi iunge pares.*

The lines to his Brother, p. 88, are excellent and, as was usual, supported by classical authority. The Emblems are, a sheaf of wheat in the centre, next to it four handfuls such as gleaners bind together, and around a number of single ears of corn; the motto,

"De parvis, grandis aceruus erit.

To my brother, M. BR. WHITNEY.

ALTHOUGH thy store bee small, for to beginne,
Yet guide it well, and soone it is increaste,
For mightie men, in time theire wealthe did winne,
Whoe had at firste, as little as the leste;
Where God dothe blesse, in time aboundance springes,
And heapes are made, of manie little thinges."

*Fructibus Agrippæ Siculis, quos colligis Icci,
Si rectè frueris: non est ut copia maior
Ab Ioue donari possit tibi, tolle querelas,
Pauper enim non est, cui rerum suppetit usus.*

In the margin is a quotation from Ovid Remed. Amoris

*"Flumina magna vides parvis de fontibus ortu;
Plurima collectis multiplicantur aquis;"*

and a note, from which it appears that his brother was "paterfamilias," the head of a household, for thus Geffrey applies to him the advice of Horace to Iccius: "Vt huic vacuo spacio aliquid adiiciam, non facilè occurrit (mi frater) quod & tibi (iam patrifamilias) & huic symboli magis conueniat, quàm illud Horatianum ad Iccium. — l Epist. 12.

This Emblem to his brother is remarkable also as illustrative of the mode in which Whitney often borrowed the ideas of other Emblem writers, and accommodated them to his own especial purpose. The motto and the symbol are exactly the same with those of a French work which was printed at Antwerp in 1562, and of which, as I have before said, a copy in the library of the late Joseph Brooks Yates, Esq., once belonged to Whitney, and contains his autograph and motto "Constanter et sincere." The work is entitled "LES DEVICES HEROIQUES De M. Claude Paradin Chanoine de Beaujeu;" and on examining it I find that *thirty-two* of the wood cuts are identical, I may say stroke for stroke, with the same number afterwards used in Whitney's *Emblems*, the difference being that a wide border is added in Whitney to make them suitable to a quarto page. The only two stanzas in the "DEVICES HEROIQUES" are very closely translated in the "CHOICE OF EMBLEMES:" the devices are very often adopted, and many of the ideas contained in the French prose are put into English verse. Any changes which there are seem made better to suit English taste and the Englishmen to whom the particular Emblems are dedicated.

The Devise in question by Paradin, p. 126, is as follows:—" *De l. Espic, à la Glenne, & de la Glenne, à la Gerbe, Ainsi le pource, bien aise, bien conseillé, & diligent, se peut aiser & moyener des biens' Esquels neantmoins Dieu lui faisant la grace de paruenir, faut qu'il s'arreste & mette son but à la tres heureuse sufisance : qui est le comble de richesse. Se souuenant tousiours à ce propos d' vn beau huitain, qui s' ensuit. Duquel toute fois, si ie sauoye le nom de l' Auteur, ne seroit cy nqn plus feu, que partie du los qu'il merite.*"

" De moins que rien, l'on peut à peu venir :
Et puis ce peu, n' a si peu de puissance,
Qu' assez ne face, à assez paruenir,
Celui qui veut auoir la sufisance.
Mais si au trop (de malheur) il s' auance,
Ne receuant d' assez contentement,
En danger est, par sa fole inconstance,
De retourner à son commencement."*

We have thus a very good example, followed by Whitney in many other instances, in which he has taken the motto and emblem of an earlier writer, and clothed them with his own modes of thought and of expression. He follows this plan not only with Paradin, but in thirty-three instances with Sambucus, published by Plantyn in 1564; in fourteen instances with Hadrian Junius, published by Plantyn in 1569; and in seventy-seven instances with Andrew Alciatus, also published by Plantyn in 1581. We may now see how very correct is the profession in Whitney's title page,—the EMBLEMES were "for the moste parte gathered out of sundrie writers." It is, however, due to Whitney to declare, what a thorough examination and comparison of his work justify, that there is much original matter introduced into that which has been borrowed. Indeed, he so transfuses his own spirit into what he has translated and gathered that the work is really more original in its character than it professes to be, and indicates a higher genius than

* Of the old French it may perhaps be as well to give a translation:—" *From the ear to the handful, and from the handful to the sheaf. Thus the poor, well advised, well counselled and industrious, is able to set himself at ease and to obtain goods. At which nevertheless when God has granted him the grace to arrive, it is necessary that he should forbear, and limit his aim to a happy sufficiency; which is the height of riches. In this design mindful always of the pretty stanza which follows. Nevertheless, if I knew the name of its author, this would be no more than part of the praise which he merits.*"

Freely rendered, and preserving the play on the words, Paradin's stanza is:—" *From less than nothing we have come to a little; and then this little has not so little power but that he who wishes to have a sufficiency may do enough to arrive at enough. But if, unhappily, he moves forward too fast, not receiving contentment from enough, he is in danger, by his foolish inconstancy, of returning to his setting out,*" i.e. to his original nothingness.

belongs to the mere translator. The learning displayed is certainly his own;—he was master of the authors whom he quotes, and able so to mould and amplify and enrich the thoughts of others as to make them truly his own.

It is to his sister, M. D. COLLEY, that he dedicated the Emblem, p. 93, "*Uxoræ virtutes*," the virtues of a wife. The wood cut is well executed, and represents a handsome woman with a robe girded up; she is standing on a tortoise,—in one hand she grasps a bunch of keys, and with the other, is literally holding her tongue. This stanza is subjoined :

"**T**HIS representes the vertues of a wife,
Her finger, staies her tonge to runne at large,
The modest lookes, doe shewe her honest life,
The keys, declare shee hathe a care, and chardge,
Of husbandes goodes : let him goe where he please,
The Tortoyse warnes, at home to spend her daies."

Plautus in *Amph.* is quoted in the margin :—

"*Non ego illam mihi dotem duco esse, quæ dos dicitur,
Sed pudicitiam & pudorem, & sedatum Cupidinem,
Deum metum, parentum amorem, & cognatum corcordiam.*"

Unless Whitney himself was married, and his wife's nephew was Ro. BORRON, he must have had at least another sister,—for the Emblem, p. 191, is inscribed, "*To my Nephew, Ro. BORRON.*" The motto is, "*Audi, tace, fuge*;" and the personages in the wood cut are, one man with very large ears, a second of very sedate bearing making the gesture of silence, and a third fleeing from an enraged serpent. These appropriate lines are added :—

"**H**EARE much, but little speake; and flee from that is naught :
Which lessons, by these formes in briefe, to euery one are taught."

The Emblem, p. 181, bears the motto, "*In occasionem.*" "*To my Kinsman, M. GEFREY WHITNEY*;" and the stanzas themselves sufficiently describe the very spirited wood-cut :—

"**W**HAT creature thou : *Occasion I doe shoue.*
On whirling wheele declare why doste thou stande ?
Bicause, I still am tossed too, and froe.
Why doest thou houlde a razor in thy hande ?
That men maie knowe I cut on euerie side,
And when I come, I armies can deuide.

But wherefore hast thou winges vppon thy feete ?
To shoue, how lighte I flie with little winde.
What meanes longe lockes before ? *that suche as meete,*
Maye houlde at firste, when they occasion finde.
Thy head behinde all balde, what telles it more ?
That none shoulde houlde, that let me slippe before.

Why doest thou stande within an open place?
 That I maye warne all people not to staye,
 But at the firste, occasion to imbrace,
 And when shee comes, to meete her by the waye.
Lysippus so did thinke it best to bee,
Who did devise mine image, as you see."

A quotation from Horace is adjoined, lib. i. Ep. 11. ad Bullatium.

*"Tu quamcumque Deus tibi fortunauerit horam,
 Gratu sume manu; nec dulcia differ in annum."*

One other Emblem, p. 166, closes the number of those devoted to his kindred; it is an eagle flying through the midst of heaven with an open Bible in its talons, and surrounded by the glory of the sun; "ET VSQVE AD NUBES VERITAS TVA" are the words on the open page; a strong chain is attached to the covers of the holy book, and one end is grasped by the Spirit of all Evil; the Great Adversary of Souls is pulling lustily, and two of his fellow fallen spirits watch his labours. "*Veritas inuicta*" is the motto: "*To my uncle GEFREY CARTWRIGHTE,*" is the inscription, and the following expressive lines are the comment:

"**T**HOGHE Sathan strue, with all his maine, and mighte,
 To hide the truthe, and dimme the lawe deuine;
 Yet to his worde, the Lord doth giue such lighte,
 That to the East, and West, the same doth shine:
 And those, that are so happie for to looke,
 Saluation finde, within that blessed booke."

Probably connected with or related to Geoffrey Whitney was ISABELLA WHITNEY, a poetess of Elizabeth's reign, in or about the year 1573. We infer that she was a native of Cheshire from the dedication to George Mainwaring, in which she subscribes herself, "Your well-willing Countriwoman. Is. W." According, however, to Ormerod's Pedigrees of the Mainwaring families of Cheshire, there was no George among them in Elizabeth's reign; the person intended is most likely the "George Manwaringe, Esquier," to whom Geoffrey Whitney dedicated the Emblem in his 139th page, "*Sic spectanda fides*":

"The touche doth trye, the fine, and purest goulde:
 And not the sound, or els the goodly showe.
 So, if mennes ways, and vertues, wee behoulde.
 The worthy men, wee by their workes, shall knowe.
 But gallant lookes, and outward shewes beguile,
 And oft are clokes to cogitations vile."

This "George Manwaringe" was son of Sir Arthur Mainwaring of Ightfield, Shropshire (Betham's *Baronetcy* i. 341 iii. 7), who married a grand-daughter of that Sir John Mainwaring of Over Peover, knighted in France in 1513 (*Ormerod* I. pp. 371, 372). The Mainwarings, in all their branches, are usually regarded as a Cheshire family, and may have been so considered by Isabella Whitney (*Lysons*, p. 360). Her

principal work, as stated in Notes and Queries, 3rd series, vol. 1, p. 32, is entitled, "*A Sweet Nosegay. or Pleasant Posye ; containing a hundred and ten Philosophicall Flowers,*" &c. Of this work but one copy is known to exist. After the *Nosegay* follow "Familiar and friendly Epistles, by the Auctor. with Replyes," all in verse. The last poem is "The Auctors (feyned) Testament before her departyng," in which is described the several professions and trades of London (to whom they are bequeathed) mentioning the localities in which they are stationed "

The date assigned to Isabella Whitney is about 1573. Sir Egerton Brydges, bart., (in his *Restituta* I. pp. 234, 235,) gives the title of another work attributed to the Cheshire Poetess ;—it is, "*The copy of a letter lately written in meeter, by a yonge Gentilwoman to her vnconstant lover ; with an admonition to al yong Gentilwomen, and to all other Mayds in general to beware of mennes flattery. By Is. W. Newly joined to a Love letter sent by a Bachelor, (a most faithfull Lover,) to an unconstent and faithless Mayden. Impr. at London, by Rd. Jhones,* dwelling in the upper end of Fleet lane, at the signe of the Spred Egle.*" 12mo.

The Bachelor's verses thus terminate :—

Farewell, a dieu ten thousand times,
To God I thee commend,
Beseeching Him His heavenly graces
Unto thee styll to send.

Thy friend in wealth, thy friend in woe,
Thy friend while life shall flyth me froe ;
And whilst that you enjoy your breath,
Leave not your friend unto the death ;
For greater praise cannot be wonne
Then to observe true love begonne."

Conjecture indeed, and *at present*, only mere conjecture, guesses that a work of Geoffrey Whitney's also issued from the same press, of which the title is "AVRELIA. The Paragon of pleasure and Princely delights: Contayning the seven dayes Solace (in Christmas Holydayes) of Madona Aurelia, Queen of the Christmas Pastimes, and sundry other well-courted Gentlemen and Gentlewomen, in a noble Gentleman's Pallace, &c. By G. W." Device, a sweet-william, &c., as in the frontispiece.

* Richard Jones, or Jhones, or Johnes was admitted a member of the Stationers' Company, 7 Aug. 1564; and books of his printing are found down to 1600. And there is another work from his press to which probably Isabella Whitney contributed some commendatory verses. The title is, "*A Plaine and Easie Introduction to practicall Musicke, Set down in forme of a dialogue, &c. By Tho. Morley, Batcheler of Musick and one of the gen. of her Maiesties Royall Chappell. Imprinted &c. 1597.*" "*Commendatory verses by Ant. Holborne, A. B. and I. W.*" folio. See Ames and Herbert's *Typographical Antiquities* II. pp. 1039, 1051, and 1206.

"Printed by R. Johnes, at the Rose and Crowne, neare Holburne Bridge, 1598." 4to.

Betham, in his *Baronetage*, vol. III. p. 110, speaks of "the ancient houses of Baskerfield, Whitney, &c; and the name frequently occurs; as, the Captain Whitney, who commanded one of the ships in Sir Walter Raleigh's voyage to Guinea; Lieutenant Whitney, who, Sept. 24, 1645, was taken prisoner at the overthrow of the King's forces on Rowton Heath, near Chester: and John Whitney, the author of a book published in 1700 and reprinted in 1820; "The Genteel Recreation, or the Pleasure of Angling, a Poem, with a Dialogue between Piscator and Corydon," 12mo.

Thus have I collected nearly all that is known of Geoffrey Whitney and of his kindred. This branch of the family undoubtedly had its homestead in Nantwich Hundred, and the people of the town of Nantwich were not merely the poet's countrymen, but probably his fellow-townsmen. In this sense I am led to interpret the Emblem p. 177, "*Unica semper avis*,"—the bird ever unique, or unparalleled. "*To my countrimen of the Namptwiche in Cheshire*." The symbol is a Phoenix rising "most beautifull and faire," from the fires by which it had been consumed, with the stanzas:

THE Phoenix rare, with fethers freshe of hewe,
 I ARABIAS righte, and sacred to the Sonne:
 Whome, other birdes with wonder seeme to vewe,
 Dothe liue vntill a thousande yeares bee ronne:
 Then makes a pile: which, when with Sonne it burnes,
 Shee flies therein, and so to ashes turnes.

Whereof, behoulde, an other Phoenix rare,
 With speede dothe rise moste beautifull and faire:
 And thoughe for truthe, this manie doe declare,
 Yet thereunto, I meane not for to sweare:
 Althoughe I knowe that Aucthors witnes true,
 What here I write, bothe of the oulde, and newe.

Which when I wayed, the newe, and eke the oulde,
 I thought vppon your towne destroyed with fire:
 And did in minde the newe NAMPTWICHE behoulde,
 A spectacle for anie mans desire:
 Whose buildinges braue, where cinders weare but late,
 Did represente (me thought) the Phoenix fate.

And as the oulde, was manie hundreth yeares,
 A towne of fame, before it felt that crosse:
 Euen so, (I hope), this WICHE, that nowe appeares,
 A Phoenix age shall laste, and knowe no losse:
 Which God vouchsafe, who make you thankfull, all:
 That see this rise, and sawe the other fall.

According to his wont, Whitney places on the margin of his quarto page, several illustrations of his stanzas from classical authors; thus

"Paradis. poet. *Solus in Eois ales reparabilis oris,
Igne suo vitam dum rapit, igne capit.*

Mart. lib. 5. Epigr. 7. *Qualiter Assyrios renouant incendia nidos :
Una decem quoties secula vixit auis.*

"Quæ quidem auis, iuxta Plinium, Natural. histor. lib. 10, cap. 2. vixit ad sexcentos sexaginta annos, quo loco & alia quædam prodigiosa commemorantur. quæ, quoniam ad Emblematis sententiam nihil attinent, cui libebit, legenda relinquo. Et apud Ælian. De Anim. lib. 6, cap. 58.

Ouid Met. lib. 15. *Vna est quæ reparet seq. ipsa reseminet ales,
Assyrii Phœnica vocant, nec fruge, nec herbis,
Sed Thuris lachrymis et succo viuunt amomi, &c."*

This burning of "The Namptwiche" is recorded by the Lysons—
"It has been more than once the victim of fire and pestilence. In 1438 we are told that this town was lamentably consumed by fire: a similar calamity befel it in 1583, in which year, on the 10th of December, "chaunced," as it is expressed in the parish register, "a most terrible and vehement fyre, beginning at the water-lode, about six of the clock at night, in a kitchen by brewinge. The wynde being very boysterouse encreased the said fire, which very vehementlie burned and consumed in the space of fifteen houres six hundred bayes of buyldinges," "yet by God's mercie but onelie two persones that perished by fyre." The damage was computed at £30,000, but in 1585, through the "royalle and princelie bountie" of Queen Elizabeth in ordering "a general collection throughout all her realme of England, for the redifyng agayne of this towne of Namptwich," what Whitney commemorates was effected, and "The newe Nampwiche" appeared,—

"A spectacle for anie man's desire."

The Emblem, which proves that Whitney gained some at least of his school learning within his native county, is on p. 172: the motto, "*Studiis inuigilandum*," the inscription "*Ad iuuentutem Schola Aldelemensis in Anglia*"—to the youth of Audlem School. The device consists of a table on which are placed a sand-glass, a lighted candle, and an open book; the table having on its side a shield, of which the armorial bearing is a wheatsheaf; and thus do the verses illustrate the Emblem:

WHILES prime of youthe, is freshe within his flower,
Take houlde of time: for it doth haste awaye.
Watche, write, and reade, and spende no idle hower,
Inritche your mindes with some thinge, euerie daye:
For losse of time, all other losse exceeds,
And euermore it late repentaunce breedes.
The idle sorte, that ignorance doe taste,
Are not esteem'd, when they in yeares doe growe:
The studious, are with vnderstanding grac'd,
And still prefer'd, thoughe first their caulinge lowe.
Then haue regarde, to banishe idle fittes,
And in your youthe, with skill adorne your wittes.

Whereby, in time such hap maye you aduaunce,
 As both your Towne, and countrie, you maye frende :
 For, what I woulde vnto my selfe shoulde chaunce :
 To you I wishe, wheare I my prime did spende.
 Wherefore behoulde this candle, booke and glasse :
 To vse your time, and knowe how time dothe passe.

A quotation is adjoined from Ovid, 3 Art. :

*"Nec quæ præteriit cursu, revocabitur vnda ;
 Nec quæ præteriit hora, redire potest,
 Utendum est ætate, cito pede labitur ætas
 Nec bona tam sequitur quam bona prima fuit."*

Also "Studia, quæ sunt in adolescentia, tanquam in herbis significant, quæ virtutis maturitas, et quantæ fruges industriæ sint futuræ. Cicero pro Cælio.

One other notice is all we can glean from the "CHOICE OF EMBLEMES," respecting the personal history of the author,—it is in the stanzas, p. 200, devoted to the praise of "RICHARDE COTTON, *Esquier*" of "CVMBERMAIRE, that fame so farre commendes." Combermere is not far from Audlem, and the allusion in the stanzas, "where I did spend my prime," is further proof of Cheshire being Whitney's "natiue countries grounde." There is much simplicity and teuderness in the thoughts, with a little sadness too :

"And as the bees, that farre and neare doe straye,
 And yet come home, when honie they haue founde :
 So, thoughe some men doe linger longe awaye,
 Yet loue they best their natiue countries grounde.
 And from the same, the more they absent bee,
 With more desire, they wishe the same to see.
 Even so my selfe ; throughe absence manie a ycare,
 A straunger meere, where I did spend my prime.
 Nowe, parentes loue dothe hale mee by the eare,
 And sayeth, "come home, deferre no longer time :"
 Wherefore, when happe, some goulden honie bringes ?
 I will retorne, and rest my wearie winges."

This paper is confined almost entirely to the elucidation of the personal and family history of Whitney as deduced from the EMBLEMES. Little more, I fear, is to be learned respecting him, beyond the fact that in the same year with the EMBLEMES, and printed by Plantyn, "he wrote ninety verses in English in praise of his friend Dousa's *Odæ Britannicæ* : there is also a translation by him of some complimentary verses to his patron the Earl of Leicester when General of the Low Countries.

A wide field is still open for the further illustration of Whitney's EMBLEMES,—but were I to attempt to use the materials which I have prepared, I must write a volume and not a brief Memoir. Several most interesting points remain to be considered ;—his character and

power as an author, the frequent references to his Emblems or expressions in the plays of Shakspeare ; the estimation in which he was held by his contemporaries ; a comparison between Spenser and himself as poets and men of genius and learning ; a collection of the old words of our Saxon mother tongue which he uses and which are now obsolete ; and above all, Biographical Notices of the many men of note belonging to the County of Chester and to Elizabeth's glorious reign. The Cottons, the Brookes, the Chattertons, the Cholmeleys, the Manwaringes, the Wilbrahams, the Standleys ; these are among his county names* : and for worthies of England he gave the Sydneys, the Jermyns, the Woodhouses, the Calthorpes, the Dyers, the Russells, the Drakes, the Norrises. Am I wrong in asking whether it would not redound to the praise of his native county were WHITNEY'S CHOICE OF EMBLEMES to be reproduced, so as to be, as nearly as possible, a fac-simile of the type and wood-cuts of the original edition ? and could a better method be adopted than by employing the *Photo-lithographic* process, of which specimens are given in this volume of our Society's Journal ?

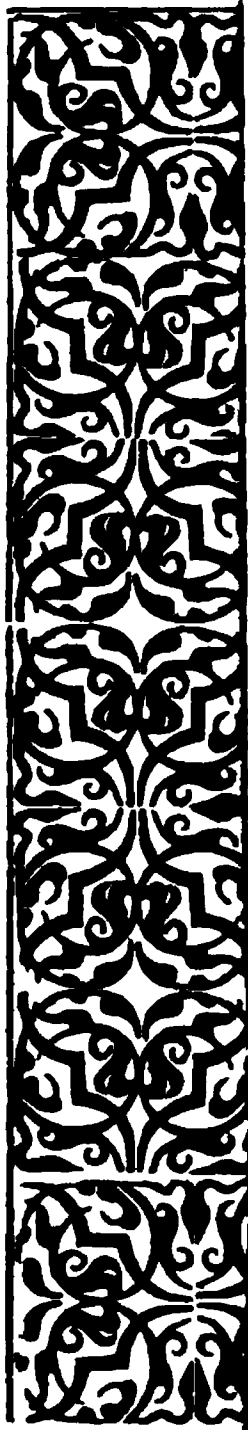
This is a labour I dare suggest, because of the sterling worth of the sentiments, and because truths are spoken as fitted for the guidance of life now as when the thought first received utterance :

“Not for our selves, alone we are create,
But for our frendes, and for our countries good.”

And good, I am persuaded, it is to listen to worthies of the old time ; to glow with something of their inspiration, and “vnder pleasaunte deuises” to commend “profitable moralles.”

My remarks and observations respecting this old-world book I offer to the public in Whitney's own words,—“Beinge abashed that my habillitie can not affoorde them suche, as are fit to be offred vp to so honorable a suruaighe ; yet if it shall like your honour to allowe of any of them, I shall thinke my pen set to the booke in happie houre.”

* The two wood cuts, one dedicated to Bishop Chatterton, the other to Sir Philip Sidney, and the accompanying verses by Whitney are specimens in this respect. [These and the other illustrations accompanying this Paper were prepared in fac-simile, by the aid of photo-lithography, at the sole charge of Mr. Green, and are by him presented to the Society.]



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E X T R A C T S
FROM THE
Corporation Books of the Borough of Congleton,
C H E S H I R E.

The following Extracts, communicated by a Member of this Society long connected with Congleton, will no doubt be read with interest. They are only a few out of many entries from the same Records, well deserving perpetuation in the columns of a "Chester Archæological Journal." We shall give the entries chronologically, adding such remarks only as may be necessary to elucidate their meaning:—

10th Order, made by the Corporation on the 8th day of April, 1584—It was Ordered that all the inhabitants of this town shall keep their swine yoked and ringed, according to the statute made and provided, upon pain to forfeit for every swine 2d., except sows, for a month before they pig and a month after.

(Eight persons are fined 2d. each under this Order.)

15th Order—It is Ordered that if any man's sons, servants, or apprentices be taken by the officers in the streets or town forth of their fathers or mothers houses, after nine of the clock in the night; that then it shall be lawful for the said officers, taking any such persons, to put them in prison, there to remain during the Mayor's pleasure for the time being.

45th Order—It is Ordered that no person or persons shall put, or suffer to be put, any sheep suet, or any such like thing, into any bread or cakes in any time of the year; nor shall suffer to be put into any bread or cakes any butter, between the feast of St. Michael the Arkangel and St. Barnabas the Apostle, at any time from henceforth, upon pain to forfeit for every time that they shall do so 3s. 4d.

(Several persons are recorded as having been fined under this Order. It is stated that "John Phytham, Alderman, for that his wife had put butter into cakes one time is fined in the sum of 3s. 4d. : and that John Hobson, Alderman, for that his wife had done the same thing, is fined 3s. 4d.," and many others.)

1588. 4th Order—The Mayor shall have care of every poor fatherless child born in this town, that they be brought up in the fear of God, and some good trade or occupation, by consent of the Council of the town with the towns good.

(Many children have been brought up in Congleton, under this Order. There are payments such as the following: "Nov. 18, 1620—Paid for pap by Roger Drakeford's daughter, for the towns use, 1d.")

1599. Robert Lowe, mercer, for keeping two yard sticks not right measure, the one too long and the other too short, is fined for either of them 13s. 4d.

1599. Robert Shaw, shoemaker, for keeping a yard not right measure, too long, and lending it to a linen cloth buyer, is fined in 6s. 8d.

(These malpractices are not uncommon in our own day, and, as was no doubt the case then, are not confined to Congleton.)

1611. Paid to Mr. Capps, when he went to Oxford to be made Parson, 33s.

1613. Paid at the trying of Mr. Capps, Mr. Dodd and other townsmen, when he was made parson, 4s. 11d.

1613. (These two entries probably refer to the appointment of Perpetual Curates of Congleton; but we are unable to identify them, as there is no list of the Incumbents of Congleton given in Ormerod's *Cheshire*.)

1613. Spent on Mr. Morton Liversage and Mr. Oldfield and their wives in wine and sugar, 8s. 4d.

(This Mr. Morton Liversage was, we presume, a member of the Cheshire family of Liversage, of Wheelock, but his name does not appear in the pedigree as given in Ormerod's *Cheshire*, Vol. III., p. 70. The Mr. Oldfield here associated with him, was Philip Oldfield, Esq., of Bradwall, and of Gray's Inn, a lawyer and antiquary of eminence, who died at Chester, December 15, 1616, aged 75. An elaborate monument to his memory exists in St. Mary's Church, Chester. His grandson, John Oldfield, Esq., of Bradwall, afterwards married, in 1622, Cicely, daughter of William Liversage, Esq., of Wheelock.)

1613. Paid men to fetch Shelderden with his bears at Whitsuntide, but he refused to come because there was cocking, 1s. 3d.

1613. Paid Mr. Horden to fetch Brock, who came with his bears, and was paid 6s. 8d., because Shelderden refused to come.

(Congleton appears to have had a great passion for bears. Our readers are all familiar with the tradition of the inhabitants once selling their Church Bible in order to purchase a bear. Bear baiting was a favourite pastime in England during the Tudor and Stuart times.)

1614. Bestowed on his Majesty (James I) as a gratuity, by Henry Haweth, Mayor, 50s.

1614. Bestowed on the Earl of Essex when he came through the town, in sack and sugar, 5s. 4d.

1615. Paid for claret wine, bestowed on Sir Jno. Savage, 17s 10d. and ordered a bushel of malt to be brewed against his next coming. Cost 18s. 6d.

(Sir John Savage, of Rock-Savage, whose father built that ill-fated mansion, was created a baronet in 1611. He served the office of Mayor of Chester in 1607, and was High Sheriff of the county the same year, a coincidence, probably, without its parallel in the history of the county. The bushel of malt, ordered to be brewed at Congleton by the time he came again, was never required for that service, as Sir John Savage died in July of the same year, 1615, and was buried with his ancestors at Macclesfield)

1616. Paid Robert Hill for going to Oxford for a school master, 10s.

1632. Bestowed on a poor Minister that could not speak a word of English, 1s.

1632. Paid for a Fat Cow, which was bestowed upon the Rt. Hon. Lord Viscount Savage for a present at his being here, £5 5s. 8d.

(Sir Thomas Savage, second baronet of Rocksavage, was created Lord Viscount Savage by King Charles I., on Nov. 6, 1626. At or about the date of this entry in the Congleton books, Lord Savage was Chancellor of the Queen's Court at Westminster, where he died in 1635. He was buried at Macclesfield.)

1633. Bestowed upon Mr. Leversage one pottle of sack, when we did speak to him about a lay for Margaret Oakes for curing her leg, 1s. 4d.

(This is no doubt the same Mr. Leversage named in a previous entry (in 1613) as partaking with Mr. Philip Oldfield, of Congleton "wine and sugar.")

1638. Paid for an entertainment to Sir Edwd. Fitton, of Gaws-
worth, his bride, father, and mother-in-law, on their first coming
through the town, and divers other gentlemen who accompanied him
and his bride on their going to Gaws-
worth to bring his lady thither.
He sent his barber two days before to the Mayor and Aldermen and
the rest, to entreat them to bid them welcome. 12s. 4d.

Paid for carrying Sir Edwd. Fitton through the town and for
repairing Rood Lane for the occasion, 4s.

(This was the second marriage of Sir Edward Fitton, of Gaws-
worth, the representative of an eminent Cheshire family now said to
be extinct. His first wife, whom he had only recently lost, was Jane,
daughter of Sir John Trevor, of Plas Teg, county of Denbigh. The

bride referred to in the extract given above was Felicia, sister of Ralph Sneyd, Esq., of Keel, Staffordshire. Sir Edward Fitton distinguished himself as a royalist in the Civil Wars, and after fighting for his King in several important battles, finally laid down his life at the taking of Bristol in 1643. He was buried at Gawsworth, in this county, in which church there is a handsome monument to his memory.)

Paid four men for carrying links at night, 8s.

1661. Paid to Mr. Malbon for a purse bestowed upon Judge Milward when he was in town, 10s.

(Robert Milward, Esq., of Stafford, was one of the two Justices of Chester appointed at the Restoration, and so continued until 1669. He was younger son of Sir Thomas Milward, Knight, of Eaton, in Derbyshire, who had been Chief Justice of Chester from 1638 to the Usurpation in 1647.)

1662. Paid for sugar cakes, biscuits, and other sweetmeats for Lady Brandon, 4s. Spent on Lord Brandon and his attendants, 7s. 10d.

(This was that Charles Gerard, Lord Brandon, who, by some strange finesse of law, wrested the Gawsworth estates from the possession of the Fittons, one of the oldest and most celebrated of our Cheshire county families. Lord Brandon became Earl of Macclesfield in 1679, while Alexander Fitton, whose patrimony he had won, became, after years of confinement and misery, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and was created Lord Gawsworth by King James II. after his abdication. He followed, or rather accompanied, his royal master into exile, and left descendants who benefitted, we fear, but little from his tutelar dignities.)

A Brief Abstract of the Proceedings of the Society,

FROM DECEMBER 13, 1859, TO THE CLOSE OF 1862.

1859.

THE first monthly meeting for the session was held on Tuesday evening, the 13th December, Dr. McEwen in the chair.

THE REV. PHILIP WILLIAMS (then Minor Canon of Chester Cathedral, but now Rector of Rewe, Devon), read a paper on the "Round Towers of Ireland," basing his remarks partly on the learned treatise on those ancient monuments by Dr. Petrie, and partly on recollections of several of the towns which the reverend lecturer had himself recently visited. Like all previous students of these remarkable structures, Mr. Williams was wholly at a loss to say when or for what purpose they were erected. It was only known that examples still existed in Scotland, the Isle of Man, and, strangely enough, in India; but that neither in England or Wales had traces of them been noticed by any historian or antiquary.

At the conclusion of the lecture, a discussion arose as to the probable origin of the towers, in which the Chairman, Mr. Wynne Foulkes, the Revs. J. Harris, T. N. Hutchinson, and E. D. Green, Messrs. C. Brown, Dr. Davies, and T. Hughes took part, but no satisfactory theory appeared to be arrived at; the subject is still, and probably will long remain, a *vexata questio* with both English and Irish antiquaries.

Mr. T. A. Richardson, architect, sent for exhibition a curious relic, in stone, which had evidently served some ecclesiastical use, and had been by some persons pronounced a baptismal font of the late Norman, or geometrical period of architecture. A gentleman present suggested that it might have been used as a mortar; but that conclusion was set aside by Mr. C. Brown stating that he had lately noticed several very similar relics in the ruins of Fountains Abbey; it was therefore rather supposed to have been a vessel for holding incense, or for some other purpose connected with the sanctuary. It was stated to have come from St. John's, or one of the old churches in Cheshire.

The thanks of the Society having been voted to the Lecturer and to the Chairman, the meeting separated.

1860.

THE monthly meeting was held on Monday, the 13th of February, in the society's rooms, the Rev. Canon Blomfield in the chair. Among those present, we noticed the worthy treasurer, Mr. Williams of the Old Bank, Dr. Davies, the Revds. W. B. Marsden, A. Rigg, J. Harris, F. Grosvenor, H. Venables, — Parry, E. D. Green; Messrs. J. Harrison, Douglas, Price, Ralph, and a large party of ladies.

THE REV. CANON BLOMFIELD, in introducing the lecturer for the evening, the Rev. T. N. Hutchinson, reminded the members of a previous lecture delivered by that gentleman, during the last session, on "Gothic Arches and their Mouldings," which might be considered a preliminary lecture to the one then forthcoming, on "Gothic Windows and Window Tracery." Of the former he would merely say, that it was then in the printer's hands, and would appear in the new number of the Society's *Journal*,* fully illustrated by the lecturer's own hand; and as for the latter, that was a pictorial and intellectual treat they were all there met to enjoy.

THE REV. T. N. HUTCHINSON, on being called upon, in a few pithy sentences recapitulated the arguments of his previous lecture, explaining that while that was addressed solely to the consideration of "Gothic Arches and their Mouldings," this one was intended to embrace the wider, and perhaps more interesting, subject of "Gothic Windows and Window Tracery." The same coloured chart he had used on the last occasion, would still serve his purpose; displaying at one view the progress of Gothic Architecture from the midnight gloom which pervaded it at the Norman Conquest, in 1066, and the grey dawn of the Transition period, to the glorious sunrise of the Early English, and the meridian noon of the Decorated, fading away at last into the retiring eve of the Perpendicular period, in 1546. These several distinguishing styles, so apparent in gothic arches, were equally noticeable in the windows and window tracery of the same historic periods. The earliest good and perfect Norman window he had met with in Cheshire, was in the Priory ruins at Birkenhead, a window, the masonry of which had clearly never been tampered with; and the date of this was closely followed by one in the nave of St. John's Church, Chester. Later still than these came a window in the south aisle of the choir of St. John's, now used as a doorway into the house known as St. John's Priory, the external mouldings of which remained in all their original sharpness on the south side of the archway. Remains of a fine Norman arcade were visible here and there in St. John's Church, but these had in past days been ruthlessly cut away to make room for wretched monuments. Norman windows and doorways were originally very small, and cer-

* See *an't*, pp. 167--182.

responded both in style and character; but as the style progressed, these features were not maintained. Good examples of the Transition period were presented by windows in various parts of St. John's. There was a triple-lancet window in the small chapel at Beddgelert, and a similar but larger specimen in the canons' vestry at Chester Cathedral. The climax of the lancet style was to be traced in the three-light window at the sides, and the five-light windows of the east end of the Chapter House of the Cathedral. The clerestory of St. John's belonged to the Early English period. There was a series of six Early English windows in the outer wall of the elegant staircase in the Refectory, or King's school. Geometrical forms came first into use in the middle of the 13th century, Westminster Abbey choir and transept being the earliest pure specimen of the style now known. Before the close of the 13th century the "Geometrical Decorated" style had developed itself. Saughton Grange, near Chester, possessed a window, looking out into the court, illustrative of the transition from the lancet of the Early English to the complete window of the Decorated period. In a window at Birkenhead Priory, two arches were made to support a circle; the same idea, doubled, appearing in a window in the north side of the Cathedral. The same thing foliated was to be seen in a small piscina in one of the aisles of the choir. This idea, yet again amplified, occurred in the Cathedral of Lincoln. An early three-light window, or rather three windows side by side, surrounded by a Gothic arch, might be seen in the lately-restored portions of the Lady Chapel. A very Early English one still remained in the east end of the Warburton Chapel, in St. John's Church. On the east side of St. Oswald's Church (the south transept of the Cathedral) might be seen an early window of five lights, indicative of the period when the Geometrical style had not become perfectly developed. Another, of four lights, in the same aisle, resembled the latter, but was filled up with trefoiled tracery, whereas its companion was adorned with quatrefoils. A good and curious quatrefoiled window still gave light to the staircase leading from the eastern cloister up to the ancient dormitory of the Abbey. What is technically known as "flowing tracery" formed the next process of development. A window on the south side of Bebington Church would supply an early specimen of this style; another, in the same church, showed the introduction of the ogee arch. A better-developed ogee window remained at Birkenhead Priory. The principles of what is called "flowing Decorated" tracery were exhibited in a four-light window in St. Oswald's, Chester; while the intermediate link between Geometrical and Decorated tracery was illustrated by a window in the clerestory of the same parish church. The elements of another class of Decorated, known as "intersecting

tracery," occurred in a window in St. Peter's Church, at the High Cross.* The tower of Bunbury Church, near Tarporley, afforded a good specimen of flowing tracery. Chester itself possessed a wonderful series of original examples of the several styles of Gothic windows from the earliest times, a peculiarity first pointed out by Mr. Ashpitel, in the Journal of the British Archæological Association. A window of three lights, at Bunbury, and another at Nantwich, were later specimens of the Decorated period. The "Flamboyant" style was one which, though long exceedingly popular on the continent, found few imitators in England: there was, however, a window of the flamboyant character in the church of Llandysilio, on the Menai Straits, North Wales. As examples of the style, two large circular windows were exhibited from Amiens and St. Ouen, Rouen. The tower of Bebington Church presented "square-headed trefoil" windows, a style which belonged rather to the castellated and domestic architecture of the period, and was employed by Mr. Penson in the construction of the new Militia Barracks at Chester. Now came the transition from Decorated to Perpendicular, and a window in the north transept of the Cathedral afforded a good example of the style. The same edifice contributed a very early specimen of Perpendicular work. A thoroughly Perpendicular window might be seen in the Consistory Court at the south-west corner of the nave of the Cathedral. The large west window of the nave was a good specimen of this certainly not very elegant style. St. Mary's Church, Chester, supplied specimens of the latest recognisable period of Perpendicular tracery, and would appropriately bring his (the lecturer's) remarks to a close.

Mr. WILLIAMS, commenting on the lecturer's reference to the existence of Early *English* architecture in Llandysilio and Beddgelert churches, remarked that this particular style must have been known in the Principality by some other name than that of Early English; for that, at the period in question, no Englishman dare show his face either at Beddgelert or Llandysilio. He remembered, however, that there was a circular-headed arch in the church of Penmon, in Anglesey: so that it would seem that English architects (who were generally monks, by the way), had access to places denied to the rest of their fellow countrymen. Mr. Williams expressed his warm admiration of the very beautiful drawings which Mr. Hutchinson had rendered so doubly interesting by the lecture just delivered; and concluded by moving a vote of thanks to that reverend gentleman for the rich intellectual treat he had that evening provided for them.

The Rev. CANON BLOMFIELD echoed most fully the laudatory re-

* This window has recently been replaced by another containing a stained glass memorial to the late Prince Consort.

marks of the last speaker, and confessed that he had never before looked upon such beautiful and effective architectural drawings as those then displayed before the meeting. His only regret was, that so few comparatively of the members of the Society had availed themselves of an opportunity for receiving, in a concise form, so much of real entertainment and instruction. He had always looked with a fair measure of interest on the architectural features of many of our local Gothic windows ; but he was free to acknowledge that, in his own case at least, the present lecture would add to that interest in a ten-fold degree. Mr. Hutchinson was every way entitled to the warm thanks of the Society, and he had now much pleasure in conveying them to that gentleman.

Mr. JAMES HARRISON made some observations on a window at Bunbury Church, the tracery of which the lecturer had taken some slight exception to ; and which Mr. Harrison excused as having been, in his opinion, evidently constructed to give a better effect to the subjects in stained glass which, no doubt, at one time adorned the window in question.

A short discussion on this and other matters incidental to the lecture ensued ; after which, Mr. Hughes, on the part of members present and absent, requested the lecturer to permit the drawings to remain in position for the next four or five days, so as to give an opportunity for those who took an interest in art-architecture to inspect a series of local examples the like of which had never been before presented to the eye at one view. This request having been acceded to by Mr. Hutchinson, the meeting broke up with the usual vote of thanks to the chairman.

THE monthly meeting was held on Monday Evening, April the 9th, DR. DAVIES in the chair. Among those present we noticed Major Payne and family, the Revds. J. Harris and E. D. Green, Mrs. C. and Miss Potts, Messrs. Essex Bowen (Surgeon, C.A.V.), J. Ralph, Barker, Rigg, and a goodly number of ladies.

MR. JOHN PRICE, M.A., (author of "Old Price's Remains," 8vo., 1864), delivered an interesting and discursive lecture on "Geology, Local and General, and its reference to building purposes, &c." The lecture was a running epitome of the leading points in geological science—a string of beads, as it were, of what some learned author has termed "sermons in stones," illustrated by references to local examples both in Cheshire and North Wales. Attention was directed to the curious footprints of the chirotherium, discovered a few years ago at Stourton quarry, in this county, drawings of which were handed round to the members present. Cheshire presented little

diversity to the geologist, being almost entirely composed of the ordinary red sandstone formation ; so different from North Wales and the immediate neighbourhood of Bristol, where five or six different formations might be met with in half as many hours. Mr Price exhibited numerous specimens of fossils, minerals, and other objects of geological interest, many of them obtained from this immediate locality, in illustration of his lecture, which was listened to with marked attention.

The CHAIRMAN having invited discussion,

Mr. T. HUGHES drew attention to a beautiful little Roman altar, which lay upon the table, and which had been sculptured (probably 1800 years ago) from the red sandstone of the district, by masons whose boast it was that they were the soldiers of Cæsar. This was the small domestic Altar, the property of the Society, the inscription upon which set forth that it was dedicated by "Julius Quintilianus to the Genius of Avernus." The Romans, he conceived, were not bad geologists, for, in erecting the Walls of Chester, they prudently rejected the porous and friable stone of the city itself, and brought their materials from some distant quarry, of more solid and durable character. Hence the Roman portions of the Walls of Chester were in many places now fresh and solid, while the Cathedral and other buildings erected a thousand years afterwards were fast crumbling into powder. The mention of the chirotherium, and its curious foot or "hand" prints discovered at Stourton, reminded him of a somewhat similar circumstance connected with more historic times. When Mr Welsby's premises in Bridge-street were being excavated, in 1858, a Roman roof-tile was discovered, upon which was impressed the claw of a wolf. This animal—one of a race extinct for several centuries in Great Britain—had, no doubt, passed during the night over the newly-moulded tile, while it was yet soft, and had thus left behind it a trace which had endured beyond the wreck and ruin of an empire with which Chester by-gones were most intimately associated. Mr Hughes moved a vote of thanks to the lecturer, which was carried by acclamation.

The plans and elevations of the new church at Over, then being erected by Lord Delamere as a memorial to his deceased Lady, were exhibited by permission of the architect, Mr. J. Douglas, of Chester, and were much commended.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman concluded the proceedings.

At the meeting held on the 2nd of May, John Williams, Esq., banker, was called to the chair. There was a large and fashionable attendance, including Col. Lloyd, C.B., and Mrs. Lloyd, Col. Miller.

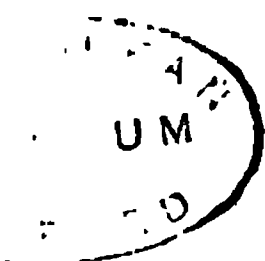
Major Payne, Major Gellatly, Capt. Brooke (Chester Rifles), Rev. J. N. Williams (Carnarvonshire) and family, Dr. Phillips Jones, Revds. P. Williams and J. Harris, Capt. and Mrs. Jeffcock, Dr. Davies, &c.

Capt. C. H. WHITE (Adjutant 1st Royal Cheshire Militia) read a remarkably clever and interesting paper on "Ancient and Modern Weapons," commencing with the javelin and bow of biblical history, and commenting *en passant* on the earlier weapons of Eastern and European Countries generally. The long bow of our early English forefathers came in, of course, for its merited share of attention from the lecturer, who was evidently, like Mr. R. E. Egerton Warburton, of "Cheshire Hunting Songs" renown, of opinion that, although

The ash may be graceful and limber,
The oak may be sturdy and true,
You may search all in vain for a timber
To rival the old British yew.

The long bow had given (Captain White continued) a good account of itself at the battles of Hastings, Crecy, Agincourt, and wherever else, for several hundred years the honour of England was entrusted to its keeping; and even long after the common use of firearms and artillery, the stalwart bowmen of old England stood by their ancient weapon, whose cloth-yard shafts had stood them in such honest stead in so many glorious struggles. The rude and unwieldy firearms of the 15th and 16th centuries, as well as the complicated mechanism and uncertain results of the guns of the Stuart period were passed in review by the lecturer; who, descending to the memory of men now living, humourously told the audience how many thousand bullets it took in the Peninsula to destroy one man, as proved by the details of ammunition issued prior to several battles. The rifle about this period began to receive the attention of military men, and the havoc played among the French troops in Algeria by the Arab riflemen, satisfied the French government that this was the proper arm for all military purposes for the future. Our own government, later in the day, arrived at the same conclusion; and the success of Inkerman was due in no slight degree to the relinquishment of "Brown Bess," and to the adoption of the Enfield Rifle, the arm now in use by both the army, the militia, and volunteers. Captain White explained at some length the principles of the Enfield and Minie rifles, and of that still more deadly and reliable weapon manufactured by Mr Whitworth; bringing his lecture to a close by a few pertinent remarks on the present condition of Europe, on the absolute necessity for activity and watchfulness on the part of Great Britain, and finally, on the successful organization of the volunteer movement.

The CHAIRMAN expressed to Captain White the thanks of the



Society for his admirable lecture, which he had clothed with additional interest by the capital series of illustrations hung upon the walls, and by the still more numerous and appreciable specimens of actual weapons, ancient and modern, which lay upon the table, or were otherwise arranged as ornaments around the room. Many of these weapons came from the Water Tower Museum, having been obligingly lent for the occasion by the committee. Others were kindly contributed by Major Egerton Leigh, Col. Lloyd, Capt. White, Messrs. Lowe, Farrer, Harrison, Price, Worrall, &c. But by far the most numerous and curious collection was that for which the council were indebted to their old and valued associate, JOSEPH MAYER, Esq., F.S.A., of Liverpool, who had, in the kindest manner possible, forwarded to the secretaries a large number of weapons, of high antiquarian interest, and of very elaborate workmanship. Mr. Mayer is well known as the proprietor of one of the most curious and varied private museums in Europe.

The CHAIRMAN further enlarged upon the use of the rifle, and on the laws which govern the flight of the bullet, cordially re-echoing the opinions of the lecturer as to the importance attaching to, and the results to be expected from, the volunteer movement. This closed the proceedings; but a large party of ladies and gentlemen remained behind, to examine more minutely the rare and instructive museum of weapons, which the kindness of friends had enabled the Council to bring together for the occasion. We believe we may safely say that so large a collection of ancient arms has never before been exhibited in this city.

Mr. T. N. BRUSHFIELD sent for inspection two curious branks, or "scold's bridles," one from Kendal Gaol, and the other from the workhouse of that town, in further elucidation of a paper on "Obsolete Punishments," recently read by him before this Society.

1861.

ON Tuesday evening, February 2nd, the first monthly meeting of the session was held in the Society's room, St. Peter's Churchyard, the following members, among many others, being present:—The Lord Bishop of Chester, the Rev. Canon and Mrs. Blomfield, Miss Georgina Anson, Mr. Williams (Old Bank) and Miss Williams, Mr. J. R. Williams, Miss Potts, Rev. H. and Mrs. Venables, Dr. Davies, Miss Worthington, Mr. James Dixon, Mr. W. W. and Mrs. Ffoulkes, Mrs. Fluitt, Mr. Meadows and Miss Frost, Mr. C. Wellbeloved, Mr. J. Ralph, Rev. E. Johnson, Miss Temple, Rev. T. Whitby, Miss

Brown, Mr. J. Rogers, the Misses Isherwood, Major, Mrs., and Miss Payne, Rev. J. Harris, Mr. J. Douglas, Mr. Longueville Barker, the Rev. H. I., Mrs., and Miss Blackburne, &c., &c.

On the motion of Mr. WILLIAMS, the Lord Bishop was unanimously called to the chair, but having gracefully waived his right thereto in favour of Mr. Williams,

The Rev. Canon BLOMFIELD proceeded to open the business of the evening, which, as our readers will remember, was to read an original paper, by the late Mr. Thomas Rickman, F.S.A., on "the Architectural History of Chester Cathedral." The fame of Mr. Rickman as an architect, but particularly as the regenerator of what we now understand by the term Gothic Architecture, was of itself sufficient to clothe the subject with interest; but the masterly way, illustrative and anecdotal, in which the Rev. lecturer treated it, was such as thoroughly to rivet the attention of his audience, from the commencement to the close. Premising that he appeared that evening the rather in the character of an editor than of an author, he endeavoured, in the first place, to show who and what Rickman was, and what were his special services to the architectural cause. The Memoir, which followed, was compiled by the Reverend Canon from various reliable sources, and appears at pp. 277—288 of our present volume. The lecturer then proceeded to read the paper itself, which he considered Rickman must have originally written about 1812, while Dean Cholmondeley was at the head of the Chapter, and about which time the architect is known to have been very frequently in Chester on his ordinary Sunday expeditions. As the Paper itself is now printed entire, it will be unnecessary here to say more than that Rickman declares Chester Cathedral to be as interesting, in an architectural point of view, as any of the cathedrals of England; York, Salisbury, and Canterbury, perhaps, alone accepted. Rickman confessed that he had read little or nothing of the history of the cathedral; but Canon Blomfield showed frequently, in his criticism of the paper, both from the annals of the Abbey and the pages of King's "*Vale Royal*," that, notwithstanding all this, Rickman had, in many notable instances, actually pointed out the very years in which the several stages of building or restoration had taken place. The paper, in fact, affords a perfect chronology of the building of the Abbey, from the earliest period down to its condition at the crisis of the Reformation. The Rev. Canon explained, in conclusion, that he was indebted for the immediate use of the document to Mr. J. Peacock, of Chester, who had received it some three years previously from Mr. Thomas Hodgkinson, who had again, as he supposed, obtained it from Mr. Jones, formerly an architect of this city.

Mr. THOS. HODKINSON, who was present at the meeting, corrected the Rev. Canon's supposition, by explaining that Mr. Jones had never seen the paper, which he (Mr. H.) had copied from the original many years ago, by permission of the late Rev. Joseph Eaton, who, as precentor of the Cathedral, held possession of the document which Rickman had no doubt presented, 40 years ago, to the then Dean and Chapter.

After some remarks by the Chairman and other gentlemen,

Mr. T. HUGHES observed that reference had been made to Rickman having been in partnership with Mr Hutchinson. It was evidently, he said, unknown to Canon Blomfield that this Mr. Hutchinson was father of the Rev. T. N. Hutchinson, formerly of the Chester Training College, but now of King Edward's School, Birmingham, whose beautiful drawings then adorned their walls, in illustration of the paper of the evening. Mr. Hughes explained, also, that Rickman was an old and welcome friend at the house of Mr. Harrison, architect of the Castle and Grosvenor Bridge; and probably to that friendship we owed, in a great measure, this valuable testimony, from the greatest ecclesiologist of his day, to the architectural beauties and peculiarities of Chester Cathedral.

The LORD BISHOP proposed a vote of thanks to the Rev. Canon Blomfield for his lecture; and moreover took occasion to refer in glowing terms to the restorations and improvements effected in the Cathedral by the present venerable Dean of Chester,—improvements carried out under the eye and control of Mr. Hussey, the last partner of Mr. Rickman.

The Rev. LECTURER acknowledged the vote of thanks, at the same time observing how deeply he felt indebted to the Rev. T. N. Hutchinson for the loan of his beautiful series of drawings, which had assisted him so much in explaining many architectural allusions in Mr. Rickman's paper.

Mr. W. WYNNE FFOULKES, in a few laudatory observations, drew the attention of the company to the plans exhibited by the Society's architectural secretary, Mr. James Harrison, for the restoration of the two city churches of St. Mary and Holy Trinity. The ground plan for the former showed a good re-arrangement of the pews, by which 160 additional sittings will be obtained. It was also proposed to raise the present tower 25 feet, to rebuild the porch, and make other improvements, at a total cost of £1,300. The elevation drawing for the raised tower was also exhibited, but the members generally regretted that the duplicate design with the spire had been abandoned, especially as Chester was so admirably situated for showing a good spire to advantage. In this view the Lord Bishop cordially concurred.

HOLY TRINITY CHURCH, CHESTER,
(As originally intended to be Restored.)

JAMES HARRISON, ARCHITECT

(See "*Chester Archaeological Journal*, pp. 378-9, 431.")

The plans for Holy Trinity, which have since been considerably revised, gave a readjustment of sitting accommodation, by which 870 sittings would be available, while the south and west galleries would be altogether removed. It was further proposed to insert tracery of good character in the present paltry windows, to build a stone arcade along the north side of the nave, to reconstruct the chancel arch, side arches, and St. Patrick's aisle, and otherwise to remodel the structure at an entire cost of £3,400. including an elegant spire.

Mr. Harrison also exhibited perspective views of two little country churches he had recently erected in Cheshire, one at Capenhurst, and the other at Dunham, in the Parish of Thornton. both which designs were inspected by the members present with considerable interest.

On Thursday evening, April 4, the monthly meeting was held in the Corn Exchange, Eastgate-street, a commodious building erected, in 1859, on the site of the old Manchester Hall. There was an unusually large attendance, among whom, besides the ordinary *habitues* of the Society, we noticed Mr. and Mrs. C. W. Potts, Dr. Waters, Mr. Ayrton, Rev. H. and Mrs. Venables, Mr. F. Palin, Miss Sampson, Major Payne and family, Dr. McEwen, Mr. F. and Miss Potts, Mr. and Mrs. W. Brown, Dr. Pigott, Messrs. Morgan Lloyd, Brandt, Coleridge, De Rutson, and other members of the Bar of the Chester Circuit, with more than 200 other ladies and gentlemen of the city and neighbourhood. The Rev. C. Bowen, Rector of St. Mary's, occupied the chair.

The Hon. ROBERT BOURKE delivered a lecture on "The Holy Land, with particular reference to Jerusalem, Damascus, and the Lebanon." Mr. Bourke, who had only recently returned from a visit to the scenes he so graphically described, prefaced his subject by explaining the actual positions occupied in the Holy Land by each of the ten tribes, shewing the nations they displaced, and those with whom, in after times, they came into friendly or hostile collision. Passing hastily in review the various conquests achieved by the Persians, Greeks, Egyptians, Saracens, Turks, and others, he referred in general terms, to the several races that now people the "land flowing with milk and honey,"—to wit, the Bedouins, and other tribes of Mohammedans, the Jews, Christians, and Druses. The former, he explained, were still the same lawless and wild characters as were their forefathers of old, the sons of Reuben and Gad, some three thousand years ago; while their co-religionists, the Mohammedans Proper, the Metawalis, and the Turks, if politically stronger, yet, socially and morally, were worse than the tent-loving sons of the desert.

The Jews of Syria, generally, differed little from their brethren in other parts of the world, but those who were inhabitants of Jerusalem were objects of commiseration and pity to all who made a pilgrimage to the Holy City. So abject was their condition, that numerous attempts had been made by their richer brethren in England and elsewhere to improve their state, by the introduction of manufactures and other means, but all without effect. They lived apparently with but one hope in their bosoms, and that one that they might die in the land and in the beloved city, which God gave to be an inheritance unto their fathers.

The Christian population were next noticed in their several divisions of Orthodox Greek, Armenian, Syrian, Maronite, and other branches of the Greek or Latin Churches. Of the Maronites, the lecturer had little that was good to say, especially when viewed in connection with their recent conflicts with another important and neighbouring race, the war-loving Druses. So far as his own knowledge went, he considered the latter to be the most tolerant to Protestants, as well as the most truthful of all the denizens of Syria.

Having concluded this general description, Mr. Bourke conducted his hearers, in imagination, and with the aid of a series of powerful dioramic views, to some of the principal localities he had himself personally visited. Commencing with the world-famed Cedars of Lebanon, so frequently mentioned in Holy Writ, but of which not more than 500 now remain, he descended the steps of Lebanon, and crossing the plain at Bukaa, arrived at Baalbec, the ruins of which are among the most magnificent in the East, and interesting alike to the architect, the historian, and the antiquary. Damascus, "the oldest inhabited city in the world," came next in order, and afforded ample scope for the descriptive powers of the lecturer. Thence, a two day's journey brought them to the Sea of Tiberias, upon the brink of which once stood Capernaum, the scene of so much of our Lord's sojourn upon the earth, but of which all trace has now long since disappeared. Nazareth, with all its thrilling associations, and its numerous "holy places," is reached after a few hours' ride; whence, past the foot of Mount Tabor, and proceeding southward, the mountains of Samaria are descried. Jacob's Well, Shiloh, and Bethel are passed *en route*, and the wearied traveller now catches on the distant horizon his first glimpse of that sacred city of Zion, even Jerusalem. From the Mount of Olives, Mr. Bourke described to his audience the principal objects in the Holy City, explaining that the Jewish Temple was now a Turkish Mosque, securely guarded against the contact alike of Jew or Christian, but into which he had by accident personally obtained admission. All that was ancient and interesting in this *sanctum sanctorum* was clearly

set forth by the lecturer, particularly the Shrine of the Holy Sepulchre, of which clever illustrations of both exterior and interior were submitted to the audience. The Jews' Wailing Place, by the side of the ancient wall of the Temple, was next introduced, with the explanation that the forlorn children of Israel were forbidden any nearer approach than this to their ancient sanctuary.

Through the eastern gate of city the lecturer threaded his way into the Valley of Jehoshaphat, the favourite burial-place of the resident Jews. Thence, ascending the Mount of Olives, he drew near unto Bethany; which, with Jericho, being hurriedly noticed, he rested awhile to contemplate the desert stillness of the Dead Sea. A ten hours' journey revealed to them Bethlehem, the birth-place of the Saviour, with its "place of the nativity," its hiding-place of the "holy manger," and the "tomb of St. Jerome," all localities of the highest interest, and about which there was less doubt, probably, than any other of the holy places in this holiest of lands.

Here appropriately closed a lecture, listened to with profound attention by a numerous audience, the more so as coming from the lips of one who had himself trodden, at no distant date, the sacred localities to which he had drawn attention. Altogether, it was a pleasing and instructive lecture, and at its close the Rev. Chairman conveyed to Mr. Bourke the cordial thanks of the Society for the zeal and ability he had brought to bear upon a subject of so much interest to the Christian world.

WE have again to record a most successful gathering of the friends of this Society. On Thursday Evening, May 30th, the ordinary monthly meeting was held in the Society's apartments, St. Peter's Churchyard, the following members and others being present:—The Lord Bishop, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Potts, Major Egerton Leigh, Mr. and the Misses Payne, Mr. E. R. G. Robertson, Dr. Waters, Mr., Mrs., and Miss Ralph, Rev. W. B. and Miss Marsden, Mr. Edmundson (of Manchester), Mr. J. Rogers, the Misses Isherwood, Mr. Jas. Dixon, Dr. Davies, Rev. H. and Mrs. Venables, Messrs. J. Douglas, James Harrison, George Harrison, G. H. Martin, C. Brown, Miss Bowen, &c., &c.

On the motion of the Lord BISHOP, Major Egerton Leigh, one of the earliest and most steadfast friends of the Society, was called to the chair.

Mr. J. RALPH read a paper on "The History and Principles of Coloured Glass Decoration, with especial reference to the proposed Memorial to the late Rev. Canon Slade."

Mr. RALPH commenced by alluding to the antiquity of coloured glass decoration, showing by quotations from ancient authors that ornamented windows were coeval with the first use of windows themselves. Painted glass, he observed, was always used in subordination to architecture, and this necessarily led to some remarks upon the leading features of Gothic architecture. In mediæval times, architecture was the kingly art which called into activity all others and subordinated them to itself, and the principle of glass painting could only be understood by studying them in their connection with architecture. It was a remarkable fact that in the 12th century, when Gothic architecture reached its first stage only, the art of glass colouring attained its highest state of perfection. Not only was the material—the glass itself—of a quality such as has never been surpassed, but the combinations made with it excelled in richness of effect anything produced in after times. Mediæval art, when seemingly most conventional, was always based upon nature, and the effects sought were strictly such as most legitimately flowed from the materials employed. The object of the window was the admission of light. The artist took the light and separated it into its constituent parts, and these again he poured in their mingling effulgence into the sacred building. In that age, accordingly, the artist dealt mainly with the primary colours. Consider next the medium through which the light was to be admitted. This might be termed liquified stone. Colour combined with stone produced a jewel, and the object accordingly was to make their work as jewel-like as possible. The colours were not called by their ordinary name as colours, but by their names as jewels. Thus they were not called yellow, blue, white, green; but yellow was termed topaz; blue, sapphire; white, pearl; red, ruby; green, emerald; and so on. The peculiar intensity of the colours in that old glass so struck an archaeologist at the beginning of the present century, before attention had been directed anew to glass, that, referring to some ancient windows he met with on the continent, he described them as being of tints so brilliant that it seemed as if the artist had dipped his pencil in turn in a solution of amethyst, sapphire, and other precious stones, wherewith to portray his conceptions. In the large semicircular-headed Norman windows, the style was this. They had rich borders composed of minute pieces of colour somewhat similar to mosaic work, a grand unity of design being maintained through an infinite variety of parts. These borders were constructed by circular intersections of gold colour or pearl upon two distinct grounds, almost always ruby and sapphire. The centre portion of the window was occupied with large medallions, each of which would, perhaps, enclose some symbolical figure; but a landscape effect was always studiously avoided. This was the dis-

tinguishing feature of the windows of this age. Pictorial display, if anywhere, was upon the walls of the building. The effect sought to be produced by a window was richness of light, the result of a scientific combination of colour. If a subject was inserted on the medallions, it was always on a small scale and depicted conventionally, as a herald would depict it on the shield of a knight, the principle of the correct juxtaposition in colours being always the same in heraldry as in glass painting. The Norman style of architecture changed into Early English in the time of Henry III., in the 13th century, when the intimate connection between glass decoration and heraldry became more decidedly marked. Several interesting instances of this were alluded to, while from the circumstance that the immense lancets in the north transept of York Minster are filled with coloured glass, as were the windows in the Cathedral at Salisbury and other buildings erected in this age, it was inferred that the custom continued of inserting coloured glass in the windows as they were built. Most of the glass, however, of this age which now exists is simple in character, without the richness of colour which distinguished that of the preceding age. In the 14th century architecture developed itself into the Decorated style, in which the art seemed to have reached its highest attainable style of grandeur and beauty. Glass decoration underwent some changes; the principal of which were, the abandonment of the trefoiled kind of ornament previously used in the termination of foliated points,—an alteration in the borders, the design being bolder and having less of the Mosaic character,—the vine leaf ornament was allowed to range over the whole surface of the window,—medallions were partially retained, but the elaborate Mosaic ones were wholly discontinued. The main features of the style were foliated borders with figures and canopies. Sometimes the figure was made to rest on a kind of battlemented frieze, and it was rather peculiar that pedestals were never used. The change was going on from the principle of the juxtaposition of colour to that of making a picture, but the revolution was only partially effected, as in the clerestory window of St. Owen, Rouen, for instance, the portions of the figures were variously coloured, ruby, blue, and green, the leading principle being still the due balance of colour. In the 15th century architecture waned to its final phase, the Perpendicular. There was a considerable quantity of the glass of this time remaining; but in character, details, treatment, and effects, it was as different as was the architecture of the period from that which preceded it. The Mosaic, medallion, and geometrical forms of enrichment were totally abandoned, and a much greater portion of white glass was introduced, to the great impoverishment of the general effect. Before, the background was the real design, the medallions were so

many enrichments upon it. Now, each compartment was made to contain a subject complete in itself. Canopied figures began extensively to prevail: as the outline grew less vigorous, shading was more resorted to. The glass itself was also made thinner and more fragile. In the following century the art entered into direct rivalry with painting and engraving, and of necessity failed in the unequal contest. Its devotional aspect was entirely abandoned, and it was an almost inexplicable circumstance that with the triumph of the Reformation this branch of art became sensual, voluptuous, and grossly indelicate. The practice also came in of making of the whole window one huge picture, in total disregard of the unsightly breaks caused by the intersecting mullions and transoms. An imitation of this might be seen in the Crimean window erected in St. Mary's Church in this city. The art continued rapidly to decline even when judged by its own newly adopted rules, until in the last century its first principles were as completely forgotten as were those of the architecture it had once contributed so grandly to adorn. With the revived study of Gothic architecture in the present generation had come a renewed interest in the art of glass decoration, and through the indefatigable exertions of the clergy, encouraged by the growing taste and liberality of the laity, painted windows of more or less degrees of excellence were re-appearing in every sacred edifice in the kingdom. The lecturer then alluded to the improved taste shown in the preference of memorial windows to monumental slabs, and concluded with a eulogy of the late Canon Slade, and an expression of gratification that an appropriate tribute to his eminent deserts was about to be erected in the Cathedral at Chester, the scene of his ministrations for the space of nearly half a century. In the course of the lecture a description was given of the process used in manufacturing coloured glass; pot-metal glass, in which the colours, occasioned by the admixture of metal, entered into chemical combination with and formed a part of the glass itself; flashed glass, made by placing a layer of coloured glass on another of white glass, a method never practised except with ruby glass; before the time of Henry VIII. stained glass, introduced about the time of Edward I., of which there was only one kind, yellow being the only colour that could be applied to glass as a stain. Enamelled glass was made by mixing powdered pot-metal of the requisite colour into a paste, laying it on white glass, and causing it to adhere thereto by the action of heat. Painted glass, properly speaking, did not exist, as no method had yet been discovered of permanently fixing colour upon a glass surface.

At the conclusion of the paper, the CHAIRMAN congratulated the meeting on the fund of information which the lecturer had brought to bear upon a subject of so much interest, and yet comparatively so little

understood by the general public. While travelling upon the Continent some time ago, he (MAJOR LEIGH) had been much gratified with the specimens of ancient stained glass existing at Nuremberg, as well as with those of a more modern character in the cathedral of Cologne. There were, he thought, many popular fallacies afloat in connection with coloured glass. Among others was the notion that several of the colours known to the ancient makers could not be adequately rendered in the present day; he believed, however, that the glass manufacturers of to-day could produce all the richness of colour and effect which was so justly admired in ancient glass; while the march of modern invention, chemical and decorative, had introduced many important features, altogether unknown to the most experienced of ancient artists in this branch of manufacture. It was worthy of note, also, that coloured glass (like port wine we suppose) unquestionably improved with age; and that the crust with which time and our atmosphere combined to coat the old glass, often added richness and depth to the original colours. In erecting stained glass windows, regard should be studiously paid to situation; for a window subject to the rays of a western sun required altogether different treatment to one which was to occupy a northern or southern position. The want of this care he had himself once suffered from, when ordering a stained window; the manufacturer's design seemed all that could be desired, but on placing the glass in position he discovered, now all too late, that the combinations of colour, which might have been all very well in some other window of the building, were quite out of place in the particular light to which they were subjected. Monuments in stained glass were, as the lecturer had well observed, vastly preferable, in a general way, to those mural tablets which were not unfrequently mere pagan mutilations of the adjoining architecture. As an instance of the latter, he knew a church in which a beautiful Norman pillar had been ingeniously scooped out to make room for the body of a very corpulent churchwarden, a similar chasm having been contrived higher up for the aforesaid gentleman's hat!

The LORD BISHOP paid a cordial tribute to the merits of the lecture; and in continuation of the Chairman's remarks that coloured glass often improved by age, stated the results of his own experience in that regard while permanently residing at Cambridge University. The authorities had decreed that the richly adorned windows of Trinity College Chapel should be carefully taken down, and cleansed from the accumulation of dirt which was supposed to have for centuries shrouded their beauties. The windows were actually taken out, cleaned, and replaced one by one; and he well remembered the feeling of disappointment they all

experienced, on comparing the naked crudeness of the restored lights with the rich mellowness of those still left in the original condition. The work was, however, persevered in, and to the eye of those who knew them not in former days, the windows are still subjects of no ordinary interest and beauty.

The Rev. H. VENABLES inquired if there was any manual, treating of the changes in coloured glass in their special relation to the progress of architecture?

Mr. RALPH replied that he was not aware of any. He had made several journeys to Liverpool to search the libraries there for some of the materials of this paper, but he had not met with any such work.

Mr. EDMUNDSON (of the firm of Edmundson and Son, stained glass manufacturers, Manchester) followed with some valuable remarks on the principles and practice of the art, complimenting the lecturer very warmly on the sound historical and technical character of the paper he had just listened to. He was quite of the chairman's opinion when he stated, as he (Mr. E.) could also do from personal knowledge and experience, that all the ancient effects of colour could be at least equalled by the artists of the present day.

Mr. T. HUGHES remarked on the curious affinity in many respects between the principles of heraldry and those of glass painting, the ancient tinctures of both being alike,—for instance, topaz for yellow, ruby for red, sapphire for blue, pearl for white, diamond for black, emerald for green, &c. Another noticeable point of resemblance was the principle of dividing the various colours in glass with a narrow stripe of either gold or silver, just as in heraldry the rule is that gold must not be emblazoned immediately upon silver, or tincture upon tincture; for as an old fellow citizen, Randle Holme, in his *Academy of Armoury*, quaintly observed, two centuries ago,—

Mettle upon Mettle is bad Herauldry,
Colour upon Colour is false Armoury.

It ought to be recorded, on an occasion like the present, that long after the Reformation many of the Cathedral windows remained adorned with scriptural subjects. These, however, had gradually disappeared until, twenty-five years ago, it was a subject of regret to all strangers that there was not a single pane of coloured glass in Chester Cathedral: except, indeed, the head of the Virgin, which then graced the apex of the clerestory window, immediately over the Lady Chapel, and even this disappeared when the present handsome window was erected. Originally this window had contained the genealogy of Christ, beginning at the base with the root of Jesse, and ending at the top with the figure of the Holy Virgin.

The LORD BISHOP agreed with the last speaker in regretting the loss of those beautiful monuments of the early glazier's art, but rejoiced to notice that, thanks to the efforts of the Dean and Chapter, seconded by private munificence, the evil had in so large a degree been repaired. His worthy friend upon his right (Mr. C. Potts) had, he believed, been mainly instrumental in bringing about this change; having been the first to suggest, and to assist in providing the elaborate subject which, until lately, adorned the east window of the Lady Chapel, but which had since been transferred to one of the side lights. And now they were to have two additional windows inserted to the memory of that consistent and good man, the late Canon Slade, whose pious example he trusted all future canons would do their utmost to emulate.

After a few words from Mr. C. Potts,

MAJOR LEIGH submitted to the meeting a full sized model of an ancient Finger Pillory, still existing at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, which model he had caused to be constructed for the purpose of exhibiting it to the members of this Society, especially to Dr. Brushfield, who had made the subject of Obsolete Punishments essentially his own.

Several ladies and others here stepped forward, and submitted to a temporary imprisonment in this curious pillory, which was cleverly adapted for the accommodation of every age and class of offenders.

Votes of thanks to the lecturer, the chairman, and Mr. Edmundson brought the night's proceedings to a close about 10 o'clock.

ON Saturday, the 27th July, the members of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire had their usual excursion. The jaunt had been fixed to come off a fortnight previously, but the advent of St. Swithin necessitated a postponement, and the patience displayed by the members under such trying circumstances was well rewarded. Probably they relied on their knowledge of history, which must have taught them that those who wait for fine weather are sure to get it. Saturday was a splendid day, and the expedition started at half-past nine in the morning, in the railway boat, and the best possible spirits. The localities to be visited were Beeston, with its celebrated ruins; Peckforton, with its imposing modern castle; and the old church at Bunbury. The excursionists first visited the ruins of Beeston, which are so noted for the vast and varied views to be obtained from the summit. After remaining on the hill for some time, the party crossed over to Peckforton, the owner of the magnificent mansion, J. Tolle-mache, Esq., M.P., having kindly granted the Society permission to visit it: he also expressed his regret at not being able to attend them and do them the honours of the mansion. Upon being admitted, the party were taken through the picture galleries, and the whole suite of

state rooms. The galleries contain a number of paintings—mostly portraits—by Reynolds, Vandyke, Gainsborough, Morland, and other famous masters. Several suits of antique armour were much admired by the antiquaries, and the arrangement of the rooms testified to the refined and elegant taste of the owner of the castle. Having completed the tour of the building, the party continued their route towards Bunbury; whence, having viewed the old church, they returned to Chester at five o'clock, and sat down to a splendid repast at the Queen Railway Hotel. The party was not very numerous, but it should be stated that owing to the unavoidable postponement, the Bishop of Chester, the Mayor, and several other of the friends of the Society, were unable to be present.

After dinner, the CHAIRMAN, (Joseph Mayer, Esq.) gave the usual loyal toasts, which were cordially honoured.

The toast of the evening, "The Historic Society," was responded to by Dr. HUME in an interesting address, in which he reviewed the operations of the Society during its existence of thirteen years, and congratulated his fellow members on the progress they had made in extending its usefulness.

Mr. T. HUGHES, of Chester, acknowledged the toast of "The Kindred Societies" in an appropriate and well-timed speech.

The health of the ladies was drunk with enthusiasm; and the chairman was similarly honoured.

The party broke up at seven o'clock, after spending a day of unalloyed enjoyment, and returned to Liverpool well satisfied with the arrangements made for their day's excursion.—*Liverpool Mail*.

THE opening lecture of the new session was delivered on Monday the 21st October, by the Rev. Dr. Hume, of Liverpool, one of the secretaries of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire,—the subject of the lecture being "Heraldry, with some particular reference to the Heraldry of Cheshire." The illustrations adorning the walls were numerous and striking, comprising heraldic devices of various ages and countries, public and family shields in great number,—twelve Cheshire coats of arms specially emblazoned for this lecture,—pedigree rolls, some of great length, on paper, parchment, and cloth, including the Grosvenor pedigree, extending over seven large skins of vellum, kindly exhibited by Lord Westminster; the pedigrees of the Whitmores of Thurstaston, the Savages of Rock Savage, the Irelands of Hutt, the Cottons of Hamstall Ridware, &c. In addition to these, we noticed the arms of the Royal Family of England in all their various changes since the Norman Conquest, the Royal Standard, Union Jack, Tricolor of France, &c.

The Rev. CANON HILLYARD occupied the chair, supported by Messrs. Williams (Old Bank) and party; Major Payne and family; Revs. F. Grosvenor, G. Salt, H. Venables, and E. Johnson; Miss Legh (High Legh), Dr. Davies, Miss Blackburne, Messrs. J. Harrison, J. Ralph. Rogers, Dr. and Mrs. Brushfield, and a numerous company of ladies and gentlemen of the city and county.

After an introduction, in which Dr. HUME defended his subject from the charges of being trivial or uninteresting, he proceeded to show that it dates its origin, as a system, from the period of the Crusaders. Gunpowder was then unknown, and men who fought with swords, spears, and arrows, had to be defended by complete armour. In these circumstances, it was necessary to be able to distinguish rival hosts, or different leaders, or separate knights, esquires, or gentlemen. The system of heraldry, which appropriated to each a distinct armorial bearing, enabled even the common people to do this. From the great number of symbols suited for adoption as heraldic charges, and from their great variety of position, form, colouring, arrangement on the shield, &c., the devices were in practice so numerous, that no two families or persons need ever be confounded.

The extremes of the human family, of civilization and barbarism, seemed almost to stand side by side in the adoption of heraldic symbols. Even the aboriginal tribes of Australia had at least a glimmering of the science. There, too, every warrior "camped by his standard;" and the learned Doctor exhibited to his audience the shields of two native Australian chiefs, carved out of the solid wood, one bearing a device which heralds would describe as "argent, a pale gules," and the other, "argent, a fess gules, between three pellets sable, two and one!"

The ancient uses of the system were connected with the kindred subject of chivalry, which raised up a set of men whose object it was to promote peace and order, and to render mere brute force subject to the laws of reason, honour, and religion. These were the true knights, men who were indispensable in the barbarous ages in which they chiefly flourished, but whom it was not unusual for ignorant people in later days to sneer at or caricature. Even in modern times, heraldry was one of the most valuable guide-posts of history; for a painted window, a piece of sculpture, a church brass, or some such relic, gave to the initiated a clue to valuable facts. In biography, a seal, or a portion of an achievement, afforded a guide to immediate ancestry and lineage; and, in archæology, the fragment of a crumbling tomb, an ancient chimney-piece, the engraving on old plate, &c., reminded us how important it was to understand the subject. In law, again, genuine heraldic documents were admitted as evidence; but on this subject

the law was contradictory. On the one hand, it had been enacted that every object on which armorial bearings were painted or engraven, without due authority, was forfeit to the crown ; on the other hand, a man paid a tax for permission to bear arms. and thus the grossest assumption sometimes enjoyed the shade of official sanction.

In mediæval as well as modern literature, the allusions to heraldry were numerous : in the works of Scott alone there were probably a thousand such allusions. It was at one time a common practice to speak of persons by the leading charge upon their arms ; thus, Richard III. was the " Boar of York,"—Ivanhoe claimed the " fetterlock and shacklebolt " as suitable to himself ; the " crescent " denoted Percy ; the " dun bull," Neville ; the " eagle and child," Stanley ; the " bear and ragged staff," the Earl of Warwick ; and the " checquer," the Earl of Warrenne. In the *Lady of the Lake*, Douglas makes a beautiful allusion to the arms of his house, " the bleeding heart," as an emblem of sorrow ; and Roderick Dhu responds, regarding his own crest, the pine, as a symbol of protection :—

" Poor remnants of the *Bleeding Heart*,
Ellen and I will seek, apart,
The refuge of some forest cell.
There, like the hunted quarry, dwell,"
" No, by honour," Roderick said,
" So help me heaven, and my good blade !
No, never,—blasted be yon pine,
My father's ancient crest and mine,
If from its shade in danger part
The lineage of the *Bleeding Heart* !"

An equally beautiful allusion was made to the arms of England by Shakspeare, in Henry VI., when a messenger brings the painful intelligence that all the French provinces had been wrested from England. At that time our royal arms consisted of " three fleurs-de-dis quartered with three lions." The messenger is made to say—

*Cropped are the flower de luces in your arms,
Of England's coat one half is cut away.*

The abuses in heraldry had arisen from many causes. The enthusiasm of those who were more mixed up with it than we in modern times, led to some humourous absurdities. One gravely defines the coat of Adam to be " a shield gules, on the centre a lozenge, or"—to denote that his wife (Eve) was an heiress ! But in our own days heraldic errors arose more from ignorance. A clergyman or a lady seals with a *crest*, though this is in strictness a military appanage ; a coachmaker does not hesitate to paint the arms of one person on the carriage of another : a plebeian, of the same surname as a duke, adopts his grace's arms, supporters, coronet, and all ! and the daughter

of a baronet uses the "bloody hand" in her arms—a symbol that could only be borne by her father or her eldest brother. Some were conscious of the errors they committed, but from economy would not obtain a patent of arms, which in England costs about £76 10s. It was assumed by every one that he had arms of some kind; but occasionally, as in the case of Mrs. Paley, strange mistakes were made in reference to them. The changes which this country was gradually undergoing also explained in part these abuses. The aristocracy of birth and title, as a rule, were not progressing, while those of wealth and talent manifestly were. We had thus popular designations, which contrasted strangely with the more established ones,—as railway "king," merchants "princes," cotton "lords." The establishment of the baronetcy made title at that time a question of money rather than merit, and, since then, merit had formed a smaller element in the distribution of certain honours. The result was, that in modern times many persons had declined the distinction of title, especially knighthood, as if it were unlikely to add anything to the honour of their position.

In recording genealogies we might follow either the ascending or descending plan; rising from the individual to his ancestors, or tracing down from them to him. Both were exemplified in the Gospels, and each had its advantages—the latter was, however, the simplest where quarterings were concerned.

In Scotland, the different branches of a great family, instead of obtaining a new patent of arms, adopted some slight "difference" on the paternal coat; and thus the most beautiful uniformity amidst variety was preserved. The Hamilton pedigree, which formed one of the illustrations of the lecture, contained 34 shields, representing as many distinct branches of the clan in England, Ireland, and Scotland; and while all of them preserved the characteristic symbol, no two of them were identical.

Within the last twenty years, a new style of genealogy had been introduced in Italy; the fullest biography attainable of each individual was given under his name, as also his portrait, arms, castle, or anything else illustrative of him. This had since been most ably illustrated in this country by the late Mr. H. Drummond, M.P. for Surrey, in his work entitled the *History of Noble British Families*. It was one of the most beautiful that had ever issued from the English press, with full biographies, and numerous magnificent illustrations. It was, of course, a very expensive work, and was now out of print, albeit Mr. Drummond lost several thousand pounds by its publication. Private attempts had since been made to improve upon this, by accumulating the whole genealogical details on one continuous roll; the material

being paper laid upon cloth, and the illustrations appearing, as before, each at its proper place.

Dr. HUME here went round the room, explaining the armorial bearings upon the walls, especially those of families connected with Cheshire, the seals of companies, arms of dioceses, &c. He also enumerated several of the "canting" arms, such as the "three hands" for Tremayne, "three bugle horns" for Hornby, "three bees" for Beeston, "three calves" for Calveley, &c ; and related several historical and amusing anecdotes connected with arms.

In former times almost every nation was symbolised by its particular cross, and the cross generally was contrasted, as at present, with the *crescent*. The cross of England (St. George's) was red upon a white ground, the bars being perpendicular and horizontal. That of Scotland (St. Andrew's) was a *white* saltire, or diagonal cross, on a *blue* ground. At the Union in 1707, though the arrangement had been partially adopted since 1606, the two crosses were united, the field of the whole being made *blue*, with a *rim of white* round St. George's cross, to show its original groundwork. At the Union of the three kingdoms in 1801, the cross of Ireland (St. Patrick's) was added. This consisted of a *red* saltire on a *white* ground ; so that, by narrowing its bars, each of them lay along the corresponding white one of St. Andrew. The whole thus formed what was now well known throughout the world as the "Union Jack," and this was placed in the upper corner, next the staff, of almost every national flag, whatever other device was adopted on the banner.

In 1777, on the declaration of American Independence, there were thirteen United States, and, as a consequence, thirteen stripes and stars on the American banner. A star had been since added for each new State, eventually some thirty-six, included in the federation ; but some of the stars now appeared as if about to set.

The tricoloured banner of France symbolised the king, the people, and the national guards. The same colours were adopted in particular circumstances by ourselves : thus, the senior Full, Vice, and Rear-Admirals of our navy hoisted a *red* flag at either the mizen, fore or main-top of their flagship ; the next seniors, the *white* flag ; and the juniors of each rank the *blue* flag, forming together the national combination "red, white, and blue." There were also the white, blue, and red ensigns respectively, in which the body of the flag was one of those three colours, each having the Union Jack in the corner. The three great Universities, too, distinguish their Masters of Arts by the same colours,—Oxford adopting *red*, Cambridge *white*, and Dublin *blue*.

The Royal Standard was interesting from the history of the various changes which it had undergone. The arms of our present

Queen were given on most of our modern silver and gold coins, and the most untutored eye must have noticed a difference between the more ancient and the more modern ones. The history of the Royal Arms was, in some respects, the History of England since the Norman conquest; and this explained a startling announcement of the lecturer's, that "he would undertake to read the History of England off the side of a sixpence!" Every change was explained; and an interesting quotation from Lord Macaulay's *Spanish Armada* showed the application which was made to the supporters, quarterings, and motto in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

Dr. HUME also defended the Scottish nation for objecting to the hoisting of a false national flag on the Castle of Edinburgh a few years ago; because since the days of James I, the royal arms had always been differently marshalled in Scotland and England,—the Scottish quarterings having the precedence in that country, and the English ones in England. What, he asked, would be *our* feeling if any insult were offered to our own Union Jack or Royal Standard? It must be remembered that Scotland was not, like Ireland, a conquered nation, to be put in a corner anywhere; she asked nothing new in this matter, but claimed only that which was old—she received no king from England, but, on the contrary, she gave us the parent of our present line of sovereigns. The lecturer concluded about half-past nine o'clock, with a brief notice of the subject of "Precedence," and of the heraldic distinctions between an "esquire" and a "gentleman."

The Rev. CANON expressed to Dr. Hume the great interest with which he had personally listened to the lecture,—an interest, he confessed, he had never previously felt for a subject which had that night been clearly shown both to deserve and repay the study of an educated mind. For himself he might say that heraldry would in the future not be without its charm, and certainly not that unmeaning study it had appeared to him to be in days gone by. The Rev. Chairman then moved the formal thanks of the meeting to Dr. Hume for so cordially responding to the call of the secretaries, and thus inaugurating what he trusted would prove a prosperous session to the Society.

Mr WILLIAMS (Old Bank) seconded the vote of thanks, and made some appropriate observations on the subject of the lecture, and the eloquent manner in which it had been treated by the lecturer; after which

Mr JAMES HARRISON drew attention to the curious old pulpit belonging to St. Martin's Church, Chester. The Rector of St. Bridget's and St. Martin's (the Rev. G. SALT), explained to the meeting that, at Mr Harrison's instigation, he had caused the old

pulpit to be carefully cleaned from the incrustation of plaster and paint which had for centuries deprived it of its true character and hidden it from observation. One of the compartments was supposed to represent the Deity seated, while the other three contained emblems of the three Evangelists, Sts. Matthew, Luke, and John, the names being attached to each on a flowing label. The emblem of St. Mark, if it had ever formed part of the design, had disappeared. St. Martin's being now disused as a place of worship, the parish having been attached to the adjoining one of St. Bridget, it was decided judiciously to restore this ancient pulpit, under Mr Harrison's guidance, and to employ it as the future pulpit of the modern church of St. Bridget, which had lately undergone decoration and re-arrangement. The carvings are very spirited and effective, and the date of their execution certainly prior to the Reformation.

Mr. T. BURGHALL exhibited the original illuminated grant from Dugdale and the two St. Georges, heralds, of the Cheshire family of Venables' arms to Montague Bertie, Earl of Abingdon, who had then recently married the daughter and heiress of Peter Venables, last Baron of Kinderton, of that family, by whom however he left no issue. Owing to her death, childless, the barony descended through her aunt to the Vernons, Lords Vernon, who are the present representatives of the Venables of Kinderton, in the female line.

Mr. T. HODKINSON exhibited a black cocoa-nut "love cup," silver mounted, curiously engraved with the arms of the Hurlestons of Picton on the paternal side, impaled with a family we have not identified, and surrounded with the garter device, "Honi soit qui mal y pense."

This brought the business of the meeting to a close, but many of the ladies and gentlemen present remained behind to inspect more carefully the very beautiful series of illuminations with which Dr. Hume had adorned the walls of the lecture-room, as well as the splendid pedigree of the Grosvenor family, with all its rich emblazonings of county arms, the bearers of which, indeed, were the flower of Cheshire chivalry for the last 700 years.

THE second monthly meeting of the Session was held on Monday evening, November 18th, the Rev. Canon Hillyard in the chair. There were also present Colonel and Mrs. Hamilton, Revs. W. B. Marsden, C. Bowen, R. W. Gleadowe (Neston), F. Grosvenor, and J. Harris; Dr. Davies, Mr. F. and Miss Potts, Mr. C. Welbeloved, Mrs. and the Misses Payne, Dr. Powell, Mr. and Mrs. Truss, Miss Churton, Dr. Thomas, Messrs. J. Douglas, Edwards, Rogers, J. Harrison, C. Brown, Mr. and Mrs. Ralph, the Misses Isherwood, Mr. J. Sims Smith, B.A. (Liverpool), &c., &c.

Mr. SAMUEL HUGGINS (formerly President of the Liverpool Architectural and Archæological Society, but now a resident of Chester) read a learned first paper on "The Origin, Relations, and Characteristics of the various styles of Architecture, and their connection with History, Race, and Religion." Mr. Huggins had arranged round the room a great number of illustrations, examples of the various styles of architecture referred to in his lecture, and these he first of all proceeded to explain in their chronological order, assisted by a most curious chart prepared by himself, and which we believe he has since published.

The LECTURER, in commencing, asserted the unity of art. Though the several arts differed from each other in their language and mode of use, yet the soul of those arts was the same in all; each was but a different incarnation of the same vital spirit. Poetry was the first and chief of the arts, because its language was the natural language—the mother tongue of the arts. The architect and the painter appealed first to the eye, then to the mind; the poet, first to the mind, then to the soul. The ultimate of the two former was the proximate of the latter. Architecture was pervaded by a similar law of unity; it was not a multitude of dissimilar arts, but one connected and comprehensive whole. It was one spirit working in different ways, and showing itself under various similitudes. The styles of architecture were but different external phases of one soul. And this view was borne out by their history; they were all historically related, and there was reason to believe they all derived their origin from one fountain head in antiquity. Here he entered into an explanation of his "Chart of the History of Architecture" which represented under the similitude of streams the rise, chronological sequence, relations, &c., of the various styles which have been practised in the world. The most prominent distinction between styles of architecture was into beamed and arched. All ancient styles—all before the Christian era—were beamed or trabeated; that is, their columns or pillars supported an horizontal lintel, or architrave. All modern ones, on the contrary—all subsequent to the Christian epoch—were arcuated, the columns immediately supported arches springing from column to column. The Egyptian, the Assyrian, the Pelasgic, the Etruscan, and Greek were all trabeated styles. The Roman architecture, in the time of Augustus, was pure trabeation; but it gradually gave way, during the period of the empire, to the inroads of the arch. The Pagan Romanesque, which immediately preceded the Christian Romanesque, was the first arcuated style, and all its numerous descendants, down to the present day, were on the same principle. Of the arcuated style, two were pointed arched, namely pointed Gothic and Saracenic. The rest were *round* arched. This

division into beamed and arched styles applied to all of the great connected classic family of Europe and Western Asia ; but all the systems detached from these, all the outlying styles—the Buddhist, the Hindu, the Chinese, the Peruvian, and Mexican—were all beamed, whether ancient or modern. There were what are called Astylar styles, in which columns do not enter into the artistic designs. Such was that known as the Sassanian, being that of the Middle Persian Empire ; and the Modern Florentine, which had been called a Fenestral style, from the decorative elements being chiefly employed in the adornment of the windows. The Traveller's Club House, Pall Mall, based on the Pandolphini Palace at Rome, by the celebrated Raphael, is a noted example. Two of the arcuated styles—the Byzantine and the Saracenic—were remarkable for the use they made of the dome, which in these styles was the chief constructive feature. Others occasionally employed the dome, but in these two it was an essential feature. There was another great formative principle which Mr Huggins pointed out. He remarked that two of the arched styles were pointed, viz., the Gothic and the Saracenic. The Gothicists, however, made a very different use of the pointed arch to that made by the Saracens. While in the Saracenic, the pointed arch was barren of effect beyond that communicated directly by its own form, its tendency in the Gothic was to increase the new-born principle of verticality already shown in the Round Gothic to a most wonderful pitch. Spires and pinnacles seemed literally to emulate the aspiring tendency and principles of nature's vertical structure. They were nature's organic productions geometrized, as it were—modified by ideas of utility, and the precision and symmetry of human design. It was the possession and command of this aspiring principle—this faculty of looking heavenward, so appropriate to a religious edifice,—which was the true glory of the Gothic, which distinguished it from all the styles of the world, and rendered it by far the most important issue of the great architectural fountains of antiquity. The lecturer went on to trace the various births, changes, and ramifications of architecture from the Egyptian and Greek, through the Roman, Byzantine, Gothic and Saracenic to the present time. The history of architecture showed that the most potent influences that had been brought to bear upon its career were those of religion and race. The distinctions of religion distributed the styles of the world as they existed in the middle ages, into four groups or species, viz. : the Gothics and Romanesques ; the systems of the western or Latin Church ; the Byzantines, the Eastern or Greek Church ; the Saracenics, the styles of Mahomedanism ; the Indian and Chinese, the Pagan. Difference of race had also divided the styles of the world into groups, and given them a general ethnographic

arrangement, as well as a theological, which might be expressed thus— from West to East,—Teutonic, Celtic, Slavonic, Arabian, Tartar. If either the fate of religions or the migration of races and tribes had been different, it was plain that the career of architecture had been different also. We were indebted to an outburst of barbarism in the 5th century, which destroyed the civilization of the ancient world, for the greatest system of architecture that had arisen since the Greek; and to the rise of an illiterate Arab in the 7th calling himself a prophet, for another, which beautified and gave additional charms to the fairest countries of the globe. He pointed to several of the styles individually, in illustration of what he had advanced with respect to the influence of religion and race upon architecture. The religion of the Pelasgi was hero, or ancestral worship, and we found their architecture developing itself chiefly in tombs. The religion of the Persians was the Magian, or fire worship, which required no temples, its rites being chiefly exercised in the open air. Accordingly, no temples were built by them, and we found this style chiefly developing itself in palaces. Mr. Huggins entered at length into the characteristics of the ancient styles, through which it would be impossible for us to follow him in the space at our command.

The Rev. CANON HILLYARD moved a vote of thanks to the lecturer for the ability and zeal he had displayed in the preparation of his subject, and for the novel and interesting chart which accompanied it. The Rev. Chairman then invited discussion upon the lecture, but none of the members present having apparently the courage to indulge therein,

Dr. DAVIES exhibited an autograph “safe conduct” or “indemnity pass,” issued in the height of the Civil War, by Arthur, Lord Capel, in favour of his (the Doctor’s) ancestor, Mr. William Colley, of Eccleston, near Chester. The document is so curious and interesting that we make no apology for giving it at length:—

Arthur Lord Capell, Leiutenant Generall to the Prince his heighness of all his Maties fforces in the Countyes of Worcester, Salop, and Chester, and the Six Border Countyes of Wales.

To all Commanders, Officers and Souldiers under my command, and to all other his Maties Officers and Loueing Subiects whome these presents may concerne

By virtue of his Majesties Commission under the great Seale of England to mee directed, & as Leiutenant Generall of the fforces aforesaid, I doe hereby strictly charge and command you and euery of you not to doe nor willingly permit or suffer to bee done any hurt, vyolence, damage, plunder, or detriment whatsoeuer unto the person, house, family, goods, chattels, or estate of William Colley, of Eccleston

in the Countie of Cheshire, gentleman. And I further command that you redeliver this my protection unto such person or persons as shall shew it unto you, when & as often as there shall bee occasion to produce the same. Hereof you are not to faile as you will answere the contrary at your utmost perill. Given under my hand and seale the first day of December, Ao 1643.

ARTHUR CAPELL.

It is worthy of remark that this warrant was issued on the very day before the loyal citizens of Chester marched out to the attack upon Hawarden Castle, which had been just before seized by Sir William Brereton on behalf of the Parliament.

Among the illustrations adorning the room was a very correct and artistic original drawing, in water-colours, by Miss Huggins, a sister of the lecturer, and exhibited at the express instance of the secretaries. It was a perspective view, looking west, of the south aisle of the choir of Chester Cathedral, showing on the left hand the recessed tomb of one of the early abbots, and the curiously painted altar tomb, at one time supposed to have been the resting place of Henry, Emperor of Germany, but now more commonly, and we think properly attributed to another abbot of this once famous monastery. A rich subdued light was made to find its way through the series of painted windows, erected in memory of deceased children of our venerable Dean; while the effect of the groined ceiling, and the glazed screen separating this aisle from that of the nave, was given with great tact and taste. We remember recently to have seen another interesting local picture by Miss Huggins: this was what is now known as the Warburton Chapel, in the chancel of St. John's Church. This subject had been previously treated by Skinner Prout, but it is no disparagement of that talented artist to say that his drawing was in no way superior to that we are now referring to. Miss Huggins' drawing of St. John's was sent by her to the Liverpool Art Union Exhibition, and was, we were pleased to hear, sold on the opening day, as was more recently the one above described.

Mr. T. A. RICHARDSON, architect, sent for exhibition his front elevation plan of the new business premises then in course of erection for Messrs. Dutton and Miller, grocers, of Eastgate-street. The style adopted was a modification of the Elizabethan or early Stuart period of timber architecture, the old-fashioned lath and plaster giving way in this instance to the modern and more enduring white brick and Minton tile. Including the attics, which are situate in the gable, it is a five storied building, and notwithstanding its great height has the appearance of ample strength. Looked at as a whole, this building is one of the boldest and most picturesque thus far erected in Chester since

the modern revival of the Elizabethan style of architecture. These premises occupy the site of the ancient Goddestall's Lane, on the line of which, the Roman altar "Genio Sancto Centuriæ" was discovered a few months ago, and described at a previous page of our present volume.

Mr. T. HUGHES, in introducing the three foregoing subjects to the meeting, took occasion to elicit the sincere regrets of the Society that the city was about to lose another of its most interesting antiquarian remains, and one which had long been looked upon by the intelligent stranger as one of the "lions of Chester." He alluded to the house known as "God's Providence," from its bearing on one of its beams the inscription in curious old letters, "God's Providence is mine inheritance." The ancient timber houses of Chester were now few and far between, and it was a melancholy reflection to feel that one of the most characteristic yet remaining was about, within perhaps a few weeks, to vanish from the scene, in order to satisfy the necessitous demands of commerce. Mr. Gregg, the present owner, he knew to be a man of considerable public spirit; and while, unfortunately, it could not be expected that he would altogether sacrifice his business views to either the wishes of the general public, or the gratification of the antiquary—still it was much to be hoped that at least the carved timbers of the old house, and as far as possible its external character also should be in some measure preserved in the new erection. This course would certainly serve to identify the spot, about which clung, like ivy, many an old and loved tradition, sacred alike to both citizen and stranger.

Mr. J. EDWARDS (Blue School) exhibited a charter from Edward the Black Prince to the ancient Company of Souters or Shoemakers of Chester. This document, which bore the seal of the Prince as Earl of Chester, had passed through various hands into the possession of Mr. Edwards, who has in the most handsome manner restored it to the muniment chest of the Shoemakers' Company, where we trust it will henceforth be guarded with jealous care.

A desultory conversation upon the various topics introduced during the evening then ensued, in which several ladies took part, and the meeting separated.

THE third monthly meeting of the session was held December 2nd, in the room ordinarily occupied by the Society, in St. Peter's Church Yard, which proved, however, on the present occasion quite inadequate to the exigencies of the moment, a considerable number of members having been unable to obtain admission. On the motion of Mr. W. Wynne Ffoulkes. the Right Worshipful the Mayor (J. Trevor, Esq.) was called to the chair. The company was exceedingly numerous,

reminding us of the earlier days of the Society : it was pleasing to see so many of the original members present in their old haunts, thus giving a new proof that their interest in the pursuits of architecture and archæology were not upon the wane. Among those who caught our eye we may mention the Lord Bishop, the Rev. Canon and Mrs. Blomfield, Miss Fielden, P. S. Humberston, Esq., M.P., the Misses Humberston (Newton), Lieut.-Colonel Hamilton, Mr. and Mrs. C. Potts, Mr. C. W., Mr. F., and Miss Potts, Major, Mrs., and the Misses Payne, Revs. W. B. Marsden, C. Bowen, J. Harris, J. Bates (Training College), F. Grosvenor, J. F. Hewson, — Grindrod, J. M. Kilner, J. Greaves, Dr. Davies, Miss F. Wilbraham (Rode), Mr. Roberts (Firs), Messrs. Williams (Old Bank), Wynne Ffoulkes, Horatio Lloyd, J. Ralph, — Brandt, C. Brown, T. N. Brushfield, S. Huggins, R. Bolland, James Dixon, H. Parker, Mr. and Mrs. R. Nicholson, Rev. T. Whitby (Liverpool), Mr. and Mrs Meadows Frost, the Misses Frost, Mrs. Fluitt, Mr. J. Price, M.A., Messrs. T. Finchett Maddock, W. Johnson, W. F. Ayrton, the Misses Isherwood, Miss Brown, Miss Nessie Brown, &c.

The MAYOR, in appropriate terms, introduced Mr. J. H. PARKER, of Oxford, to the meeting, explaining that that was the first time he (the Mayor) had ever attended a meeting of the Society, and that he felt consequently somewhat new in his duties as chairman. He should have much pleasure in listening to what Mr. Parker had to say upon the subject of his lecture—" St. John's Church, Chester, and the work of restoration now in progress there."—(See *Journal*, vol. 2 p.p. —).

Mr. Hussey's fine series of plans for the restoration of St. John's, as likewise a large and carefully constructed ground plan of the church and ruins, by Mr. B. Owens, the contractor for the work, were arranged upon the wall ; and these Mr. Parker, at the conclusion of his lecture, proceeded to explain in a pleasing and intelligent manner, taking occasion frequently to reiterate his high satisfaction with the various portions of the restoration so far as they had proceeded. The lecture occupied altogether rather more than an hour in delivery, and from beginning to end Mr. Parker held firm hold on the attention of his large audience, who greeted him as he sat down with well deserved applause.

The MAYOR rose to express how deeply interested he had been in what had fallen from the lecturer, and could cordially sympathise with him in his condemnation of many pretended " restorations " in the present day, which, in his opinion, were merely " destructions " under a more delusive name.

Mr. PARKER then referred to the stone fragments lying upon the table, all of which, with two exceptions, had been taken out of the foundations of the old south wall. One of these was the head, almost

perfect, of an exceedingly early cross, which might have been originally a gable point to the north or south porch, or, as he thought more probable still, the upper portion of a churchyard cross. The top was of an oval form, and both the cross below (which was deeply incised and repeated on both sides) and every portion of the stone, were very elaborately and artistically carved. He considered it belonged to the twelfth century. There were other fragments, such as a richly ornate capital, in a fine state of preservation, clearly belonging to the original work of the church, which Mr. Owens, the contractor, would probably describe to them more particularly. The last object he would refer to was a strange vessel, apparently of 12th century work, with the billet moulding round the edge, which had that moment met his eye, and he would ask the secretaries to give the meeting some reason for its presence among the relics from St. John's.

Mr. T. HUGHES explained that the relic had been sent to the Society some two years ago by a local architect, who was unable to say more about it than that it was given to him some time before by a gentleman, who stated it to have been discovered at St. John's. At a former meeting of the society, the exhibition of this vessel had given rise to an animated discussion, without, however, any definite result; and it would be a service to the members if Mr. Parker would kindly examine it more closely, and give them the benefit of his opinion as to its original purpose and use. Might it have been a portable font, or was it, as had been suggested by one member, simply a mortar? He believed Mr. C. Brown had, in some church or abbey, noticed a similar vessel to that now under discussion.

Mr. C. BROWN stated that he remembered to have seen more than one of such relics (and, as far as he could now recollect, very similar in form to the present one) in the nave of Fountains Abbey.

Mr. PARKER observed that there was a somewhat new subject of archæological study, which had been introduced by Miss Hartshorne in a small work just published, viz. : the caskets or repositories in which were placed, in the middle ages, the hearts of the founders or chief benefactors of a church. Several of these were extant, and it was not improbable that the relic now before them may have been sculptured for a like purpose. The hearts of numberless knights and barons, who had died or been killed during the Crusades, were certainly sent home to England in some such casket or reliquary as the one to which his attention had now been called.

The Rev. C. BOWEN could confirm in some manner Mr. Parker's suggestion about these repositories for hearts, an instance having just come to his own knowledge in the church of Ewyas Harold, Herefordshire, where, by the diligent search of an intelligent antiquary, the

heart of a lady, incased in a casket, had been found buried in a church wall, close to his own father's grave, where it had probably reposed for five hundred years.

Mr. WYNNE FFOULKES referred to a somewhat similar instance elsewhere, after which

Mr. B. OWENS (Contractor for St. John's), in answer to an appeal from the lecturer and Mr. Charles Brown, shortly described the objects lying upon the table. They consisted of capitals and other fragments found built into the old south wall of the nave, and the north clerestory. There was also an arch stone taken out of the south wall, which had the Norman zigzag moulding, and evidently belonged to a building which had disappeared prior to the erection of that part of the late south wall. A flat stone also deserved notice, covered with a curious interlaced ornament not commonly met with. The cross, however, was perhaps the most curious object exhibited, and this was in like manner discovered in the south wall, probably inserted during some repairs. Another cross, very similar to this one, was a short time afterwards discovered in the churchyard, while making a drain along the south-eastern boundary of the yard. All these relics are preserved for exhibition in one of the side chapels attached to the chancel ruins.

Mr. WILLIAMS (Old Bank) had noticed around one of the south-eastern pillars of the nave an ominous looking iron hoop. He wished to know whether the pillar in question was considered unsafe, and if it would be necessary to rebuild it?

Mr. PARKER replied that it was common enough in Norman buildings to find the centre of such columns filled up with coarse rubbish and very indifferent mortar, and possibly such was the case with the pillar referred to. But Mr. OWENS explained that a great portion of this particular pillar had been cut away to make room for a comfortable pew! The whole of this mutilated portion had been restored, and the iron hoop referred to had been used simply to keep the upper stones in position while the lower work was being inserted. The pillar was now perfectly sound, but it had been thought advisable to retain the hoops until the south aisle roof was completed.

The Rev. W. B. MARSDEN, alluding to a statement in Mr. Parker's lecture about the burials against the south wall, stated that the foundation had not been disturbed in the way indicated, as none of the burials there dated back much farther than 30 years; whereas the wall had been tottering long before that, as was evident from two massive buttresses being built up against it.

Mr. PARKER could not in that case explain the cause of the deflection. The CONTRACTOR, however, believed that it was owing to the inefficient way in which the foundation had been laid. Five courses

of stone laid edgewise, with thick layers of earth between, formed the foundation ; and through the great weight from above the stones in question would naturally sink into the earth, more especially as no mortar had been used in connecting them together. Besides this, the thrust of the roof itself had contributed to the mischief. Mr. Parker confirmed this by stating that he had frequently met with Norman foundations, which had been actually laid on the mere turf, in the most careless manner ; but if those ancient builders had only shewn as much ingenuity in their foundations as they had generally done in their superstructures, the necessity for restoring their glorious works would not now so frequently arise.

Mr. HUGHES asked Mr. Parker to examine more minutely the cross upon the table, and pointed out the great resemblance it bore in its style of decoration to the ancient Runic crosses found in the Isle of Man, and in various parts of Britain. Could this be possibly the remains of a Runic cross ?

The LECTURER was of opinion that it could scarcely be of so early a date as that just suggested ; for if men in Chester could work so well in stone at that particular period, it was strange they should not be found in Canterbury also, where contemporary work was certainly of the rudest character. The Norman masons did sometimes imitate the works of earlier times, and in the instance of this cross they may have copied in stone some venerated relic in Runic wicker work ; but the general execution of the cross and the deep cutting showed great advancement both in style and detail, so much so as to satisfy him personally that it could not be earlier than Norman work.

A photograph of the south side of the church, as it existed while the south aisle was building, was exhibited by Mr. Owens, and was inspected with much interest ; as was also a curious old ground plan of the building, the property of Mr. Nicholls, clerk of the works.

The Rev. CANON BLOMFIELD, in proposing a vote of thanks to the lecturer, said he was sure the meeting would show their sense of gratitude to Mr. Parker for his services there that night. (Hear, hear.) He (Canon Blomfield) rejoiced to see the Mayor in the chair on the occasion. It was the first time they had been honoured by his presence, but he hoped it would not be the last. He was very much pleased to hear the Mayor express his disapprobation of the manner in which some of our churches were destroyed by being entrusted to unskilful hands. (Hear, hear.) In regard to Mr. Parker, he would venture to say that they owed him a considerable debt of gratitude for his lecture. (Cheers.) It was conferring a great distinction upon their Society for him to give that lecture to them upon a subject which had acquired additional interest, from the restoration that was being

effected. He was happy to say that there had been a great revival in this Society ; that was the fourth lecture that had already been given this season. There was no doubt that new life had been infused into it ; and he considered it was a subject which ought never to be allowed to rest, more especially in Chester, as it was one of the great centres of archæological interest. He ventured to say that archæology owed more to Mr. Parker than any other man in the country. The revival of the subject was no doubt owing to the book published by Mr. Rickman, who thoroughly systematised it. After that book came the well known "Glossary of Architecture," which was published by Mr. Parker, and which had superseded Mr. Rickman's work. In that book the greatest knowledge of the subject was displayed, and any man who called himself an architect ought not to be without it. Then there was "the Domestic Architecture of the Middle Ages," which contained a mass of information given in the most interesting way, and which had thrown a vast amount of light upon the subject, which no other man but Mr. Parker could have done. These books contained information on archæology which few other men, save the lecturer, in this country could give. Therefore he did consider they owed him a great debt of gratitude, and he trusted the information which he had given them would lead to a greater interest being taken in St. John's Church, and that the noble and munificent liberality of the Marquess of Westminster would be followed still further. (Cheers.) In conclusion, he moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Parker, for his able and entertaining lecture. (Cheers.)

Mr. P. S. HUMBERSTON, M.P., had great pleasure in seconding the resolution. He was sure that he should be expressing the feelings of every one present in saying how deeply indebted they all felt to Mr. Parker for the great interest he had taken, and for the great liberality he had shown in giving them a lecture that evening. (Hear, hear.) He was glad to see that the days of churchwardens' architecture were gone by, and that when noble churches, such as St. John's, were to be restored, they were entrusted to the hands of competent architects. (Hear hear.) We had found men among us ready to provide the means to restore the churches in this city. The Marquess of Westminster had nobly lent his aid, and he was ably seconded by our fellow citizens and neighbours. (Applause.) He thought they might look forward in future years, now that the foundation had been laid for making this church what it was originally, to see it restored to its former magnificent design. (Cheers.) He concluded by seconding the vote of thanks, which was carried by acclamation.

Mr. PARKER returned thanks for the kind manner in which they had received him, and, in answer to an appeal, said that, if fitting

opportunity occurred, he should have great pleasure in giving them another lecture. (Applause.)

Mr. WYNNE FFOULKES drew the attention of the audience to some plans which lay on the table for the re-edification of the house in Watergate-street having the motto in front of it—"God's Providence is mine inheritance." He said the property had lately changed hands, and it was about to be altered, but the present occupier, with a commendable regard for the venerable spot, and in deference to the public wish, had determined to preserve the front part, and keep up as much as possible its ancient character. Mr. James Harrison, he said, had effected the happy design before them, by which he had adapted the premises to modern improvement and uses, but had left the ancient work in all its purity. He (Mr. Ffoulkes) was very much pained the other day to hear that the interesting vault under Mr. Beckett's shop in Eastgate-street was to be destroyed. He was sure that if the Society could use their influence towards preserving that vault as it stood, and at the same time bring about some kind of design by which the shop could be adapted to modern improvements, it would be very desirable.

The MAYOR said he recollected a similar instance in regard to the Roman Bath some few years since, but in consequence of an application from the Council of this Society and other friends, that had been preserved. He suggested that a similar course should be taken in this instance, and he had no doubt it would be attended with the same result.

The Rev. W. B. MARSDEN proposed, and Mr. C. POTTS seconded, a vote of thanks to the Mayor; after which the meeting separated.

During his stay in Chester for the purpose of this lecture, Mr. Parker was the guest of Mr Meadows Frost, who on Saturday and Monday received the officials and chief promoters of the Society at dinner at St. John's House. Mr. Parker left immediately after the lecture for Eaton Hall, on a visit to the Marquess of Westminster.

1862.

THE fourth monthly meeting was held as usual, January 14th, the Rev. W. B. Marsden, Vicar of St. John's, in the chair. The company present included Lieut.-Colonel Hamilton. Dr. McEwen, Major, Mrs., and the Misses Payne, Dr. Davies, Mrs. Fluitt, Mr. and Mrs. H. Parker (Hough Green), Mrs. Meadows Frost and family, Messrs. W. Wynne Ffoulkes, F. Potts, J. Peacock, M. Cann (Plymouth), J. Harrison, T. Catherall, Farrimond, A. Lea, Pullan, &c.

The main attraction of the evening was the exhibition by Messrs. F. Potts and J. Peacock, of two extremely interesting Roman Altars, of red sandstone, then in their respective possession, and which, having been only discovered in Chester a few months before, had never yet met the public gaze. Of these altars, Mr. Potts' especially, it may very safely be affirmed that two finer relics of the votive class have never before rewarded the zeal of the Chester antiquary.

Mr. W. WYNNE FFOULKES, one of the secretaries, undertook the delicate task of attempting a translation of the inscriptions. The first altar was dug up in the autumn of 1861, at the rear of the elegant premises just erected in Eastgate-street by Messrs. Dutton and Miller. It lay in a bed of solid soil, some 13 feet below the surface, to the right of the passage known in modern times as Pepper Alley and London Baker's Entry, but which in ancient days was the leading thoroughfare to St. Werburgh's Abbey, and then known by the name of Goddestall's Lane. This old Saxon lane, which is still maintained as a public thoroughfare, must have passed for centuries over that still more venerable relic which is the subject of this notice, and which was probably buried where it was so lately found by the last Roman possessors when the legionary soldiers bade adieu to old Deva. The inscription ran thus upon the upright face of the stone, every letter being as fresh and sharp as if it had only yesterday left the cunning hand of the mason :—

G E N I O
S A N C T O
C E N T V R I E
A E L I V S
C L A V D I A N
O P T . V . S .

This legend Mr. Ffoulkes interpreted as follows :—“Ælius Claudian the Optio, in fulfilment of a vow (dedicates this altar) to the holy genius of his century.” The *optio* was a military officer, bearing a rank, under the centurion, somewhat analagous to a lieutenant in the English army ; while the devotee whose name has thus come down to us after a sleep of 1200 years was probably a member of one or other of the great Ælian or Claudian families, of whom we so often read in classic story. The arrangement of the letters in the second and third lines was worthy of observation ; the T in *Sancto* being made to occupy the inner space of the O, while the I in *Centurie* was produced by elongating the upright portion of the final E.

The second Altar, which was secured on the day it was found by Mr. J. Peacock, and by him exhibited at this meeting, owed its discovery, also in 1861, to a similar excavation at Mr. J. E. Ewen's

ROMAN ALTARS FOUND AT CHESTER.

premises in Bridge-street Row. Here again were we treading, as in the previous case, upon historic ground; for close to the spot where the altar lay entombed stood that ancient tavern, the *Blue Posts*, the landlady of which, in Queen Mary's time, rendered such signal service to the unfortunate Protestants of Ireland, as amply recorded in all our local guide books. Scarcely so perfect, on the whole, as the specimen shown by Mr. Potts, this altar had yet much to commend it to the intelligent antiquary. The circular basin at the top for receiving oblations was in the former case, as is usual, mere surface sculpture; but in the Bridge-street specimen it was so deeply undercut as to seem almost an independent vessel, and as if secured to the altar only by four ornamental narrow bands. At some early period a piece had been chipped away from the proper left front of this altar, whereby the inscription had become somewhat difficult to decipher; but what remained was easily discernible, and ran as follows:—

D E A E M
N E R V A
F V R I V
F O R T V
N A T V S
M A G
V

This, on the supposition that MAG represented the word *Magister*, and that the initial S completed the inscription when perfect, Mr. Ffoulkes translated thus:—"To the Goddess Minerva, Furius Fortunatus the magister performs his vow." The *magister* was a personage of the highest rank, and there were but few of them met with in the whole history of the empire: the letters in question might therefore bear some other construction, as it might fairly be doubted whether Furius Fortunatus of Chester would be likely to be a man of such an exalted position. Mr. Ffoulkes concluded by pointing out that the four ordinary sacrificial instruments,—the *patera* or dish, the *culter* or knife, the *securus* or axe, and the *præfericulum* or jug for receiving the blood—were all to be seen, sculptured in high relief, on the two sides of both these altars. This Altar having been found on the property of the Marquess of Westminster was, at his Lordship's solicitation, given up to him by Mr. Peacock, and now adorns a niche in the elegant corridor at Eaton Hall.

Mr. T. HUGHES had been in communication with the Rev. Prebendary Scarth, of Bath, and Dr. Collingwood Bruce, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, two well-known Anglo-Roman antiquaries, on the subject of these altars, and those authorities agreed generally with Mr. Ffoulkes in his reading of the inscriptions. Their testimony went to prove also

that the dedication *Genio Centuriæ* was new in England, though instances had been met with abroad. The complete reading *Genio Sancto Centuriæ* was believed to be altogether unique, either here or on the Continent, and this Society might well congratulate itself on being the medium of bringing it before the antiquarian world. *Furius* was a Roman name, and a burial place of a family of that name was discovered, A.D. 1665, at Camaldules, in the ground above Frescati in Italy. Mr. Scarth observed that there had been found, on the line of the Roman Wall, an altar inscribed *Genio Prætorii*,—one on the Continent, *Genio Castrorum*,—and now one at Chester, *Genio Sancto Centuriæ*, showing that it was believed a genius presided over every gradation and rank in the Roman army, as well as over the Emperor, and individual commanders. Mr. Hughes had only seen Mr. Peacock's altar since he came into the room, but it had just forcibly struck him that the supposed three first letters of the title *magister* were in reality initial letters of independent words; for from where he then sat he could distinctly see stops or contracting marks between each of those letters, as well as the remains of a P farther on in the same line. We believe Mr. Ffoulkes has, since the meeting, examined the inscription more minutely, and has arrived at a similar opinion.

Dr. McEWEN exhibited a small earthenware Roman lamp, found in 1858, in the Infirmary Field, at the N.W. corner of the City Walks, in close companionship with other relics of a sepulchral character, which we trust may receive some special attention and notice at the hands of this Society. The doctor gave a short *resumé* of the uses and varieties of Roman lamps, explaining that his own specimen differed from all others he had met with in the fact that it had been gilt, many traces of the gold being still visible in detached places on its surface. He gave a passing notice of the art of gilding or plating, as practised in Roman times, and described by Pliny and other writers; and ended by stating that he had never heard of a lamp being found in any Roman grave until after the custom of burning the bodies had ceased.

Messrs. F. POTTS, Dr. DAVIES, J. PEACOCK, and others, brought forward lamps in earthenware and bronze, to illustrate this portion of the evening's proceedings; and another curious specimen was also exhibited from the Museum of the Society, to which collection Dr. McEwen has most handsomely presented the one on which his remarks were founded.

On the understanding that Dr. McEwen was right in his observations as to the restricted use of the sepulchral lamp, Mr. HUGHES thought that as the lighted lamp was an emblem of immortality, and as it seemed never to be found in graves where cremation had taken place, it might be considered that the graves in which lamps and

In 4 - Brong L - Davies.

In the Society's Museum
- Terra Cotta -

In the Collection of Mr J Peacock.
- Terra Cotta -

ROMAN LAMPS FOUND AT CHESTER.

skeletons were found were those of Roman Christians ; and that wherever the reverse was the case, the ashes were those of Pagans who died clinging to their old faith in preference to that of the cross.

Mr. WYNNE FFOULKES then read an interesting paper on the "Life and character of Archbishop Plegmund, and on his connection with this county." As this paper will no doubt appear at length in the next Volume of the *Journal*, it will be only necessary here to give a very brief abstract. After a few words of appropriate eulogy on the character of King Alfred the Great, whose adult education was confided by the monarch himself to Plegmund, at that time a simple hermit on "an isle of Chester," Mr. Ffoulkes traced his after career by the aid of contemporary and other reliable historians ; shewing that, rising rapidly in his sovereign's favour, he was nominated by him to some of the highest offices at his disposal, becoming finally Archbishop of Canterbury,—that he went to Rome for consecration,—that he himself consecrated seven bishops in one day,—and that he ruled his large and important province with zeal, piety, and discretion. All the leading points in his biography, so far as they have come down to our times, were sufficiently dwelt upon ; after which it was shewn, almost to demonstration, that the only spot in this locality which could fairly be looked upon as "an isle of Chester," and as fulfilling the other requirements of the legend, was the parish church of Plemstall or Plegmundstall, about two miles from this city. This district, it was clear from its geological formation and botanical features, had, until within a comparatively recent historical period, been overflowed by the sea ; and a glance at the ordnance map would show that on such a contingency again happening, the land occupied by Plemstall Church and the Holme House farm adjoining would, from its elevated position, at once return to its normal character in Saxon times, and stand upon the watery waste as a palpable "island of Chester." It was at the present day still washed by the Gowy, a river which was fed by the Mersey from Stanlow Point, and which was once of far greater dimensions than it now is, notwithstanding that it still divides two important hundreds of the county, and, at this precise spot, the two sister townships of Mickle Trafford and Bridge Trafford. Other peculiarities of the district were dwelt upon and discussed ; as for example, that while there is a parish and church of Plemondstall, there is no village or township bearing the name, the church alone standing upon that once, and let us hope for Plegmund's sake long to be, celebrated "island of Chester." A large plan of the district was obligingly contributed at a short notice by Mr. Robert Morris, surveyor, and was of much service to Mr. Ffoulkes in his description of the locality.

Mr. C. SIMPSON (White Friars) kindly sent for exhibition a choice

copy of Tyndale's New Testament, printed during the reign of Henry VIII., and in or about 1536, but differing in some stated particulars from all known editions of that glorious work. The title page, two leaves of the Epistles, and the last leaf of Revelation alone were missing.

We ought to mention that several well executed drawings of Roman altars and lamps by Mr. J. Peacock were hung upon the wall, and aided very considerably in ensuring the success of the meeting.

We also noticed upon the wall a heelball rubbing by the late Mr. Pullan of the Roman monumental headstone discovered, in 1860, at the back of the Corn Exchange in Eastgate-street, and now lying exposed to wind and weather in the public grounds at the Water Tower.

Mr. WYNNE FFOULKES early in the evening announced that, in conformity with a suggestion at the last meeting, the Council of the Society met, and agreed upon a form of memorial to Messrs. Beckett Brothers, of Eastgate Row, requesting them to re-consider their determination to remove the very curious and beautiful crypt under their new premises. Mr. Ffoulkes read to the meeting a very civil letter from the Messrs. Beckett, explaining that immediately on receipt of the Council's memorial they sent for their architect from Liverpool, and charged him so to remodel his plans as, if possible, to save the crypt. The gentleman referred to made the necessary examinations, and expressed his opinion that by taking out the panneling he could reduce the keystones to such a level as would save the substructure: but on attempting to carry this plan into effect, arch after arch gave way, until it was pronounced unsafe to allow any portion to remain, and thus one other splendid relic of old Chester's ancient glory was swept away and destroyed. The Council desired at the same time fully to recognise the great willingness and anxiety evinced by Messrs. Beckett to carry out the wishes of the Society, and they could only lament that the attempt made in such excellent faith had proved such a consummate failure.

The crypt, it will be remembered, consisted of a double row of arches, the junctions resting on massive but elegant columns. It is presumed that an arcade ran originally around the inner walls of the crypt, from the fact that on excavating immediately behind the structure, a number of round marble shafts, resembling Purbeck, were lately found lying heaped together in a square stone chamber, the four sides of which were built on an inclined plane in a most unusual manner. One of the shafts referred to had been polished under Mr. Pullan's superintendence, and was found to possess a very rich grain.

A vote of thanks to the Rev. Chairman terminated the proceedings.

THIS Society held its fifth monthly meeting for the present session on

CRYPT IN EASTGATE STREET (SOUTH), CHESTER,
Formerly existing under Messrs. Beckett & Co's premises.
Pulled down in 1861.

Monday evening, Feb. 17, Mr. Williams (Old Bank), in the chair. The attendance was numerous, and included the Very Rev. the Dean of Bangor, Lady Marshall, Mr. and Mrs. C. T. W. Parry, Colonel and Mrs. Hamilton, Mr. C. Wellbeloved, Mrs. Dobie, Mr. and Mrs. C. Potts, Miss Potts, Mr. and Mrs. Wynne Ffoulkes, Mrs. H. and Miss Ford, Major and the Misses Payne, Mr. Matthew Harrison, Miss Humberston, Messrs. W. Ayrton, C. Deakin, Twemlow (Peatswood), Truss, Morris, Rev. J. Harris, F. Royds (Coddington), and J. Bates, Mrs. Blomfield, Dr. Davies, Mrs. McEwen, Mr. and Mrs. J. I. Blackburne, the Misses Williams (Egerton House), Mr. S. Huggins, &c.

The Rev. CANON BLOMFIELD delivered an able and curious lecture "On some of the Laws and Customs of England in the 16th century, as they affected trade, commerce, and the social life of the times." Taking as his basis the revelations of an old black letter statute book of the reign of Elizabeth, his audience were soon revelling among the eccentric habits and legal difficulties of the last four of the Tudors. It was, he said, to a similar source of information that we owed that very clear and picturesque sketch of the social condition of England in the 16th century, which is given in the first chapter of Froude's History. He had drawn most of his facts from the preambles of Acts of Parliament; and it would be difficult to find a more reliable source for study, inasmuch as nearly every statute of the period abounds with amusing details which had nothing in common with our modern ideas. For instance, no tradesman of those days was allowed as now, to sell wares belonging to a different branch of industry; brewers might not make their own malt; butchers might not also be tanners; carriers might not also be shoemakers, and so on. Barbers, however, might be surgeons, and very often acted as such; the present barber's pole being a relic of that commercial alliance. Then, indeed, dentists had no separate existence,—teeth were drawn by the barber-surgeon, and a barbarous business it must sometimes no doubt have proved. The laws enacted for the furtherance of religion, and for the printing of religious works, reminded us that the printer's art was then only just coming into general use: this was an epoch, in fact, from which we might date much of that great and glorious progress which we in this 19th century were reaping the full benefit of. Dress and its concomitants formed then, as now, a great social difficulty; ladies rushed into expenses which the incomes of their husbands were unable to meet, and a statute of Henry VIII. was particularly addressed to the remedying of the grievance. This act provided that none but the higher classes should wear furs of sable, neither purple silk, nor gold tissue; and nobody having less than £100 a year might wear any chain or other ornament of gold, or any satin or damask. In the present day it

was hard to distinguish the servant from her mistress ; but those Tudor laws made short work with all who, aping the manners and outward bearing of their superiors, indulged " in inordinate excess of sumptuous and costly array and apparel." From this excessive love of dress, among all classes alike, " there hath issued," says the statute, " and daily do chance, such sundry high and notable inconveniences, as be to the great, manifest, and notorious detriment of the Commonweal." This was doubtless, then, as now, rather a ticklish question for legislation ; and certainly any attempt in these days to curb by statute the " inordinate excess of apparel" would inevitably stir up, in one sex at least, something like a rebellion. Monopoly was the ruling principle of trade ; no foreigner, as the stranger merchant was called, was allowed to offer goods for sale in towns of any size, except at the time of the annual fairs, on pain of forfeiture ; and it was mainly to carry out this restrictive idea more fully that those ancient guilds were established, many of which still survive, though shorn somewhat of their privileges, in several of our older cities. Chester still possessed a goodly number of these protected guilds or companies, but he was not aware that any of these had exclusive trade prerogatives still attached to them. The manufacturing interest was, in the 16th century, comparatively speaking, a mere bagatelle ; but even then we find the statutes speaking of Manchester cotton and rugs, and Welsh flannels or friezes : Cheshire boasted its cotton weavers, while Kent, Sussex, and Yorkshire produced the weightier broadcloth. Minerals, wherever discovered, were not, as in our day, open to private enterprise ; but the crown usually, and for a valuable consideration, granted patents to certain noblemen, who received the lion's share of the profits, farming off the mines to others of a less privileged order. A word or two might now be spoken of the usages of private life. We find that every large city like Chester had " its wealthy burghers and rich merchants, men of worship and weight, who had maintained good hospitalities in their handsome mansions in different parts of the city." Most private houses, however, even of the higher classes, were, except sometimes the basement story, almost wholly built of wood ; and some of these oaken fabrics, being very old, and in some instances deserted as residences by their proprietors, were in a wretched and dangerous state of decay ; many of them, says the preamble to an Act of 33rd Henry VIII., even " adjoining the principal streets, replenished with much ordure, filth, and uncleanness, with pits and cellars and vaults lying open and uncovered." This Act required the owners at once to rebuild these perishing structures ; or if they failed to do so, the mayor of the city was to take possession and rebuild them at and for the public cost and benefit. Archery continued to be, at this period, *the* sport of all others patronised by the crown

and fostered among the people. In 1511, we are told by one of these statutes, that "shooting in the long bowe had produced a great number of good archers, who did many notable acts, and discomfitures of war against the infidels and others, to the terrible dread and fear of all strange nations." But it was now beginning in some places to decline in consequence of "the introduction of many new and crafty games, tennis, bowles, &c., &c., so that many bowyers and fletchers, for lack of work, are gone to inhabit in Scotland." The old laws were therefore renewed, requiring every subject of the realm, under the age of 60, "to exercise shooting in longe bowes, and alsoe to have alwaies a bowe and arrowes in his house to use himself to shootinge." Every child above seven years of age was to be trained in the practice of archery, and every parent or guardian must have a bow and two shafts for his children to practice with; and the authorities of each city and town were bound to provide a shooting ground and butts, wherein the inhabitants might exercise themselves in shooting on holidays and other times convenient. Every man was liable to military service; and if worth £5 a-year and upwards had to keep a coat of plate armour, a bow, &c., and present himself so armed at all musters summoned by the authorities. If he had £10 a-year, he had to keep a horse also, ready for the field. The prices of provisions in those days would sound strange to the housekeeper of the 19th century. Beef and pork could be bought for a halfpenny a pound, and mutton and veal cost only a fraction higher. Ale was 2d. a gallon, and other liquors could be had at proportionate prices. Equally noteworthy were some of the laws relating to the agricultural district: for instance, nobody was allowed to keep more than two farms, or to build cottages without four acres of land being attached to each. All girls over 12 years of age, and not gentle born, might be compelled to become servants, or be committed to prison if they refused. No servant could leave his or her parish without a certificate from the parson that the change was agreeable to the employer. Gipsies, fortune-tellers, and others who sought a living by idleness, were to be offered work, and if they refused, they became the slaves of the party offering it for a period of two years: if they ran away from their bondage, and were again caught, they were to be chained, and branded on the cheek, and were after the third offence to suffer death as felons. Numerous other peculiarities of social life were dwelt upon by the lecturer, who for upwards of an hour afforded a fund of amusement and no little instruction of a novel character to those whose privilege it was to be present at the meeting.

Mr. CHARLES POTTS, one of the Chester Charity Commissioners, adverting to that portion of the lecture which related to trade guilds, explained that there were some two dozen such companies in Chester,

whose aldermen, stewards, and other officers were appointed annually. These companies were alone entitled to the benefits attaching to Owen Jones' and other important legacies, which money was doled out to the poorer members of each in equal proportions, at the discretion of the commissioners. He believed this was the only privilege now attaching to the members of any of these companies.

Mr. T. HUGHES, in correction of this latter supposition, drew the lecturer's attention to the case of the Goldsmith's Company, a guild which still flourished in Chester and at this moment in more than its ancient glory. Chester had been for many centuries one of the few English cities privileged to hold and maintain a court of assay of gold and silver plate, one of the relics, probably, of the Saxon Mint established here. This office of assay was attached to the Goldsmith's Company; and the Prime Warden, Assay Master, and a numerous staff of officials, all belonging to the company, carried on still the important and yearly increasing business attaching to the ancient office. The Chester office now assayed and stamped a greater quantity of plate than any other office in the country, London alone excepted: the American goldsmiths, as a rule, sent their best goods to Chester to receive the substantial guarantee of the Chester hall mark; and instances were not uncommon of silver plate being sent to Chester for assay from the very places where local assay offices actually existed,—a practical proof of the estimation in which the Chester Goldsmiths' Company and Hall of Assay are held throughout the country. With regard to archery, there was an Order of Assembly extant which required that children should repair every Sunday morning to church to hear sermons, and in the afternoon should proceed to the Roodeye, there to practice with bows and arrows for the good of the commonweal. At the annual sheriff's breakfast, prizes were also given for skill displayed in the practice of archery.

The CHAIRMAN and other members followed on the same and kindred subjects; after which a vote of thanks, on the motion of the DEAN OF BANGOR and Mr. WYNNE FFOULKES, was passed by acclamation to the Rev. Canon for his excellent lecture.

Some relics of Samian and other pottery found at the rear of God's Providence House, in Watergate-street, were exhibited by the architect, Mr. Harrison, and elicited a few descriptive observations from Mr. Wynne Ffoulkes and others.

THE sixth monthly meeting was held as usual, on April 14th, Mr. Williams (Old Bank) in the chair.

Mr. W. BEAMONT, of Warrington, read a clever and amusing paper "On the antiquity of shoeing horses in the present mode." Premising

that he should confine himself to the historical and popular rather than to the professional or scientific view of the subject, he described the superstitions current in this and other countries with respect to the horse shoe. Everybody knew how lucky it was thought to be to find an old horse shoe, and with what zeal its fortunate possessor would nail up the relic behind or beneath his front door, as a charm most effectual against every sort of ill-luck. Sailors, proverbially superstitious, had entire faith in the horse shoe ; and he (Mr. Beamont) had recently seen one nailed fast to the mast of a ship in Scotland, as a sure protection against the dangers of the sea. King James I, in his work on Witchcraft, expresses his own and the general belief that the horse shoe was of undoubted efficacy as a protection against witches ; and from *Hudibras* we learn that the conjuror,

“ Chased evil spirits away by dint
Of cickle, horse shoe, hollow flint.”

Hippolyte is stated by Weever to have been the patron saint of the English smiths, and to have had a church in Hertfordshire, in which he lies buried, dedicated to him. To this church it was in past days the custom for travellers on horseback to repair, and to purchase supposed relics of the saint, such relics having great power in the taming of young or refractory horses. St Elói is the French blacksmiths' saint, and is said to have first taught the art in that country ; but if so, either pupil or saint, or both, must have been deficient in skill, as it takes *two* men now to do the work in France that is in England as readily performed by *one*. To show the prevalence of the superstition in other countries, Mr. Beamont observed that he had seen a horse shoe nailed over a garden door in the outskirts of a city in Palestine ; while the gates of Peshawur, in Cabool, were studded with horse shoes nailed there for luck, and resembling in appearance the interior of the hall at Oakham, in Rutlandshire, a drawing of which, contributed by Mr. Peacock, was exhibited at the lecture. The Moors engrafted the superstition on their architecture, while the Chinese built their tombs in the same form, and doubtless with the same feeling. The Bible abounded with passages referring to the horse, but from none of them could it be inferred that the practice of shoeing existed when any of the sacred writings were compiled. The horse shoe appears on none of the Egyptian hieroglyphics or other sculptures, and was evidently unknown to that people. Ancient Persia and Greece were in like manner shewn to have been ignorant of the farrier's art. Arriving now at Roman times, the lecturer argued in favour of that mighty people as the inventors of the horse shoe, first perhaps in the shape of a metal sock, but developing afterwards into that bolder contrivance by which the protective plate should be actually nailed fast to

the hoof. Vespasian and Nero were both proved to have shod their horses in some form or other, the latter, indeed, with shoes of silver; while his consort Poppœa pushed matters to an extreme, by using shoes of gold. The same thing occurred in much later times, but was then the result not of choice but of accident. In Pizarro's famous expedition across the mountains to Pachamac, the horses soon wore out their shoes, and, there being no iron at hand, they had to be shod with plates of silver or gold before they could continue their march. Appian and other classic authors now began specifically to mention the shoeing of horses; but Beckmann, in his *History of Inventions*, denies that anything but loose socks were thus meant. A cast from an antique gem was exhibited by Mr. Beaumont to illustrate this method of shoeing, which he referred to a period anterior to the Roman empire. He cited numerous instances from the classics, in which the writers palpably referred to the modern shaped horse shoe. At several places, both in Lancashire and Cheshire, such as Furness, Ashton, Wigan, &c., the horse shoe had been found along with undoubted Roman remains which had apparently never been disturbed since they were originally buried. He thus concluded that from a period almost coeval with the establishment of the Empire, the modern system of horse shoeing was known to and practised by the Roman people. In June, 1830, while excavating for a road at Brymbo, and at a depth of five feet *under* the well known Offa's Dyke, a hundred pairs of horse shoes were discovered: thus proving that in early Saxon times the principle contended for was well understood in this country. Four of these early shoes Mr. Beaumont exhibited at the meeting, as well as several drawings illustrative of the lecture. We have seldom listened to a subject more ably treated, or one which, apparently promising so little, yet afforded so much real interest and amusement.

The Rev. C. BOWEN referred in general terms to the topics discussed by the lecturer, incidentally alluding to an inn, in one of the border counties, called the Prince's Deceit. This was in remembrance of a ruse practised by the Welsh Prince Llewellyn, who shod his horses the contrary way in his retreat, by means of which his enemies were completely foiled in their pursuit. He did not know the Welsh name for the Prince's Deceit, but probably the Chairman, being a Welshman, could enlighten him.

The CHAIRMAN was not certain what it would be called in Welsh, but in English the incident might, he thought, be fairly paraphrased into a "royal hoax." (Laughter.)

Mr. T. HUGHES considered that the lecturer's argument as to the remote antiquity of the horse shoe might be regarded as fairly established. He would, therefore, descend at once to more modern times.

and refer to the practice long existing at Oakham, in Rutlandshire, of demanding a horse shoe from every peer of the realm who chanced to pass on horseback through that privileged town. There was a plate in a recent number of the *Illustrated Times* which showed the interior of Oakham Hall, with the trophies so exacted hanging around the walls, our beloved Queen having been one of those who had to submit to the penalty. The idea that this custom arose from the manor having once belonged to the Ferrers family, whose arms in later times contained a border of horse shoes, he showed to be an error, as the horse shoe formed no part of the Ferrers' arms until after Oakham had passed into other hands. The family of Ferrers adopted the horse shoe when a member of it married a co-heiress of the Marshall family early in the 13th century. The contemporary seal of Walter Marshall was exhibited that evening as the earliest known instance of a horse shoe occurring in any heraldic device. The Smiths' Company at Chester, which included the smiths, cutlers, furbishers (or steel polishers), and plumbers' crafts, was in existence here long prior to 1498, in which year Prince Arthur, son and heir of King Henry VII., paid a visit to Chester. The Prince's horses required to be re-shod, and the services of Thomas Edyan, master smith, and senior alderman of the Smiths' Company, were called into requisition on that duty. This work was completed so entirely to the Prince's satisfaction, that he there and then presented to the said Edyan a silver badge, bearing a shield on which was engraved a horse shoe, pincers, and hammer, surmounted by a fleur-de-lis crown, which he granted to be thenceforward worn by his said master smith, Thomas Edyan, and his successors the senior alderman of the Smiths' Company, for ever. The badge is still preserved by this Company, and was produced at the meeting; as was also the vellum record of their proceedings, contained a thick volume extending from 1490 to the present time. Mr Hughes read entries from this book, showing the expenses annually incurred in setting forth the Midsummer Pageants, in which the Smiths' Company took part, the play performed by them being the *Purification of the Virgin*. The "banner" of the Company was mentioned in each year's accounts as being carried at the Midsummer Show; and this banner or pennon, which was repainted in 1776, was also exhibited at the meeting, as was also the iron head of the old banner pole, on which was painted at the Restoration, by Randle Holme, the figure of a smith forging a horse shoe. Turning then to the illustrations upon the walls, which had been kindly prepared at his request by Mr. J. Peacock, he explained that the monumental slabs there figured were rubbings principally taken from gravestones recently excavated at the western end of St. John's Church, Chester, while sinking the foundations of the proposed

new vestibule for that edifice. One of these stones contained a fleur-de-lis cross, on either side of which was sculptured a horse shoe, and a smith's hammer and pincers. This was clearly commemorative of a defunct member of the Smiths' Company of Chester, and possibly of that very Edyan whose workmanship had so won the Prince's favour. An adjoining slab was in the memory of Thomas Hale, sheriff of Chester, in 1527. The other stones, all cruciform, were found in like manner side by side, and forming the original interior floor of the nave, westward of the present west wall of the Church. This wall he regretted to find was to be rebuilt on its present site, and thus would the error of an Elizabethan generation be cruelly perpetuated. He thought this was an architectural and historic mistake, against which this Society should enter its respectful protest.

The Rev. C. BOWEN thought the first difficulty that would present itself on this view of the case would be "Where was the money to come from?" Besides the stones just pointed out and described, he noticed others of similar character adorning the walls of the room—were these also found at St. John's?

In reply to Mr. Bowen's objection, Mr. HUGHES would merely say that if the money could not be raised now for a truthful re-production of the west end of St. John's, it would be far preferable to leave that end of the Church untouched, and so afford an opportunity for the piety and munificence of a future age to complete what we of the present were unable to accomplish. The other rubbings exhibited were also from stones existing at St. John's, but were not connected with the recent excavations. One of them showed an Early English cross, with a pair of scissors and a glove on either side of the stem. This was no doubt the gravestone of a glover, as the one already described was that of a master smith, the glove trade having been, as was well known, the great staple of the city for several centuries.

An interesting conversation then ensued about the emblem of the glove, which used to be hung out from St. Peter's Church during the two annual Chester fairs, as an intimation that stranger merchants might during those periods, and those alone, transact business within the city. It was elicited that this relic of an ancient Chester custom had disappeared from the city, and that it had been last traced to the possession of a person in Liverpool, whose whereabouts could not now be ascertained.

The CHAIRMAN and other members thought this interesting custom ought never to have been discontinued, and that it should, if possible, be revived, although the privileges once attaching to it had now been set aside. It was a pity to see such an old and peculiar custom altogether lost to the city.

Mr. WYNNE FFOULKES had been recently waited upon by some strangers of antiquarian tastes, who called his attention to the present state of the Roman sculpture of Minerva on the face of Edgar's Cave in this city, the surface of which had been riddled and almost destroyed by rifle bullets. He thought this Society should communicate with the owner of the field, and see what could be done to prevent a continuance of the practice.

Mr. HUGHES was glad Mr. Ffoulkes had opened this question; the more so as he was able to state that he had only the previous week seen the proprietor of the field, who, through residing in the country, was quite unaware of what had been going on; but who at once, and in the kindest possible manner assured him that immediate steps should be taken to prevent any further injury being done to the sculptured rock. After this guarantee from the owner of the field, the Society and public might rest satisfied that all they could desire would now be done to preserve the shattered relic.

Mr. JAMES HARRISON exhibited a very tasteful drawing of an old house in Watergate-street, a little to the westward of that known as "God's Providence House," which had just been restored by him. The carved front of this house was perhaps second to none in the city, save that known as "Bishop Lloyd's" House. Mr. Harrison exhibited a large cast from one of the carved beams, as a specimen of the richness and boldness of the work.

Votes of thanks to the lecturer (Mr. Beaumont), to the Chairman, and Mr. J. Harrison closed the proceedings.

THE seventh monthly meeting of the session was held on Tuesday evening, May 20th, the Reverend H. Venables, Minor Canon of Chester Cathedral, in the chair. There was a large gathering of the members and their friends, including Mr. and Mrs. C. Potts, Dr. Davies, Major, Mrs., and the Misses Payne and party, Mr. T. Rigby (Fenny Wood), Dr. Powell, the Misses Isherwood, Dr. Dickson, Mr. Edwards (Over), the Revs. C. Bowen, J. Bates, and W. Cripps, Mr. and Mrs. W. Brown, Miss Brown, Mr. C. and Miss Nessie Brown, Mr. J. Peacock, Miss Worthington, Mr. C. Leet, Messrs. J. Rogers, G. H. Martin, W. Beswick, J. Douglas, James Harrison, Mr. and Mrs. Chivas, Miss Weaver, Mr. S. and the Misses Huggins, &c.

Dr. BRUSHFIELD opened with some curious and interesting "Jottings from the Cheshire Manuscripts of the three Randle Holmes in the 17th century." After describing the character of the MSS. generally, and explaining that they formed portion of the immense Harleian collection, now the property of the British nation, he read some curious notes relating to St. Mary's parish, Chester, by which

it appeared that the tithes of some of its outlying townships were alienated to Backford by an ordinance of the Commonwealth, and had not since been recovered. Another extract referred to a weekly market obtained for Oxton in Wirral, at the instance of the then overseer, Sergeant Glynne, the founder of the line of baronets who, for 200 years, have ranked as lords of the castle of Hawarden, and are now represented by Sir Stephen Glynne, Bart., one of the original members of this Society. Other extracts referred to the sufferings of the Quakers in the time of the Commonwealth, and to the Calves' Head Breakfast, which used annually to be given by the the sheriffs of Chester in days gone by; concluding with an amusing anecdote of the period, relating to the vagaries and misfortunes of a wife who always ran contrary and disobedient to her husband.

The Rev. C. BOWEN had been much interested in Dr. Brushfield's extracts, especially with those relating to St. Mary's parish, and the alienation of its tithes in the 17th century. He would be glad to know whether from the Harleian MSS. anything was to be gleaned as to the origin and meaning of the word *Roodeye*, to which the lecturer had incidentally referred?

Dr. BRUSHFIELD explained that the name *Roodeye* was variously spelt in ancient MSS., but he believed the most ancient form of spelling the word was *Rooda-eye*, which meant literally the eye or island of the rode or cross. The base of the *Roodeye* Cross still exists, it is believed, in its original position, having been replaced there by the corporation of Chester, a few years ago, at the instance of this Society.

Mr. T. HUGHES read a paper "On some Saxon Coins recently discovered at St. John's Church, Chester, considered in their connection with the history of that church and of Cheshire generally in the 10th century." He gave a rapid resumé of the history and condition of England at the close of the ninth century, in the startling events of which the name of Alfred the Great stood conspicuously forward. Mr. Hughes explained that, from a position of comparative slavery, the great Saxon monarch had won back his dominions, province by province, from the Danes; placing the province of Mercia, to which Chester belonged, in the hands of Earl Ethelred, who had recently married Ethelfleda, the king's firstborn and favourite daughter. Their energies in the first instance, and certainly most of their time appear to have been expended in building towns and castles on the Cheshire or north-western frontier of Mercia. Chester itself was restored, nay almost rebuilt, under their direction: the castles of Bromborough and Runcorn, Eddisbury and Warburton, all in this county, rose up at their command: and the Danish raven, cowed if not subdued, but seldom ventured to cross their watchful path. Eddisbury existed in the present day but

in name ; and a similar fate at this moment awaited another of these Saxon strongholds, the castle hill of Runcorn, just about to be destroyed with a view to improve the navigation of the Mersey. In this season of tranquility, the 10th century dawned upon old England,—Alfred, the darling of his people, slept with his fathers,—and Edward his son, known as Edward the Elder, reigned in his stead. In conjunction with Ethelred and Ethelfleda, Edward held his own in Mercia against the inroads of the Danes. Ethelred died in 911, leaving his widow to rule his people, as indeed she did right royally, for some seven or eight years afterwards. Mr. Hughes explained that the coins, it was thought about fifty in all, were found buried, nearly 16 feet deep, beneath some ancient interments of apparently the 15th century,—that they were all coins of either Edward the Elder, or of St. Peter or St. Edmund, the latter being contemporary money issued by the church,—that the four types of Edward's coins preserved and exhibited that evening, were of the rarest description known, one bearing the design of a house and the mint mark of Canterbury, another a man's head with the mint mark of York,—that the other two were struck by moneyers whose names were severally associated with the coinage of Alfred and Athelstan, one the predecessor and the other the successor of Edward the Elder. The coins so found had never been in circulation ; they were as fresh and sharp as when first struck ; they were in his (Mr. Hughes') opinion the actual foundation coins of the church ; and had evidently escaped recognition during the several rebuildings of the church in later times. He believed also that history, or rather local tradition, was wrong in ascribing the foundation of the church to *King* Ethelred in 876 ; for if these coins were foundation coins (and if not, what were they doing in the place where they were found ?), then they proved most clearly that it was *Earl* Ethelred, husband of the great Ethelfleda, who, between the years 901–911, first built the church of St. John on the spot where he captured the white hind of his superstitious vision. This and other important historic points were referred to in the paper ; but as it appears at length in the current volume of the Society's *Journal*, we need not intrench upon our space by a more elaborate notice here. (See *ante*, pp. 289-308.)

Mr. HUGHES acknowledged in suitable terms the obligations he and the Society were under to Mr. John Peacock, not only for the beautiful and faithful illustrations of the coins hung upon the walls, but also for the very ingenious contrivance by which both sides of the coins themselves could be examined at leisure by those present, without the risk of their being broken or injured.

The Rev. C. BOWEN, Rector of St. Mary's, said that he rose with great pleasure to ask permission of the company to offer their thanks

to the two gentlemen who had afforded them, that evening, so great an intellectual treat. No one could have listened to the elaborate papers which had been read, without experiencing great pleasure, and at the same time deriving no little profit from the information they conveyed. It was very gratifying to find gentlemen, engaged, as Dr. Brushfield and Mr. Hughes were, in the active pursuits of professional life, thus devoting their leisure time to the perusal of scarce and ancient documents, and the collection of historical incidents, in order that they might furnish pleasing and profitable recreation to their fellow citizens. Nor was this the first time that both those gentlemen had placed the Society under obligation to them. He remembered having listened, a year or two ago, to a very interesting and amusing description, by Dr. Brushfield, of the various modes of "obsolete punishments," and he believed that every one present, while thanking him for the past, will look forward with pleasure to the fulfilment of his kind promise to continue, on a future opportunity, the subject which he had so ably and so learnedly brought before them that evening. With respect to the Paper (Mr. Hughes's) he was sure that all would see how much of deep and careful research it manifested,—how scholarlike was the language—how accurate its descriptions of the discoveries recently made—and what great ingenuity the writer had displayed in deciphering the often contracted inscriptions, and in discovering therefrom the date and value of the coins which he had that evening exhibited. Nor ought he to omit on this occasion (terminating as it did, the present session) to state how much the Society was indebted to Mr. Hughes, as one of the honorary secretaries, for its continued existence and prosperous condition. Had it not been for his devotion to archæology, and his zeal and energy in antiquarian pursuits, he believed that the Society, which had been the means of affording them so many agreeable re-unions, and so much interesting and profitable information, would, long ere this, have been defunct. On all these grounds, and indeed on many others, he felt sure that the meeting would permit him to beg Mr. Hughes's acceptance of their best thanks and acknowledgments.

Mr. G. CHIVAS sent for exhibition a Roman Altar, discovered a week or two before while excavating at the rear of the new Corn Exchange, Chester. This altar must have lain for centuries within a few yards of the Roman soldier's gravestone, dug up in 1859, and since then transferred by Mr. Chivas to the Public Grounds adjoining the Water Tower. Mr. Hughes explained that it was of a ruder description than those usually met with in Chester or elsewhere, and that the lower portion of the inscription was almost entirely obliterated. This inscription occupied originally four lines, the two first and the com-

mencement of the third being now almost all that could be deciphered with any certainty. It ran thus : —

“ D E A E
M A T
R I . . .
. . . V M ”

The name of the individual was wanting to complete the inscription ; but the dedication *Deæ Matri*, “to the holy mother” presiding over the city, was entirely new, all other known examples in England being addressed *Deabus Matribus*, “to the goddess mothers,” a trinity of whom, it was supposed by the Teutonic Romans, presided over the destinies of every considerable town. This departure from the ordinary rule the speaker could not attempt to explain, unless indeed it had been thought by the unknown devotee that Chester (or *Deva*) was so generally good as to require only one goddess to look after its interests and safety. He trusted that Mr. Chivas would ultimately present this Altar to the Museum of the Society, where every necessary care would be taken of it, and every facility given for its inspection by those interested in such remains.*

Mr. T. RIGBY (Fenny Wood) exhibited, and presented to the Society, the log book of the “old *Temeraire*” line-of-battle ship, captured by Capt. Bartley of the *Warspite*, under Admiral Boscawen, from the French at the battle of Cape Lagos, in 1759. The ship was commanded, at the date of the record in question, 1762, exactly 100 years ago, by Capt. George Wade, a native of Over, in this county.

Mr. J. DOUGLAS, architect, exhibited his front elevation drawing of the new grammar schools and master’s residence at Warrington, then about to be erected by the trustees of the school. This work has since been completed, and is a credit to both architect and trustees, as well as a genuine ornament to the town.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman, on the motion of Mr. Charles Potts, and a similar compliment to Mr. Peacock, whose characteristic drawings of the Anglo-Saxon coins had contributed so much to the success of the evening, brought the proceedings of the present popular session to a close. It was very generally acknowledged that the session of 1861-2, was the most successful one in the annals of the Society.

* The suggestion thus thrown out was at once kindly met by Mr. Chivas, and the *Deæ Matri* Altar is now an heir loom of the Society, making a series of three now adorning its infant museum. It is much to be hoped that other stray memorials of Rome’s imperial connection with Chester, may yet find a congenial home in the same repository.

The first monthly meeting of the session of 1862-3 was held at the Society's rooms on Thursday evening, Oct. 9, the following ladies and gentlemen, among many others, being present :—Mr. C. W. Potts, Mr. E. Beavan (now Recorder of Chester), Mr. Horatio and Mrs. Lloyd, the Rev. H. and Mrs. Venables, the Revs. C. Bowen, J. Harris, and F. Grosvenor, Mrs. Fluitt, Mrs. Titherington, Dr. and Mrs. Dickson, Mr. J. and Mrs. Ralph, the Rev. R. W. Gleadowe (Neston) and Miss Hurle, Mr. Matthew Harrison, Mr. H. Parker, Mr. Charles and Miss Brown, Dr. Davies, Mr. E. Owens and party, Mr. C. Well-beloved, Mr. and Miss Pullan, Mr. J. Rogers, &c.

On the motion of Mr. C. W. Potts, the Rev. C. Bowen, Rector of St. Mary's, Chester, was called to the chair, and introduced the business of the evening.

Mr. HORATIO LLOYD, barrister-at-law, read a cleverly digested and interesting paper on "The Discovery of Roman Remains on the site of the ancient city of Uriconium, at Wroxeter." (See present Volume of *Journal*, pp. 309-28.) The walls of the lecture room were hung with a series of plans and illustrations from the lecturer's own hand; in addition to which Messrs. Catherall and Prichard contributed two beautiful photographs, upon a large scale, of the hypocausts and wall at Wroxeter as they now exist.

The Rev. CHAIRMAN having invited discussion or inquiry upon any of the points referred to by the lecturer, who had, he said, revealed that evening a rich and, to him, a new field of archæological interest,

The Rev. R. W. GLEADOWE expressed his surprise that such diminutive articles as hair-pins should have been found in the ruins, and asked of what material they were made, and the authority for supposing them to be really articles of the toilette?

Mr. LLOYD explained that the pins found at Wroxeter were for the most part of bone, but that bronze pins of the same character, and even bone hair-combs of the same remote date, had also occasionally been met with.

Mr. T. HUGHES, after expressing the pleasure with which he had listened to the paper just read, remarked that, curious as was the discovery of the burnt grains of wheat in the ruins of Uriconium, they must not lose sight of the analogous fact that similar grains, but in their natural state, were frequently found in the cases of Egyptian mummies, and that this wheat had been since actually sown, and proved highly productive on English soil. As so many ladies were present that evening, he might be permitted to say with respect to an article of interest referred to by the lecturer, and certainly one of use to the fair sex, viz.—hair pins,—that there was no doubt whatever as to the intention of these relics, for that on almost every female statue and coin

known the Roman matron's hair would be found to be secured by a pin exactly similar in character to the examples dug up at Wroxeter. Further than this, both in the matter of hair-pins and brooches, the ladies of the present day were actually wearing ornaments copied in all their essential features from those too often despised relics of a past civilization. The lecturer had correctly stated that, as a general rule, the cemeteries of every Roman city were, like that at Uriconium, situate outside the walls. Chester, however, presented in some sort an exception to this rule ; for whereas it was certain that the great Roman cemetery of *Deva* was on the southern confines of the city, between Handbridge and Iron Bridge (otherwise *Heron Bridge*), as recent excavations amply testified, yet Roman interments had lately been met with in at least two different places *within* the old Walls. He (Mr. Hughes) alluded to the inscribed gravestone dug up on the site of the present Corn Exchange, near St. Oswald's churchyard, (close to the curious altar which lay upon the table during the lecture, and which was presented to the Society's Museum by Mr. G. Chivas), and to the series of graves, some containing coins and urns, discovered in 1858, in the Infirmary Field. He might have adduced another instance, brought to light in 1860, which came also at the same time under his own notice. While the Dee Stand Proprietors were busy extending their open stands slightly to the southward, upon the brow of the hill, outside the present, but *within* the old Roman fortifications, the workmen came upon a Roman grave, formed of the ordinary red tiles, with several of the undecayed bones still lying as they were originally placed there with the body some 1500 years ago !

Mr. C. W. Potts had listened with much interest to the lecturer's remarks, which evinced considerable antiquarian research. While Mr. Lloyd was describing the probably large expanse of waste land around the city of Uriconium in Roman times, he (Mr. Potts) had been forcibly reminded of the contents of some very ancient Cheshire deeds which had once passed through his hands professionally ; where, out of an immense estate in that county, only a few acres were in actual cultivation at the date of the deeds in question, all the rest being described therein as *waste*. He noticed among the small fragments of pottery, exhibited by the lecturer as picked up at Uriconium, a fine piece of Samian ware, of which he had just seen a number of similar specimens in the glass-cases of the Society's Museum, and which closely resembled fragments he had himself found near his own residence at Heron Bridge. After remarks from other members,

The Rev. CHAIRMAN moved the thanks of the Society to Mr. H. Lloyd for his very learned and elaborate paper, and took the opportunity of suggesting to the meeting the propriety of a " Society's Excursion "

someday to Wroxeter, in order to investigate upon the spot the remains of that noble city which had for so many centuries lain buried beneath Salopian soil.

Mr. PULLAN, having recently visited Uriconium in company with several friends around him, would take the liberty of endorsing the very careful and accurate description of the several remains just presented to them by the lecturer. Members present and others might rest satisfied that their proposed visit to Wroxeter would be about the greatest antiquarian treat it was possible to enjoy within an easy distance from Chester. *

Mr. JAS. ROGERS exhibited six small but most extraordinary leaden figures, said to have been dug up in the excavations for the underground railway in Farringdon-street, London, and purchased by him from the labourers within a few moments of their discovery. Much interest was excited in the meeting about these relics, and various opinions were advanced relating to them; but as they are likely to be again brought forward before the Society, it would be premature to attempt a description of the figures, or of the inscriptions which appear on them.

An elaborate pen and ink etching (very much in the Cuitt style) of the old south-western exterior of St. John's Church, Chester, was exhibited by the artist, Mr. William Boden, of this city. This etching was valuable in an antiquarian sense, from the fact that nearly the whole of that portion of the structure had been pulled down and rebuilt since the sketch was made. This, followed by a vote of thanks to the Chairman and Exhibitors, brought the proceedings of the meeting and of the year 1862 to a close.

* The Editors cannot suffer this opportunity to pass without recording their painful sense of the loss sustained by the Society in the recent death of Mr. Thomas Pullan, one of its earliest and most faithful members, and for a series of years Honorary Curator of its Museum,—a man of most simple and retiring habits, but withal one well read in general literature, and with a decided taste for antiquarian pursuits. The Society, as well as the city, have lost in Mr. Pullan a servant they could ill afford to part with. The Public Baths took rank as a local institution mainly through his energetic exertions,—the Mechanics' Institution and Water Tower Museum alike benefited by his zeal and advocacy,—while the Public Grounds encircling the latter structure, with the numerous archaeological remains adorning them, are due almost alone to Mr. Pullan's modest yet persistent labours. He was a native of Leeds, where he was born in 1802, and died at his residence, St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, Chester, August 21, 1863. Mr. Pullan was author of two little works, printed by himself, one being on the *Genders of French Nouns*, and the other a small *Guide to Chester*, in French and English, published in 1851, at the time of the first Great National Exhibition.

A P P E N D I X.

“ TO BEAR AWAY THE BELL.”—*Cheshire Proverb.*

(PAGE 71.)

The custom here hinted at by Major Egerton Leigh originated far back in mediæval times, when plays and pageants were annually set forth upon the Roodeye at Chester, the actors being the members of the associated trade companies of the city. Among the Corporation Records was, and possibly still is, one to the following effect, under date 1539, anno 31 Henry VIII.

“ Alsoe, whereas the companye and occupation of the Saddlers, within the cittie of Chester, did yearely by custom, time out of memorie of man, the same day, hour, and place, before the mayor, offer upon a truncheon, staffe, or speare. a certain homage, to the drapers of the cittie of Chester, called the saddler's ball, profitable for few uses or purposes, as it was, beinge a ball of silke of the bigness of a bowle, it was turned into a silver bell, weighing about two ounces, as is supposed, of silver ; the which saide silver bell was ordayned to be the reward of that horse, which with speedy runninge then should run before all others, and there presently should be given the daye and place. This alteration was made the same time, and by the same mayor, like as the shoemaker's foote-ball was before exchanged into six silver gleaves.”

Again, under date 1609, it appears that “ Mr. William Leicester, mercer, beinge mayor of Chester, (A.D. 1608), he, with the assente of the mayor and cittie, at his own coste chiefly, as I conceive, caused three silver cupps of good value to be made, the whiche said silver cupps were, upon St. George's daye, for ever to be thus disposed : all gentlemen that would bringe their horses to the Rooddee that daye, and there rune, that horse which with spede did over-rune the reste, should have the beste cuppe there presently delivered, and that horse which came seconde, next the firste, before the reste, had the seconde cuppe there also delivered ; and for the third cuppe, it was to be rune

for at the ringe, by any gentleman that would rune for the same, upon the said Rooddee, and upon St. George's daye, being thus decreed, that every horse putt in soe much money as made the value of the cupps or bells, and had the money, which horses did winne the same, and the use of the cupps, till that daye twelve month, being in bond to deliver in the cupps that daye ; soe also for the cuppe for the ringe, which was yearely continued accordingly, until the yeare of our Lord 1623 ; John Brereton, iun-holder, being mayor of Chester, he altered the same after this manner, and caused the three cupps to be sould, and caused more money to be gathered and added, so that the intereste thereof would make one faire silver cuppe, of the value of £8 as I suppose, it maye be more worth, and the race to be altered, viz. from beyonde the New Tower a great distance, and soe to rune five times from that place rownd about the Rood-dee, and he that overcame all the rest the last course, to have the cuppe freely for ever, then and there delivered, which is continued to this daye. But here I must not omitt the charge, and the solemnitie made, the first St. George's daye ; he had a poet, one Mr. Davies, whoe made speeches and poetical verses, which were delivered at the high-crosse, before the mayor and aldermen, with shewes of his invention. which booke was imprinted and presented to that famous Prince Henry, eldest sonne of the blessed King James, of famous memorie. Alsoe, he caused a man to go upon the spire of St. Peter's steeple, in Chester, and by the fane, at the same time he sounded a drum, and displayed a baner upon the top of the same spire. And this was the original of " St. George's race,"* with the change thereof, as it is now used. Also the said Mr. Robert Amorye caused the jacks or boyes, which strike quarterly at St. Peter's, at High Crosse, to be made and erected in A.D. 1612."

This ancient custom was revived at Chester Autumn Sports, held upon the Roodeye on Sept. 22, 1864, when a silver bell was presented as a prize to the winner of the principal event of the day, a Pony Race, for which there were several competitors. Mr. Jones, of Great Neston, with his pony Rumpelstiltskin, was the winner, and thus, in the language of the Cheshire proverb, " bore away the bell."

* This " St. George's Race" was, for some reason that does not now appear, transferred late in the 17th or early in the 18th century from the historic Roodeye to Farndon, near Chester, which was at that time one of the sporting rendezvous of the gentlemen of the Cheshire Hunt. These races, though held actually at Farndon, were best seen by spectators on the Holt or Welsh side of the Dee ; and hence arose the still popular Cheshire proverb or saying, quoted by Major E. Leigh in his lecture—" You must go to Holt to see Farn Races."

CHESHIRE WAIFS AND STRAYS.

(PAGES 274—6.)

It has been satisfactorily ascertained that this long and circumstantial story about "The English Hermit" is a miserable fiction, the invention of some wicked scribe in the vicinity of Tattenhall at the beginning of the present century. The story, as told in the "broadside," and reprinted *verbatim* at pages 274—6 of our present Volume, created some stir at the time, and brought some wondermongers and sightseers to Bolesworth, only to find upon their arrival that the more romantic side of the tale had no foundation in fact, and that the so-called "Hermit of Allenscomb" was one of the simplest and most un-romantic of day-labourers to be found anywhere within miles of the spot. The story, in short, was a pure fabrication from beginning to end; and its re-publication in the Society's *Journal* has effectually prevented its being foisted on a later generation as "an ower true tale." We are indebted to Mr. E. Ducker, of Tattenhall, for a series of enquiries among the older residents upon the spot, several of whom remembered the issue of the broadside, and the local excitement which followed its publication.

ROMAN GRAVESTONES AT URICONIUM.

(PAGE 321.)

An interesting account of the discovery of this stone is given by Mr. Thomas Wright in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for April, 1862. A woodcut copy of the photograph appearing at page 321 of the *Chester Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 2, accompanies Mr. Wright's notice. The Rev. H. M. Scarth, to whose labours as a Roman antiquary we have frequently borne testimony, contributes two valuable papers on Uriconium in the current (21st) Volume of the *Archæological Institute's Journal*. From one of these we make the following extract in reference to this stone, which may be said to exhaust the history of its discovery, and to throw some additional light on the true history of its inscription. Mr. Scarth is describing the contents of the Cemetery at Wroxeter, so far at least as the late investigations had proceeded; and then goes on to say that on September 18, 1861, the workmen employed "found a large inscribed stone, the upper portion of which had evidently contained a figure in relief, which was broken away; but the under portion, bearing an inscription of seven lines, remained perfect, although many of the letters are almost obliterated, so that it is feared the whole inscription cannot with certainty be made out. The stone was found with the inscribed portion downwards. Search was made for the upper part,

but without effect. A photograph of this stone has been taken by Mr. Colley, and also an accurate drawing executed by Mr. Hillary Davies; a photograph was also taken of the pottery then dug up. The feet alone of the figure remain, which are apparently those of a soldier wearing the military *caligæ* or sandals. The letters—AMINIVS—are distinct, with sufficient space intervening between the A and the outer margin of the stone to admit the letters FL. If we read the name Flaminius, after the s follows the letter r, and what appears to be a stop, and we naturally look for an r, but the r is followed by the word POLIA, which would ordinarily be taken to indicate the tribe (*Pollia*) to which the soldier belonged, but we have only one L on the stone. I am inclined, therefore, to think it must be taken for a *cognomen* of Flaminius, and that the r after the r must have been omitted in error.

“ In the inscription to C. Mannius, found in the same cemetery many years since, we read C. MANNIVS C. F. POL. SECVNDVS.

“ The second line of the newly-found inscription, which gives the age of the deceased as forty-five, and the period of service twenty-two, may be plainly read, except the letters after the abbreviated words MIL. LEG., if indeed there were any, as the space seems to suggest, though none are now traceable. The beginning of the next line is defaced, and we have only two straight strokes—II—which probably give only a part of the number of the legion, and therefore we are left to conjecture whether it was the second or the fourteenth. We have from the same cemetery a stone to the memory of a soldier of the fourteenth legion, which is also inscribed GEM.; this tablet is noticed in a preceding paper in the *Archæological Institute's Journal*. After the title of the legion the word MILITAVI follows, and then AQ: probably for *aquilifer*; then NVNC, and the letters HI, and, after a small intervening space, an s just discernible, and probably to be read HIC SITVS or HIC SVM. After this seem to follow three hexameter lines, a few words of which only are to be deciphered at intervals, the last line ending TEMPVS HONRSTE. They may be conjecturally restored, but I fear little more can be done. The Rev. John McCaul, LL.D., President of University College, Toronto, to whom I sent an accurate photograph of this inscription on its first discovery, has published his interpretation in a valuable selection of *Britanno-Roman Inscriptions, with Critical Notes*, which are well worth the attention of scholars fond of inscriptions.

“ Dr. McCaul would read the inscription thus:—T. [or C.] FLAMINIVS. T. F. POL. (tribu), POLIA being used for POLLIA.* The second

* We remain of opinion that POL. FA. (*Pollia familia*) is the more correct rendering of the final letters of this line. We have as little doubt, also judging simply from the photograph, that the name of the devotee was *Aminius*, and not *Flaminius*, as supposed by Mr. Scarth and Dr. McCaul. The prænomen *Aminius* is not a new one in classic history.

line he reads as I have done :—ANNORVM XXXV. STIPENDIORVM XXII. MILES LEGIONIS. In the third line he would read XIV for the number of the legion, and AQ. for *aquilifer*, thus :—XIII. GEMINAE. MILITAVI. AQVILIFER. NVNC HIC SVM.

“Should the conjecture be correct, that this stone is the memorial to a soldier of the fourteenth legion, it is the second found in this cemetery, and adds one to the few memorials that remain in this island of the legion which bore the title *Domitores Britanniae*; the only other record being the funereal stone found at Lincoln.

“The stone was found about seventy feet from the hedge which divides the field from the old road known by the name of the Watling Street; and about sixty feet west from this place the foundations of a building were met with, on October 28, 1861. They consisted of a few feet of rectangular walls, 18 in. thick. A description of the work carried out in excavating in the cemetery, is given in the Gentleman's Magazine for April, 1862, with a plan and drawings. Dr. Johnson, under whose zealous direction the excavations have been conducted, in that account describes this building as having been cut through by a modern drain; the foundations were not deeply laid. It is considered to have been a tomb, but had been entirely denuded of every mark by which its former purpose could be recognised. It is conjectured that the inscribed stone above noticed may have been taken from it. We can only regret the entire destruction of Roman tombs on this country; many of them must have been interesting illustrations of the funereal customs and modes of honoring the dead common among the Roman population of this island. Some years ago a well-preserved tomb was discovered in Suffolk, in a tumulus at Eastlow Hill, near Rougham, and described by the late Professor Henslow, who published a drawing of its construction, with a ground-plan and section. This may serve as a guide whereby we may reconstruct the ruined tomb at Uriconium.”

HOLY TRINITY CHURCH, CHESTER.

(PAGES 378—9.)

The perspective design, which appears as an illustration to the above page, is a copy of the one originally submitted by Mr. Harrison, our Society's Architectural Secretary, to the Committee for the restoration of Holy Trinity Church, and by them very generally approved. Since that date, however, by the decease of the then rector, the Rev. F. Ayckbowm, the charge of this important parish has devolved upon the Rev. Edward Marston, and the new rector has set himself vigorously to work to raise the necessary funds. Acting upon his own judgment, and with the advice and full consent of the Committee, he has caused the original design to be so far amplified and improved as

in effect to necessitate a rebuilding of the Church. Mr. Harrison retains his position as Architect of the Church; and he has had the advantage of having his revised plans submitted to and approved by Mr. George Gilbert Scott, our greatest living Gothic architect. The new design embraces the restoration of the present perpendicular tower; the squaring of the east end of the Church, which will widen considerably the lower end of Trinity Street; the throwing back of the present south aisle to the depth of the tower, which again will give up two feet in depth to Watergate-street, where space is so urgently needed; the lengthening westward of the present north aisle, so as to form a new Nave, with clerestory above; the erection of another north aisle; the screening off the two easternmost bays of the new nave, to constitute a chancel; the entire and appropriate reseating of the church; and, finally, the strengthening of the tower to enable it to support a spire. We sincerely hope,—in common with all who love to see the churches of our land stand forth in our midst, “beautiful to look upon,”—that the Rector of Holy Trinity may fully and speedily succeed in the laudable task upon which he is now so warmly engaged.

The following Donations to the Library and Museum of the Society have been received, and the thanks of the Council duly recorded to the respective Donors:—

Hartshorne's *Salopia Antiqua*, presented by the Rev. P. Williams. Jones (M. C.), on Old Oak Panelling at Gungrog, Montgomeryshire,—presented by the author.

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Sainthill's (Richard) Old Countess of Desmond, being an enquiry into her age, &c.,—presented by the author.

Roman Altar, inscribed “*Deæ Matri*,” presented by Mr. G. Chivas. Roman Lamp, partially gilt, from the Infirmary or Barrow Field. Chester,—presented by Dr. McEwen.

Lead Sepulchral Cylinder, found in Eaton Road, Chester, on the site of the Roman Cemetery,—presented by Mr. John Jones.

Norman vessel of stone, stated to have been found at St. John's, Chester,—presented by Mr. T. A. Richardson.

M.S. Log Book of the “old *Temeraire*,” under the command of Capt. Wade, of Over, Cheshire,—presented by Mr. Thomas Rigby, of Over.

Cr.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR 1887.

Dr.

	1887.	By	1887.	Dr.
To Balance in Bank	89 0 11			0 3 4
Arrears of Subscriptions for 1888	14 39 0			1 3 6
Journals sold in 1887	28 0 0			1 1 0
Annual Subscriptions 1887, viz:	0 17 6			3 3 4
73 Full Members at 30s	73 0 0			3 0 0
at 10s	31 10 0			3 10 0
at 4s	4 10 0			0 18 0
Transey, Esq	10 0 0			0 10 0
I. Falconer, Esq	10 0 0			1 1 4
				3 1 4
				3 11 0
				1 1 4
				0 18 0
				10 4 0
				0 9 3
				1 17 6
				1 0 0
				2 9 3
				0 7 0
				43 18 5
				11 3 0
				4 0 0
				3 3 6
				4 3 0
				3 9 0
				4 1 6
				18 0 0
				0 14 0
				0 13 4
				0 7 4
				0 19 3
				0 10 0
				13 11 0
				101 13 0
				6347 9 5

Examined and found correct,
R. W. JONES,
THOS. WILCOCK, JUNR.

CR.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEARS 1852-3.

III.

		1853.		1854.	
		By	£ s. d.	By	£ s. d.
To Balance in hand.					
One Journal, Part 2, sold.			101 12 0		1 2 6
Annual Subscriptions for 1853, viz:—			0 5 0		1 11 6
68 Full Members at 20s			68 0 0		2 10 0
24 Associate ditto at 10s			24 0 0		1 10 0
15 Lady ditto at 5s			75 0 0		1 10 0
2 Quarterly ditto at 4s			8 0 0		10 10 0
			£ 8 0 0		£ 12 6 0
Examined and found correct.					
H. W. JONES,					
THOMAS WILCOCK, JUNR.					
			£ 200 0 0		£ 200 0 0

		1855.		1856.	
		By	£ s. d.	By	£ s. d.
To					
1855.					
1. 2 sold.			145 0 10		7 2 6
b. viz:—			1 0 0		1 11 6
100			41 0 0		2 12 6
22 0 0			22 0 0		5 12 2
40			2 0 0		2 17 2
number			0 0 0		0 6 0
			£ 1 0 0		£ 1 1 6
Examined and found correct.					
H. W. JONES,					
THOMAS WILCOCK, JUNR.					
			£ 200 0 0		£ 200 0 0

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEARS 1962-3.

Dr.

2583.	£ s. d.	By	1883.
To Balance in hand	179 18 9		
Two Journals sold—one at 5s. and one at 7s. 6d.	0 13 6		
Annual Subscriptions for 1883, viz. :—			
41 Full Members at 20s.	41 0 0		
40 Associates ditto at 10s.	20 0 0		
11 Lady ditto at 5s.	2 15 0		
Examined and found correct, H. W. JONES, THOS. WILCOCK, JUNR.			
	£344 1 5		£344 1 5

1893.	£	s.	d.
To Balance in hand	184	12	8
Annual Subscriptions for 1893, viz. —			
41 Full Members at 20s	41	0	0
24 Associate ditto at 10s	19	0	0
12 Lady ditto at 5s	8	0	0
Examined and found correct.			
H. W. JONES,			
Treas. WILCOCK, JUNR.			
	£	247	12 8

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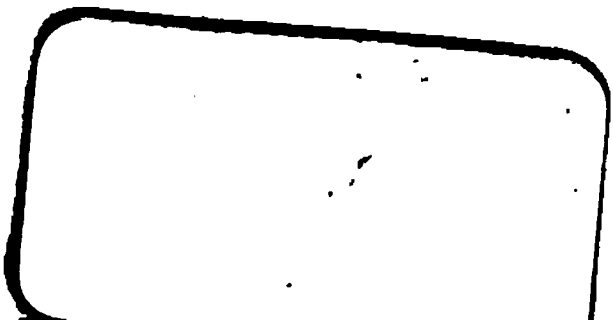
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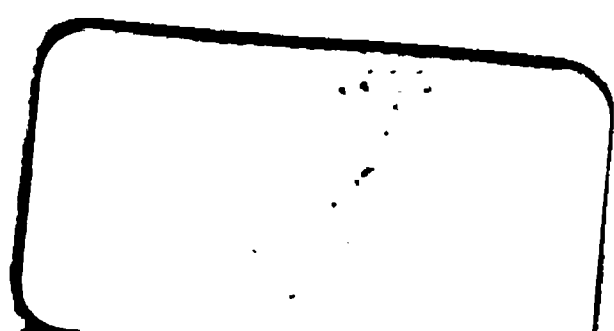
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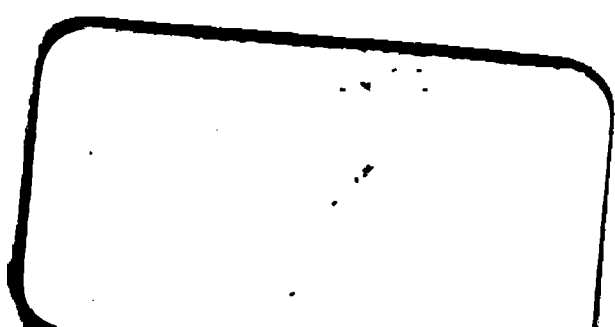
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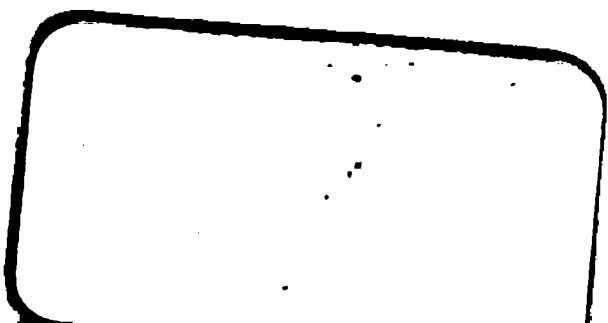
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